



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

### About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>





The Library  
of the



University of Wisconsin











**HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL  
COMMENTARY  
ON  
THE OLD TESTAMENT,  
WITH  
A NEW TRANSLATION.**

**BY  
M. M. KALISCH, PHIL. Doc., M.A.**

*(marcus munitz)*

**בראשית—GENESIS.**

---

**NEW EDITION.**

---

**LONDON:  
LONGMANS, GREEN, READER AND DYER.  
1879.**

LONDON :  
WERTHEIMER, LEA AND CO., PRINTERS,  
CIRCUS PLACE, LONDON WALL.

CBFV  
K12  

---

1

## PREFACE

TO THE FIRST EDITION.

**THE** Book of Genesis abounds with problems no less perplexing than interesting. Its vast range includes branches of the natural sciences and of history, of ethnography and philosophy; and with materials of singular variety skilfully blends great and fruitful ideas. It has, accordingly, provoked an overwhelming mass of comment, partly in confirmation, and partly in opposition to its statements; it has proved the battle-field for almost every shade of opinion, both religious and sceptical; and it is evidently destined to become the arena for the critical discussion of the whole ground-work of Biblical theology, and for the introduction of a new era in religious thought.

The conviction of the surpassing importance of the book has strengthened us to face the numerous difficulties of a conscientious interpretation. We have endeavoured impartially to weigh the facts, and calmly to draw the inferences. It has been our aim to neglect no essential evidence. But after due consideration, the conclusions have been stated with unreserved frankness. As we have no preconceived theory to defend, we have never been tempted to distort the text, or to indulge in reckless combinations; and we have always tried so to unfold the argument, that the reader may at once either discover our error, or admit our result.

The excavations on the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris, the continued researches on Indian and Egyptian antiquities, the many new accounts of observing travellers



who have recently visited the lands of the Bible, and the rapid advance made in the study of oriental languages and literature, have materially augmented the means for illustrating the Scriptures. They have especially enabled us to pursue more efficiently than was hitherto possible, the momentous enquiry concerning the relation which the Hebrew writings bear to the general cycle of Eastern traditions. We have attempted to make these new sources of information available for the exposition of Genesis, and to point out the peculiarities which, in spite of a similarity of materials surprising in many instances, distinguish the records of the Israelites from those of other ancient nations. By thus separating the *form* of the narratives from the *ideas* which they embody, many difficulties may find a solution doing equal justice to universal history, and to the development of the Hebrew mind. A later portion of this work will contain a general Introduction to the Pentateuch, in which many questions regarding Genesis, here not yet admitting of a final decision, will be more fully examined.

The external arrangement of this volume differs in some points from that of the Commentary on Exodus. The modifications introduced, which we hope may be considered as improvements, have been adopted on urgent suggestion.

The generous reception which has been awarded to the first part of our work, encourages us to express the wish that the same indulgence may not be withheld from the present volume, which, considering the greater difficulties of the task, claims indulgence perhaps even in a higher degree.

M. KALISCH.

London, May 3rd, 1858.

## INTRODUCTION.

---

I. EVEN the philosophical historian, who undertakes to delineate the progress of the human race, may consider that his legitimate labours first commence at the point where he perceives the earliest dawn of well-ascertained facts emerging from the mists of fables and legends, and where his eye is arrested by the sight of several nations, as the Hindoos and Egyptians, the Babylonians and Assyrians, considerably in advance on the path of prosperity and civilisation. Yet it may not be unprofitable, under two aspects, to overstep that boundary. The student may either trace the antecedent phases of our planet, point out its organic relation to the universe, and determine the place which man occupies in the system of creation; or he may, by acute reasoning, endeavour to ascertain the first steps which mankind made in its struggle for improvement, before it arrived at that stage of development which existing annals or monuments exhibit. This double task was attempted by nearly all religious lawgivers of antiquity. Not only did they dwell upon the origin of heaven and earth, but they described the history of man from the commencement, the transition from innocence to sin, the toils of existence, and the arts that soften or alleviate them; and they indicated the links which joined their own people with the first human families. Now, whatever may be the positive value of the facts and reflections they furnished, the cosmogonies belong to the most instructive relics of primitive literature. They lay open, with a distinctness attainable from few other sources, the hopes and cravings, the aims and ideals, of the different nations. They teach the supposed connection between man and his destiny, or the powers that govern it; and they embody the moral principles believed

to be necessary for the virtuous life of the individual, and to form the chief end of all human generations. But distinguished for depth and purity are the descriptions with which the first book of the Old Testament opens. They are designed to enforce, that mankind is one great fraternal tribe, protected and guided by the care of a Father, the only and omnipotent Creator; they assert the perfect equality of all men; and propose as their model the wisdom and holiness of God. The Biblical narrative next draws in rapid outlines the advancement of the earliest ages, and the descent and diffusion of the various nations of the earth, down to the founder of the chosen race of Israel; then gradually contracting its circle, it relates the beginning of the *theocracy*, or the conclusion of the solemn covenant between God and the Hebrews; and it lastly carries on their history to the time when they commenced to grow into a numerous and important community. How far these statements are *historically* reliable, the following Commentary will endeavour to investigate in every individual instance: but their *moral* and *philosophical* truth is entirely independent of the materials from which it is derived. Facts are indeed invaluable, because they form the imperishable basis of research: but they are a useless encumbrance unless they enclose some idea, influence the will or the feeling of man, and contribute either to his ennoblement or his happiness. The views set forth in the book of Genesis have not only become the foundation of the culture of the Hebrews, but, through them, of a large part of mankind; and if they have as yet not produced all the beneficent effects of which they are capable, it is because passion, short-sightedness, and egotism, have been unable to recognise and to appreciate the common kernel of humanity in the modified forms of human thought.

II. The book commonly bears the Greek name *Genesis* (*Γένεσις*), or *Creation*, from reasons implied in the preceding remarks; while in Hebrew Bibles it is headed by the first word of the original text, *Bereshith* (בְּרֵאשִׁית, *in the beginning*).

III. It may appropriately be divided into two chief sections, the one containing a *general introduction*, physical and historical, from the Creation of the World to the Call of Abraham; and the other treating of the *History of the*

*Hebrew Patriarchs.* These principal portions admit of several subdivisions, in the following manner:—

**I. THE GENERAL INTRODUCTION; CHAPTERS I. TO XI.**

1. The Creation (i.—ii. 3).
2. The Paradise and the Fall (ii. 4—iii. 24).
3. The Generations between Adam and Noah (iv. 1—v. 32).
4. The Deluge (vi.—ix.).
5. The Genealogy of Nations (x.).
6. The Tower of Babel and the Dispersion (xi. 1—9).
7. The Generations between Noah and Abraham (xi. 10—32).

**II. THE HISTORY OF THE HEBREW PATRIARCHS; CHAPTERS XII. TO L.**

1. The History of Abraham and Lot (xii. 1—xxv. 11).
2. The History of Ishmael and Isaac (xxv. 12—xxviii. 9).
3. The History of Jacob and Esau (xxviii. 10—xxxvi. 43).
4. The History of Joseph, and the Settlement of Jacob's Family in Egypt (xxxvii.—l.).

**IV.** Scriptural statements enable us to make the following simple computation:—

1. Abraham had attained his 100th year when Isaac was born (Gen. xxi. 5);
2. Isaac was 60 years old at the birth of Jacob (xxv. 26);
3. Jacob settled in Egypt at the age of 130 years (xlvii. 9);
4. From this time to the Exodus elapsed a period of 430 years (Exod. xii. 40). Hence the interval between the birth of Abraham and the Exodus comprises 720 years (viz.  $100 + 60 + 130 + 430$ ).

Further, Solomon began the building of the Temple in the fourth year of his reign, 480 years after the Exodus (1 Kings vi. 1); and as he ascended the throne B.C. 1015, the Israelites left Egypt B.C. 1491 (viz.  $1011 + 480 = 1491$ ).

Abraham was, therefore, born B.C. 2211 (viz.  $1491 + 720$ ); and as he left Mesopotamia in the 75th year of his life (xii. 4), this event occurred in B.C. 2136.

The dates employed in this calculation are the corner-stones of Biblical chronology; they are so consistent, and form so complete a chain, that they ought not to be renounced in favour of the intentional corruptions of the Septuagint, the Samaritan Codex, and Josephus, or of the conflicting combinations of later writers (see pp. 155, 312; and Commentary on Exodus, Introduction, pp. xi—xxi).—As the departure of the Hebrews from Egypt took place B.C. 1491, and the uninterrupted numbers of Genesis place



this event in the 2669th year after the Creation (see the following list); the first year of the Christian era is the 4160th of the world (viz.  $2669+1491$ ), or 400 years later than according to the usual Hebrew chronology, which dates the Creation at B.C. 3760.

## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

A.M.	B.C.	EVENTS & THEIR COMPUTATION ACCORDING TO YEARS OF THE WORLD.
	4160	Adam created.
130	4030	Seth born (v. 3).
235	3925	Enos born (v. 6; $130+105=235$ ).
325	3835	Cainan born (v. 9; $235+90=325$ ).
395	3765	Mahalaleel born (v. 12; $325+70=395$ ).
460	3700	Jared born (v. 13; $395+65=460$ ).
622	3538	Enoch born (v. 18; $460+162=622$ ).
687	3473	Methuselah born (v. 21; $622+65=687$ ).
874	3286	Lamech born (v. 25; $687+187=874$ ).
1056	3104	Noah born (v. 28; $874+182=1056$ ).
1556	2604	Shem born (v. 32; $1056+500=1556$ ).
1656	2504	The Deluge began (vii. 11; $1056+600=1656$ ).
1657	2503	The Deluge ceased (viii. 14).
1659	2501	Arphaxad born (xi. 10; two years after the Flood).
1694	2466	Salah born (xi. 12; $1659+35=1694$ ).
1724	2436	Eber born (xi. 14; $1694+30=1724$ ).
1758	2402	Peleg born (xi. 16; $1724+34=1758$ ).
1788	2372	Reu born (xi. 18; $1758+30=1788$ ).
1820	2340	Serug born (xi. 20; $1788+32=1820$ ).
1850	2310	Nahor born (xi. 22; $1820+30=1850$ ).
1879	2281	Terah born (xi. 24; $1850+29=1879$ ).
1949	2211	Abraham born (xi. 26; $1879+70=1949$ ).
1959	2201	Sarah born (xvii. 17; $1949+10=1959$ ).
2024	2136	Abraham emigrated from Haran (xii. 4; $1949+75=2024$ ).
2035	2125	Ishmael born (xvi. 16; $1949+86=2035$ ).
2048	2112	{ Covenant and Circumcision of Abraham and Ishmael (xvii. 24; 1949+99=2048).
2049	2111	Isaac born (xxi. 5; $1949+100=2049$ ).
2084	2076	Terah died (xi. 32; $1879+205=2084$ ).
2086	2074	Sarah died (xxiii. 1; $1959+127=2086$ ).
2089	2071	Isaac married Rebekah (xxv. 20; $2049+40=2089$ ).
2109	2051	Jacob and Esau born (xxv. 26; $2049+60=2109$ ).
2124	2036	Abraham died (xxv. 7; $1949+175=2124$ ).
2149	2011	Esau married (xxvi. 34; $2109+40=2149$ ).
2172	1988	Ishmael died (xxv. 17; $2035+137=2172$ ).
2193	1966	Jacob married Leah and Rachel (see p. 519; $2109+84=2193$ ).
2200	1960	Joseph born (xxx. 25; $2193+7=2200$ ).
2217	1943	Joseph sold into Egypt (xxxvii. 2; $2200+17=2217$ ).
2229	1931	Isaac died (xxxv. 28; $2049+180=2229$ ).
2230	1930	Joseph appointed viceroy of Egypt (xli. 46; $2200+30=2230$ ).
2239	1921	Jacob and his family settled in Egypt (xlvii. 9; $2109+130=2239$ ).
2256	1904	Jacob died (xlvii. 28; $2239+17=2256$ ).
2310	1850	Joseph died (l. 22, 26; $2256+54=2310$ ).
2669	1491	Exodus of the Israelites from Egypt (xii. 40; $2239+430=2669$ ).

# GENESIS.

---

## I.

### GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

#### CHAPTERS I. TO XL

---

### I.—THE CREATION.

#### CHAPTERS I. AND II. TO VER. 3.

---

#### PRELIMINARY ESSAY.

#### ON THE RELATION BETWEEN THE SCRIPTURES AND THE NATURAL SCIENCES, ESPECIALLY GEOLOGY AND ASTRONOMY.

THE modern researches in the natural sciences are as gigantic in their extent, as they are incontrovertible in their main results. The investigation of the laws of the material world, and their application to practical purposes, form the characteristic pursuits of our age. But the Bible also alludes, in many important passages, to physical laws and to natural phenomena. It became, therefore, an indispensable task for the Biblical student, and especially the theologian, to compare those recent results with the respective Scriptural statements. The conclusions at which these men arrived, though vastly differing in detail, may be reduced to two chief classes. One part of these scholars — whose zeal, unfortunately, overruled their reason — flatly denied the correctness, and even possibility, of such facts: every one knows that Galileo was compelled to abjure and to curse the Copernican system of the earth's motion as fallacious and heretical; Voetius described it as a neologian fabrication; and the learned Francis Turretin, not much more than one hundred and fifty years since, endeavoured to overthrow it by Scriptural and physical arguments. But the opposition to that great astronomical truth has gradually vanished away before the colossal labours of Kepler, Newton, and their illustrious followers; nor will anybody at present, as once the learned doctors of Salamanca did, deery the views of Columbus as an impious heresy; and if objections are still raised by some tenacious straggler, they are received as a curiosity, causing hilarity rather than provoking controversy. But more vehement were the denouncements hurled, up to a very recent date, against the results of geology, itself a comparatively recent science; it was declared an unholy and atheistic pursuit, a dark art, a "horrid blasphemy," a study which has the evil one for its author; and its votaries were designated as arch-enemies of religion and virtue, infidels standing in the service of the infernal powers.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> See, for instance, *Henry Cole*, Popular Geology subversive of Divine Revelation, pp. 21, 35, 37; *J. Mellor Brown*, Reflections on Geology; A complete Refutation

of the Anti-Scriptural Theory of Geologists, by a Clergyman of the Church of England, 1853; *P. M'Farlane*, Exposure of the Principles of Modern Geology.

The other class of scholars, more sober and less sceptical, acknowledges, either wholly or partially, the exactness of the natural sciences, but denies emphatically that there exists the remotest discrepancy between these results and the Biblical records. This is at present by far the most prevalent opinion among theologians; they positively assert, that if there is an apparent contradiction, the fault is not in the Scriptural text, but in its erroneous exposition. They have, therefore, proposed a vast number of explanations intended to prove that harmony; and they have endeavoured to show that the present notions of astronomy and geology, though not clearly expressed in the Bible, are certainly implied in the words, or may easily be deduced from their tenour.

We believe the time has arrived for pronouncing a final and well-considered opinion on these momentous points; the materials necessary for this decision exist in abundance; they are all but complete; and we propose to submit to the reader an analysis which will enable him to judge and to decide for himself, and to form an opinion founded, not upon indefinite conceptions, but upon indisputable facts.

There is, indeed, a third and very large class of scholars, who attempt to evade these questions altogether, by simply asserting that the Bible does not at all *intend* to give information on physical subjects — that it is exclusively a *religious* book, and regards the physical world only in so far as it stands in relation to the moral conduct of men. But this is a bold fallacy. With the same justice it might be affirmed, that the Bible, in describing the rivers of Paradise, does not speak of geography at all; or in inserting the grand list and genealogy of nations (in the tenth chapter), is far from touching on the science of ethnography. Taken in this manner, nothing would be easier, but nothing more arbitrary, than Biblical interpretation. It is simply untrue that the Bible entirely avoids these questions; it has, in fact, treated the history of creation in a most comprehensive and magnificent manner; it has in these portions, as well as in the moral precepts and the theological doctrines, evidently not withheld any information which it was in its power to impart. Therefore, dismissing this opinion without further notice, we shall first compare, under different heads, the distinct statements of the first chapters of Genesis with the uncontroverted researches of the natural sciences; we shall then, secondly, draw from these facts the unavoidable conclusions as regards the possibility of a conciliation; and shall, lastly, review the various attempts which have hitherto been made to effect that agreement.

We shall, in this sketch, particularly, study the utmost simplicity compatible with accuracy.

### I.—THE ANTIQUITY OF THE EARTH.

ACCORDING to chronological computations based on the Old Testament, the earth, as a part of the universe, was created B.C. 4160, or about six thousand years hence.<sup>1</sup> Even the larger chronologies of the Septuagint, Hales, and others, fix this date not further back than between seven and eight thousand years.

But the researches of the natural sciences, especially geology, lead to widely different conclusions; they prove an antiquity of the earth of such vastness, that our imagination fails to conceive, and our numbers are almost unable to express it. The task of defining the geological chronology by exact, and even approximate numbers, has been shunned by the ablest scholars, and has hitherto defied their zealous efforts. Let us survey the principal arguments:—

The crust of the earth, which is supposed to be about 50,000 feet, or two and a half geographical miles, in thickness, and which has been examined to about half that depth,<sup>2</sup> consists of a number of different layers or strata, which, although seldom occurring in a complete series, invariably succeed each other in the same order, or

<sup>1</sup> See Introduction.

<sup>2</sup> Compare *Humboldt*, *Kosm.* i. 417—420.

have generally, at least, correspondents or equivalents upon other areas. These various beds represent as many *creations*, or progressive revolutions of the earth. They were produced by volcanic influence, the agency of the water, and chemical processes, in a manner which we shall be enabled to describe more fully in a later part of this treatise.

But these strata have, for the sake of convenient arrangement, been classified in three great groups; of which the oldest series, or that most remote from our surface, is called the Primary, the next upwards the Secondary, and the last, or uppermost, the Tertiary System.

1. The lowest stratification to which human knowledge has been able to penetrate is that of *Gneiss*, consisting of the component parts of the granite rocks, which spread beneath it in a crystalline form, and constitute the material of the principal mountains of Europe:<sup>3</sup> the gneiss is, therefore, probably the product of the granite, worn, arranged, and acted upon by water and by the heat which fills the interior of the earth. This process of diffusion and wearing off, of depositing and permanent disposition, is excessively slow; the lapse of a century would scarcely produce a few inches of this substance. Now the gneiss-rocks in Scotland, Ireland, and other countries, exceed "many thousand yards,"<sup>4</sup> as, in fact, the lower strata are generally by far the deepest in thickness. What an immense period of time was required to form them?

2. The *Slates* and *Mica Schist*, which follow above the gneiss, have a thickness of three to four miles; they occur in overwhelming masses in Scotland, Cumberland, and Wales; their formation is "a work *infinitely slow*,"<sup>5</sup> and overpowers the mind again with the idea of *enormous* epochs.

3. The *Silurian* strata, consisting of slate-rocks, with dark limestones, sandstones, and flagstones, have a united thickness of about a mile and a half. They are the results of the alternate play and repose of volcanic action; and it is obvious, that "*myriads of ages* must have been occupied in the production of these formations, before the creation of man, and the adaptation of the earth's surface for his abode."<sup>6</sup> The Biblical age of the world, if compared with these vast periods of time, sinks into absolute insignificance.

4. The group of the Secondary beds begins with the *Old Red Sandstone*, which, on account of its most frequent occurrence in Devonshire — sometimes to a thickness of 10,000 feet and more — is now called the *Devonian*. Who can calculate the immensity of time required to form these masses, which in Scotland also are found in astounding quantities?

5. One of the most interesting systems is the *Carboniferous group*, which consists partly of mountain limestone, composed almost entirely of the shells and coralline productions of sea animals, partly of millstone grit, and partly of coal, composed of compressed vegetable matter, shale, and sandstone, in alternate layers. The aggregate thickness of this group amounts nearly to 5,000 feet; whilst in South Wales the coal-layers have a depth of 13,500, and in New Scotland of 14,500 feet; and we are again compelled to strain our imagination with a notion of time almost beyond its capacity.

6. The next thousand or two thousand feet in the crust of our planet are occupied with the *New Red Sandstone*, composed of Magnesian limestone, variegated marl, clay, conglomerates, rock-salt, and other strata, pre-supposing long and repeated changes to effect their production.

7. The *Oolitic System*, of the thickness of about half a mile, is evidently composed of depositions from sea-water, the mingled waters from river-mouths, and even fresh

<sup>3</sup> As the Alps, the Pyrenees, and the Carpathian mountains.

<sup>4</sup> Phillips, Treatise, Cab. Cycl. i. 117.

<sup>5</sup> Dr. Macculloch, Syst. Geol., i. 472, 473.

<sup>6</sup> See Murchison, Silurian System, i. 235 *et seq.*



water of rivers and lakes. It indicates a certain change in the volcanic activity of the internal heat of the earth; and millenniums were necessarily required to pile up these huge rocks.

8. One of the most universal and extensive groups are the *Cretaceous layers*. Chalk masses, to the thickness of more than a thousand feet, mixed with flint, green sand, and bluish clay, have not only been discovered in almost all the countries of Europe, but also in different parts of Asia, Africa, and America; so that this formation has often, though erroneously, been considered to mark the commencement of a totally different order of things. But it is certain, that the whole lapse of time necessary to produce this part of the entire stratification "is astonishing; to our faculties, in the present state, it is immense,"<sup>1</sup> whether chalk be considered to consist of myriads of infusoria, or to have arisen from the decomposition of corals.

9. The name of the *Tertiary System*, lastly, has been given to the beds which follow immediately above the chalk strata, and form the layers nearest to the present surface of the earth. They are very variously composed of clays, sands, and limes, intermixed with coral rocks, peat, marls, and travertins, with drift, erratic blocks, and gravel, with bone-caves, mud-deposits, and almost mountain-high masses of insects (for instance, the *Indusiæ tubulatæ*). They form a thickness of at least six or eight hundred feet. And the greater part of even these formations must reach back to a far higher antiquity than that which the Biblical computations allow to the creation of the whole earth, with all its infinite and prodigious stratifications, by the extremely slow and gradual operation of deposition and consolidation, frequently interrupted by the tremendous upheavings from the bowels of the fiery earth. The formation of even those strata which are nearest the surface must have occupied vast periods, "probably millions of years," before they assumed their actual state. And these processes of the active elements have not ceased; they are constantly working, and produce new formations before our eyes, as in bygone ages. In the historical time, two isles, Thera (or Callista) and Therasia, rose in the Archipelago from the depth of the waters, whilst the sea boiled and burnt, and threw up blazing flames;<sup>2</sup> and in B.C. 197, appeared Hiera or Sacron, then Thia Nea and other islands; by similar convulsions many islands became chersonosi, pieces of land rising from the sea, and combining the islands on one side with the continent. Islands have, mostly in consequence of volcanic upheavings, appeared in much later times; and modern works on the development of our planet contain abundant and interesting instances;<sup>3</sup> they keep alive within us the conviction, that the present aspect of the earth's surface will in due time be subjected to vast and essential changes; and that, however imperceptible the alteration, and however enormous the period required to complete it, our present continents will be scenes of revolutions which must alter both their form and condition.<sup>4</sup>

In order to give some idea of the immensity of geological epochs, we introduce a few examples:—

1. The great tract of peat near Stirling, in Scotland, forming but one single bed of coal, has required nearly two thousand years; for the Roman works are preserved below it; and, in general, a century forms a layer of coal not thicker than seven lines.<sup>5</sup> It is, therefore, a moderate estimate to put down the production of the coal series of Newcastle at 200,000 years.

<sup>1</sup> See *Trans. Geol. Soc.*, Sec. Ser. iii. 301—420.

<sup>2</sup> *Plin.* ii. 89; *Herod.* iv. 147; *Strabo*, i. 57.

<sup>3</sup> See Ritter, Von Buch, Humboldt, Berghaus, Oken, Burmeister, and others.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Humboldt, *Kosmos*, i. 234, 261—267, 311, 314, 315; Darwin, *Volcanic Islands*, p. 49, 154; Leopold von

Buch, *Canarische Inseln*, p. 301; Reise durch Schweden und Norwegen, ii. 389; Babbage, *Ninth Bridgw. Treat.*, p. 78; John P. Smith, *Script. and Geol.*, p. 335; Burmeister, *Geschichte der Schoepfung*, p. 85; Wagner, *Geschichte der Urwelt*, p. 470, etc.

<sup>5</sup> Humboldt, *Kosmos*, i. 295.

2. The period during which the strata of coal, shale, sandstone, and limestone were deposited over the site of the basaltic hill called Arthur's Seat, at Edinburgh, is estimated at 500,000 years.<sup>6</sup>

3. The old sandstone occurs in Scotland to a vertical depth of more than 3,000 feet; and as a Scotch lake scarcely deposits mud or marl at the rate of half a foot in a century, at least 600,000 years were required for the production of this series alone.<sup>7</sup>

4. By far the larger part of the dry land has been raised out of the bed of the sea, by a process which has been calculated (from certain parts of Sweden) to produce about three feet in a century. Now, in several of the glens of Scotland occur sea-beaches, or benches of ancient lakes, twelve hundred feet and more above the present sea-level; their formation must, therefore, have required at least 40,000 years.<sup>8</sup> The eastern coast of Scandinavia rises about forty inches every century; it has, during the historical time, become about 200, and in general apparently 300 feet higher; this involves a period of at least 8,000 years; and yet was this elevation not regularly progressing, but was interrupted by considerable depressions; for sixty feet below the present level, near Stockholm, a fisherman's cottage has been discovered, which once stood at the margin of the sea.<sup>9</sup>

5. The coral-rocks of the Red Sea, and of the Indian and Pacific Oceans, many fathoms in depth, and many hundred miles in extent, are formed by little insects, which secrete small particles of carbonate of lime, and thus gradually produce those majestic masses. Who will calculate the boundless ages exhausted by that process?

6. The volcanic regions in the centre of France contain rocks of silicious deposits, one of which is sixty feet thick, and required at least eighteen thousand years for its formation.

7. The river Niagara wears away the edge of the precipice over which it falls, between lake Erie and lake Ontario, about one foot annually. It has hitherto thus worn away a space of seven miles in the direction of lake Erie; and this process has, therefore, required at least 35,000 years; and will require about 70,000 years more to reach with its falls that lake.<sup>10</sup>—There are many other denudations and erosions on the present surface of the earth; they are the effect of the slow action of the ocean, which has in some regions worn away the rocks more than two miles in depth; and this process, occurring in the present geological epoch, required in itself a vast space of time. The following instance may serve as an illustration:—

8. Terraces and beaches, 400 to 1,000 feet high, composed of gravel, sand, and clay, comminuted and deposited by water chiefly, were, after the drift epoch, obviously formed when the continents were drained of the waters of the ocean, and the rivers were cutting down their beds. The same process is still going on; but within the whole historical time, terraces and beaches of scarcely the height of a few feet have been formed.<sup>11</sup> It is difficult to conceive the vastness of time which was required for these elevated terraces. Those who attribute almost all the changes, and especially the formation of the terraces, to the influence of the deluge, are obliged to take refuge in an assumption which is in direct opposition to the Biblical narrative, namely, that the water remained in many places for a long period on the surface of the earth, forming large inland seas or lakes.<sup>12</sup>

9. Around the present coast of Great Britain runs an escarpment, of various height and character, which marks the former, or "old coast line." But as far as historical

<sup>6</sup> *Maclaren, Geology of Fife and the Lothians*, p. 37.

<sup>7</sup> *Macculloch, System of Geology*, i. 506-7.

<sup>8</sup> *Philos. Journ.*, Edinb., 1839, p. 395; Jan., 1848.

*Humboldt, Kosmos*, i. 314, 315; *Smith, Geol. and Script.*, p. 303.

<sup>10</sup> *Lyell, Travels in North America*, i. 50—53; *Principles*, i. 343—345.

<sup>11</sup> *Hitchcock, Religion of Geology*, p. 61

<sup>12</sup> *Comp. Gen.* viii. 11, 13, 14.

records recede, the present line has existed as the girdle of the seas. Now, in both of them are caves, hollowed out by the attrition of the surf, more than a hundred feet in depth; those of the old coast line are considerably deeper; and it must have required many centuries to excavate by so slow a process the tough trap or hard gneiss to such great depth; the lowest estimate fixes that period at six thousand years. And yet the epoch of the old coast line forms a "mere beginning," a "mere starting point," in geologic history; for no species of shell seems to have become extinct during that epoch, and even those which no longer occur on the shores of Britain are abundantly found in the higher northern latitudes, in Iceland, Spitzbergen, and Greenland; a circumstance which in itself points to a time when a large portion of Great Britain was submerged in a sub-arctic sea, and when this country existed "as but a scattered archipelago of wintry islands."<sup>1</sup>

10. The Mississippi carries down to its mouth one cubic mile of earth in about five and a quarter years; but the whole delta contains 2,720 cubic miles; it required, therefore, more than 14,000 years to be formed by such deposits;<sup>2</sup> and though that river may not always have flowed on regularly in the same manner, the possible fluctuations were not so great as materially to affect that calculation.

11. The valley of the Nile is covered with a bed of slime, deposited by the river, which annually carries down to the sea above 3,000 millions of cubic feet of detritus, or "as much as would build forty pyramids of the largest dimensions." That bed, like that of the adjacent desert, rests on a foundation of sand. Its average thickness was found by the French scholars who accompanied Napoleon on his Egyptian expedition, in the year 1800, to be six and a half metres, or about twenty feet; and as the deposition of slime amounts in a century to about four inches and a half, the whole bed had required about 5,650 years. But this is only a very inconsiderable portion of the earth's crust in that country. For that foundation of sand rests, for nearly three hundred miles, upon a thick bed of the marine or Nummulitic limestone, which is of extremely slow formation, and upon a newer stratum of later Tertiary age. Nor is that limestone the oldest of the rocks of Egypt. "It rests on a sandstone of Permian or Triassic age; the sandstone rests, in turn, on the famous Breccia de Verde of Egypt; and the Breccia on a group of azoic rocks, gneisses, quartzes, mica schists, and clay slates, that wrap round the granitic nucleus of Syene." They amount to about ten miles of fossiliferous rocks; and if the sand deposits of twenty feet in thickness required 5,650 years for their formation, the age of the underlying strata, fossiliferous and azoic, is immeasurably greater.

These facts may suffice to impress the reader with the inconceivable dimensions of time revealed in the mysterious structure of the earth; the computations, though necessarily but approximate, are on the whole neither doubtful nor exaggerated; and they show that the six or seven thousand years which the Bible allows since the origin of the earth, are a mere fraction of the time which geology demands for its antiquity.

## II.—THE CREATION OF THE WORLD IN SIX DAYS.

It has, indeed, been very positively contended, that the days mentioned in the Biblical record of Creation signify periods of a *thousand years*,<sup>3</sup> or of indefinite extent. But this imputed meaning is absolutely against the usage and genius of the Hebrew language; and the days of creation are really and literally periods of four and twenty hours.<sup>4</sup> However, it might be asserted — and it has, in fact, been frequently advanced

<sup>1</sup> *Hugh Miller*, *Testimony of the Rocks*, p. 123 - 127.

<sup>2</sup> *Hitchcock*, *Religion of Geology*, p. 61.

<sup>3</sup> Psalm xc. 4; compare 2 Peter iii. 8.

<sup>4</sup> See *infra*, viii. 2.

—that the earth, with all its various layers and stratifications, has, by the Divine will, been called into existence in that limited number of days; and that God, after the completion of this lordly act of creation, has left nature and all her component parts to those eternal and immutable laws with which He had endowed her. But this opinion is rendered impossible by the following facts:—

1. In all the strata of the earth, except the two or three lowest, are found organic remains of creatures which possessed and enjoyed life, and which evidently perished, partly by that revolution of the earth which buried the old formation, and partly by the change of climate which took place in the next epoch. It may be important to observe, that each stratum has its own characteristic species.

A brief summary of these remains will be sufficient for our purpose. In the slate-rocks of North Wales and Cornwall are found the earliest remains of animal existence, consisting of two or three species of zoophytes (lamelliferous corals), polyps, and casts of several species of single and double-valved shell-fish, more highly organized even than our cockles and oysters. If this latter fact should appear surprising, we observe, that it is by no means an established principle that the organic beings of every formation are of a higher structure than those of the preceding system, as if nature were steadily progressing and improving. This supposition becomes more than doubtful by the single fact, that the earliest forms of life which occur are not plants, but animals.<sup>5</sup> The exact inquiry into this interesting point is rendered difficult by a particular circumstance. The immense subterranean heat must necessarily have destroyed, without a trace, those organisms which might have existed in the first system of stratification, nearest to the fiery nucleus of our planet. It is certain that we find in the lower strata, almost exclusively, the remains of marine animals; while the terrestrial races, which exhibit the higher organic forms, are extant in very limited proportions. Even in the present state of the earth, *animal* life is predominant in the depths of the sea, whilst the productions of the vegetable kingdom prevail on the continents.<sup>6</sup> It must, however, be admitted, that the earth was always and uninterruptedly peopled with living beings after they had once been introduced, and that, although the systems varied in correspondence with the altered conditions of the earth, there exists a certain general resemblance or analogy between the forms of the different periods.<sup>7</sup> A perpetual but systematic change is working in nature; this is the rule of the material world; it is made the grand conservative and controlling principle of the universe.

In the Silurian formations, which more properly commence the grand series of organic beings,<sup>8</sup> more than 375 species of animals are embedded.<sup>9</sup>

In the Devonian and the New Red Sandstone systems, have been discovered numerous bones and skeletons of fishes and other marine creatures, the very genera of which are now no more existing, and some of which are of the most surprising form and description. In the corresponding masses of Germany and France, the organic remains are peculiarly abundant. Marine plants also appear more copiously.

The mountain limestone, which belongs to the Carboniferous group, is entirely composed of the remains of coralline and testaceous animals, often many miles in length and breadth; while the coal-strata themselves consist wholly of compressed plants, of which upwards of three hundred species have been ascertained, though infinitely more existed; they were mostly of comparatively simple form and structure; two-thirds

<sup>5</sup> *Humboldt*, *Kosmos*, i. 293.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, i. 370.

<sup>7</sup> See *Powell*, *Connexion of Natural and Divine Truth*, p. 309; *Lyell*, *Principles of Geol.*, i. 231—244; *Whewell*, *Bridgsw. Treat.*, v. 158; *Hitchcock*, *Geol. of Massachusetts*, p. 251; *Humboldt*, *Kosm.*, i. 284—292.

<sup>8</sup> Compare *Murchison*, in *D. King's Principles of Geology*, pp. 66—71.

<sup>9</sup> Among others, gigantic serpulæ, coralloids, crinoidea, bivalve and univalve shells, chambered shells, and the skeletons and detached bones of fishes. See *Phillips*, *Cycl. Treat.*, i. 129.

belong to the cellular or cryptogamic kind, without flower or fruit, whilst the type of this era was the *fern* or breckan, which thrives best in warm, shaded, and moist situations; and a vegetation existed "abundant and luxurious beyond what the most favoured spots on earth can now show." The higher classes of plants increased as the globe grew older.

The Old Red Sandstone includes the fossils of zoophytes, conchifera, some tribes of fish, some traces of land plants; perhaps also the first perfect birds, some of small, others of gigantic size; and the foot-prints of those batrachians which have attracted the most zealous attention, and to which we shall later have occasion to allude in a very curious connection. But both in the New Red Sandstone, and still more in the subsequent Oolitic strata, occur in great abundance the huge lizard-like animals, of extraordinary size, power, and armature: the voracious *ichthyosaurus*, of the length of a young whale, fitted both to live in the water and to breathe the atmosphere; of the general form of a fish, to which, however, were added the teeth and breast-bone of a lizard, the paddles of the whale tribes, the beak of a porpoise, and the teeth of a crocodile; the *plesiosaurus*, of similar bulk and equal rapacity, with a turtle-like body and paddles, a serpent-neck, terminating in a formidable lizard-head, and most extensively preying upon the finny tribes; further, the *megalosaurus*, an enormous lizard, forty-five feet long, a carnivorous land creature; the *pterodactylus*, or *flying saurian*, a lizard with bat-like wings; *crocodiles*, some of which were herbivorous, as, for instance, the iguanodon, reaching the amazing length of a hundred feet, or twenty times the size of the iguana of the Ganges, its present representative. Strongly, indeed, do these monstrous and terrible forms remind us of those strange creatures of fancy popular in ancient times and in the middle ages, the winged dragons and griffins, the gorgons, hydras, and chimeras: their huge jaws threatened with fearful teeth; their necks were almost equal in length to half that of the entire body of the boa-constrictor; they had enormous, mail-like, impenetrable bodies and terrific claws; — and all darted upon their prey with irresistible vehemence.—The Oolitic beds contain, further, the remains of about twelve hundred other astonishing species and forms, the first specimens of insects, and about fifty plants.

But only in deposits above the chalk formations do we meet with mammifera. About four thousand forms, all different from the present species, are found in the Tertiary strata; some of them are most remarkable for their size and form, as the *paleotherium*, the ponderous *dinotherium*, with the bent tusks in its lower jaw, and many other thick-skinned animals (*pachydermata*), like the hippopotamus and rhinoceros. Some of the species of elephants were of enormous magnitude; the mastodon, with his tusks projecting from both upper and under jaw, reached the height of twelve feet; the mammoth, the megatherium, with claw-armed toes more than two feet in length, and the megalonyx were of gigantic proportions and iron-like organization; we find, further, the bear, the horse, and the dog; seals, dolphins, and whales; massive oxen, camels, and other ruminants; the majestic Irish elk, with its broad plank-like horns; and even several felinæ or carnivora, and traces of monkeys (*quadrumana*): till at last the older creatures became extinct, and were succeeded by the existing occupants of the land and the water.<sup>1</sup>

Now we ask, if the earth was created within six days, how and for what conceivable purpose were these numberless, and often huge and appalling, forms of beings, *exhibiting every stage of growth*, embedded in the different strata of the earth? We believe

<sup>1</sup> See *Agassiz*, *Recherches sur les Poissons Fossiles*, i. 38; ii. 3, 28, 34; iii. 1—52; *Humboldt*, *Kosmos*, i. 27; *Buckland*, *Geology*, i. 188—202, 273, etc.; *Phillips*, *Geology*, 166—185; *Cuvier*, *Recherches*

*sur les Ossements Fossiles*, i. p. lii.—lvii. 117; iii. p. 302—328; *Brongniart*, *Prodrome d'une Histoire des Végétaux Fossiles*, p. 179.

there is scarcely any man preposterous or blasphemous enough to impute to the Deity such planless and reckless destruction in the midst of His majestic acts of creation. Many species, and even many distinct genera, have thus entirely disappeared; they are no longer represented on the earth. Generally, even the organic beings of one formation exist no more in the next higher group of rocks. Do not these circumstances compel us to suppose an indefinite antiquity of the earth's crust? Many have certainly ascribed all those destructions to the influence of the Noachian deluge; they advance, that first submarine volcanoes, by ejecting their molten masses through different successive explosions, formed the massive layers below; and that then the land-floods, sweeping away the islands and continents with their organic creations, produced the second or higher formations. But, besides failing entirely to account for the production of the Tertiary strata, this theory introduces the agency of *fire* also in the deluge, of which we read nothing in the Biblical record; it assumes a series of volcanic eruptions of such rapid succession as could only be caused by a miraculous intervention of which nothing is mentioned; and it starts from the objectionable supposition, that strata, demonstrably separated from each other by immense periods, were formed within the space of a few months. For the facts, that very different fossils are found in the same formations, and that the same petrified species occur in different layers, cannot overthrow the general theory of slow successive stratification; the vast climatic changes which our planet has undergone, and the great variety in the internal structure of the various organic beings, are sufficient, together with other obvious circumstances, to account for these facts. We shall, in its due place, continue this subject in its further consequences. Indeed, the contemplation of the strata themselves, and of the organic remains which they enclose, lead exactly to the same result. Let us consider a few facts.

Of the vast number of animals found in the earth, some idea may be formed, if we observe, that, according to Ehrenberg, one cubic-inch of the polishing slate of Bilin, in Bohemia, contains 41,000 millions of individuals of the species *Galionella distans*, and one billion 750,000 millions of the species *Galionella ferruginea*.<sup>2</sup> Some of the huge Egyptian pyramids are entirely built of Nummulitic limestone, which consists of chambered shells of very diminutive size, although of wonderful structure. The polishing-stone—for instance, that of Tripoli—is composed of exquisite shells, of so minute dimensions, that a cube of one-tenth of an inch contains about 500 millions of individuals. These animalcules, subject to the general geographical distribution over the globe, colouring the water, and emitting phosphorescence in the sea, never sleeping, and forming immeasurable masses of earthy and rocky matter, exceed in their collective volume, perhaps, that of all the other animated beings, and a single individual produces in a few hours millions of beings like itself.

Equally prodigious is the luxurious abundance of the Pre-Adamite vegetation; trees of immense thickness, and of extraordinary age, are found in the earth; and we adduce the following analogies:—The English oak attains to the age of 1,000 to 1,500 years, the yew to between 2,000 to 3,000 years; the *Wellingtoniana gigantea* is nearly as high as the great pyramid of Egypt—viz., 450 feet—it was said to be 3,000 years old, but has at least an age of 1,120 years; the Boabab (*Adansonia digitata*), growing in Senegal and other parts of Africa, a tree of enormous magnitude, with a trunk of thirty feet in diameter, offers specimens more than 5,000 years old; and the Taxodium (*Cypressus disticha*), an American tree, is stated to possess a longevity of nearly 6,000 years, and one now growing near Oaxaca, in Mexico, is believed to go back to the origin of the present state of the earth. But, further, the interior of the earth contains

<sup>2</sup> Ehrenberg, Abhandlung. der Berlin. Acad., 1838, p. 59; Infusionsth., p. 170; Buckland, Bridgewater Treat., 610—613;

Chalmers, Discours. on Christ. Revel., p. 112—116; Biblioth. Univers. de Genève, New Ser., xxxi. p. 197

palms and conifers, which are strangely mixed together, just as at present European forms grow together with tropical ones in the same forest, as, for instance, at Chilpanzingo, on the western declivity of the Mexican table-land, or in the Isle of Pines, south of Cuba; which remarkable fact, Columbus already pointed out in one of his letters. But besides these majestic products of vegetation, there are those immense numbers of little gramina and low cryptogamia, which form the material of the enormous coal-beds;<sup>1</sup> for it is calculated that all the forests of America together would not be sufficient to form one single coal-seam equal to that of Pittsburg. But some trees embedded in the coal strata are indeed of gigantic size; the fossil araucarian in the Granton quarry, though wanting both root and top, measures sixty-one feet in length, by six feet in diameter; and another, seventy feet in length, by four feet in diameter; whilst the stem of a *Lepidodendron*, near Edinburgh, is considerably thicker than the body of a man, and was probably above seventy feet in height. Hitherto, about 3,000 genera of fossil plants have been discovered in the beds of the earth; and this number is considered insignificant compared with the probable real amount of vegetable life in the preceding conditions of our earth.<sup>2</sup> Although some plants are less capable of resisting the action of water than others, and some are even totally decomposed if for some time immersed in that element, especially the simplest forms of flowerless (cryptogamic) vegetation; the proportion of the different families found in a fossil state leads, on the whole, to a safe conclusion with regard to the primitive flora of the earth; the plants which have been preserved are in themselves amply sufficient to serve as a basis for such conclusions. Now those vegetable remains — it is remarkable to observe — have more or less a *tropical* character, which is a sure proof of the higher temperature of our planet in former epochs; they show a surprising uniformity of plants over the whole earth, with but very little local difference, though they bear a different character in different periods, and consist, in each individual epoch, of but a very limited number of species — which are as many witnesses for the former more equal distribution of heat on the earth; it is most interesting to observe, *that every later period shows the prevalence of a more perfect genus of plants than the preceding one, so that the different epochs might be almost described by their predominant vegetation*; the profoundest botanists have arrived at the conclusion that the earlier flora contained the same principal classes and families, though not all the minor species, of the present flora; but that the former possessed the simpler forms of vegetation in the highest possible perfection, whilst the latter only produced the higher and more complicated genera, *so that a successive and ascending development in the vegetable kingdom, which is still in endless progress, is manifest from the remotest periods*; that the number of species has during the succeeding geological epochs steadily increased; that the internal connection between all the vegetable creations is the result of one idea working through the infinity of time after a comprehensive plan; but that if we recede through a space of “many millions of years,” to the first origin of all vegetable existence, we must confess the working of a supernatural cause, which defies human comprehension, and which has endowed the earth with the germs of the end-

<sup>1</sup> Comp. *Lindley*, Nat. Syst. Bot., 2nd ed., p. 94; *Henslow*, Princip. of Descript. and Physiol. Botany, p. 248; *Anderson*, Familles des Plantes, i. 216; *J.P. Smith*, Geol. and Script., p. 408—415; *Brongnart*, Prodrome; *Humboldt*, Kosmos, i. 292—298; *F. Unger*, Versuch einer Geschichte der Pflanzenwelt, p. 217—349. A clear view of those primeval plants and animals is now accessible to every one, since they have been described in excel-

lent works by some of the most eminent geologists, and but lately by the powerful and graphic pen of Hugh Miller, in his posthumous work, “The Testimony of the Rocks,” p. 1 *et seq*; comp. pp. 139—142, 151.

<sup>2</sup> On our present surface, more than 92,000 genera are counted; but this number is far from exhausting the almost endless variety of possible combinations.

less varieties of families, genera, and species; but we can scarcely accede to the very widely-spread theory of a "primitive plant," or "cell," or monad, producing all the later and more perfect vegetable forms by way of a partial metamorphosis; for every new formation of the crust of the earth is incontrovertibly the product of almost entirely new elements not before existing, and therefore amounting to a new creation; and the vegetation of even the last Tertiary epoch, or that below the most recent one, goes back to a period of at least 100,000 years before the present era. It appears, however, that many of the plants are "hereditary" through various geological epochs; and that certain species have traversed many thousands, perhaps hundreds of thousands of years, in spite of the local and successive revolutions on the earth's surface. For submarine forests in several parts of the globe consist of trees which still cover the neighbouring continents, though the *animals* found in the same localities in a petrified state have ceased to exist; and many species of plants are not found in regions where they might thrive perfectly well according to their structure, or to the present condition of the globe. They seem to be absent from such countries only because they did not exist there in former geological epochs.

We conclude with a few other observations, from which the reader will easily draw the obvious important conclusions. Ligneous plants existed formerly in many parts where the soil is at present not capable of producing them; the middle Tertiary rocks present a mixture of exotic forms now peculiar to warm climates, together with others equally characteristic of temperate countries; the conditions of the earth and the atmosphere must, therefore, before the creation of man, have been more favourable, especially as regards the proportions of temperature.—Sometimes islands and their neighbouring continents, at present insurmountably separated from them by the sea, contain the same species; it appears, therefore, that at a primitive epoch they joined together, and formed one continent.—Summits of mountains very distant from each other offer the same species, and the same aquatic plants are found in very different countries; the transport which, in the present condition of the earth, is perfectly impossible, must have taken place at an anterior period. For, on the other hand, frequently countries very near each other offer little resemblance, and often great difference, in their vegetable productions.—All the plants did not proceed from one limited portion of the earth, for instance, the Paradise (as Linné maintained); nor did they gradually spread from the polar regions southwards in proportion as the globe cooled down (as Buffon asserted); nor did they first appear on the mountains, and thence extend to the lower parts of the earth as the waters receded; but the different species are aboriginal in numerous different regions, although these centres of creation cannot be indicated with certainty, in consequence of the vast changes which the surface of our planet has suffered; the production of the various species was probably progressive, ascending from the less to the more perfect plants; and every species has most likely commenced with a multiplicity of individuals.<sup>3</sup>

2. It is certain, both from ocular evidence and from inductive conclusions, that most of the animals discovered as fossils in the strata of the earth have died in a natural course on the spot where they enjoyed life. Now, as many of them are creatures of long life, and many reached an age far beyond the time now allotted to the creatures of the earth, it is impossible that they should have accomplished the full circle of their existence in a few days: the many theories which have been ventured to prove the contrary are so extravagant, that they do not even deserve notice. They proceed from the vain desire to support a tenacious preconception; they are neither based upon any

<sup>3</sup> Compare *Lyell*, Second Visit to the United States, i. 31; ii. 24, 36, 250, 365; *Agassiz*, Lake Superior, p. 150; *Ansted*, Ancient World, p. 279; *Unger*, Versuch

einer Geschichte der Pflanzenwelt, p. 217—349; *Alph. de Candolle*, Géographie Botanique Raisonnée, ii. 1056—1059, 1108—1119.



allusion of the Biblical text, nor derived from natural laws or phenomena. Conjecture, fancy, and mysticism, are the parents of these abortive attempts. But we may observe, as a curiosity, that it was, and — incredible to say — is still asserted, that these fossils have never been animated structures, but were formed in the rocks through the planetary influences; that the mammoth which, at the conclusion of the last century, was found in the ice of the polar regions in such remarkable preservation that dogs and bears fed upon its flesh, had never been a living creature, but that it was created under the ice, and then preserved, instead of being transmuted into stone; that all organisms found in the depth of the earth are models created on the first day, to typify the living plants and animals to be produced in the subsequent part of the creative week; but as many forms which lie buried in the earth do not exist on the earth, it is maintained that they were rejected as inappropriate or imperfect. They represent the “gates of death,” but foreshadow also the immortality of the soul, the resurrection, and the ultimate re-union of the dust of the human bodies at the sound of the last trumpet! This is the sober mode in which ocular evidences are argued away, and Scripture is interpreted! But unfortunately, plain facts overthrow these fancies of a *seeming* life; in the stomach of the fossil animals, the very substances are visible which formed their food; and the dung of the carnivorous vertebrates contains, in many instances, the teeth, bones, and scales of the creatures on which they had preyed.

3. In some beds we find traces of ancient forests, and enormous fossil trees, with concentric rings of structure, marking the *years of growth*; in the *same* layer there are trees of *very different* ages: can these results be produced in a few days? Are we allowed to suppose such arbitrary confusion and perversion of the ordinary laws by Him who assigned to nature and to all her productions their unchangeable laws?<sup>1</sup>

4. The forms of organic life are, especially in the three principal systems, markedly distinct, both with regard to their structure and to the position in which they are found. So, for instance, are the animals of the chalk-beds perfectly unmixed with those of the overlying Tertiary strata; if the formation of both coincided in time, it would be impossible to conceive this entire separation of these organic creatures. Thus also, it is unquestionable, that an exceedingly protracted time elapsed between the period of the highest Silurian beds and that of the mountain limestone (which forms the lowest part of the Carboniferous group); for we observe a total change in the inhabitants of the sea at the two respective epochs. It is a truth, which can no longer be disputed, that our planet presents a gradual approach to the present order of things, through many and vastly protracted stages, all of them preparatory to the appearance of man. The same laws and conditions, now apparent and working in nature, have existed throughout all geological ages, though generally in a more or less modified degree. Thus there was, indeed, at all epochs, a parallel advance in the physical aspect of the globe and its organic forms, ascending, on the whole, from the lowest to the higher structures; but many species, both of the animal and vegetable kingdom, became extinct in the subsequent periods, and a constant substitution took place for those organisms which had become unfit for the altered state of the planet.

But all these changes, however extraordinary and astounding, are only as many manifest proofs of the creating activity of an Omnipotent Power, which, through unnumbered millenniums, after an all-wise though recondite plan, prepares new continents in the hidden depths of the fathomless sea, or in the volcanic abysses of the burning earth; lifting them up from the secret womb by a tremendous, but salutary,

<sup>1</sup> A Brief and Complete Refutation of the Anti-Scriptural Theory of Geologists. By a Clergyman of the Church of England, 1853.

<sup>2</sup> See *Sedgwick's Letter* in J. P. Smith's *Scripture and Geology*, p. 382; *Vestiges of Creation*, p. 89; *Unger, Gesch. der Pflanzenwelt*, p. 271—274.

revolution, and peopling them with other organic beings—harmonising their structure with the modified condition of the planet.

These facts may suffice to prove the utter impossibility of a creation of even the earth alone in six days. The difficulties are infinitely increased, if we proceed to the contemplation of the whole universe, and examine—

### III.—THE FORMATION OF THE SOLAR SYSTEM.

THE Biblical text teaches that God created, by His all-powerful command, on the first day the light; and on the fourth, the sun, the moon, and all the heavenly hosts (vers. 3—5, 14—19). Without, in this place, entering into the question, how there could be light before the existence of the sun, we shall succinctly state the theory by which modern astronomy attempts to explain the formation of the solar system, and which, from one of its most characteristic features, is generally called the *nebular hypothesis*. It was first proposed, although with a certain diffidence, by the great French naturalist, Laplace, but has subsequently been developed and repeated, with greater assurance and clearness, by other eminent astronomers.

Originally, the universe was a chaos, or a confused mixture of matter. It was filled with a vaporous mass of a degree of density so infinitely low, that its existence could scarcely be perceived; from this reason the atoms did not act upon each other, and the chaotic mixture remained in motionless repose. In the course of time some physical cause produced a greater attraction of the masses, and destroyed that inert indifference, so that atoms began to work upon atoms. Thus concentrated substances were formed in numberless parts of the primitive vapour. And as concentration of matter always disengages heat, those substances were reduced to a state of fiery incandescence. One of these igneous conglomerations constitutes the primordial matter of our planetary system. By continued condensation, this substance gradually formed itself to a consistent mass, and found its centre. By attraction of other distant cumulations, or by some different cause, it was brought into a rotary motion, which increased in rapidity the more the volume of that substance was diminished by contraction. But not all parts of the original matter were capable of suffering such immense condensation, and therefore disengaged themselves entirely, in their uncondensed condition, as soon as they were set free by the separation of the planetary matter; and as that detachment took place not only in the equatorial regions, but in different other parts of the primitive mass, *comets* were formed, with orbits the most various and the most eccentric. The accelerated velocity of motion caused not only a spherical shape of the material, but effected the detachment of its extreme parts whenever their centrifugal force had become stronger than the central attraction.

A ring, encompassing the whole equator of the gaseous spheroid, was disjoined, because here the rotary motion rose to the greatest celerity. This ring continued its rotation by itself; but as soon as any point in its circumference obtained a preponderance, the ring broke, and contracted itself into a circular body, or *planet*, with a two-fold motion round its axis, and round the principal gaseous ball, which remained in the centre as the *sun*. This phenomenon repeated itself an indefinite number of times, and thus the various planets were formed, of which the remotest were the earliest. By the same process which caused the formation of the planets from the original igneous matter, the *moons*, or *satellites*, disengaged themselves from the planets. The ring, thus separated from the *earth*, contracted itself into one ball, which is our moon; that of Jupiter, Uranus, and Neptune broke into different parts, and hence their greater number of moons, of which, at present, four, six, and two, respectively, have been observed; whilst the ring of Saturn, though having formed from its mass eight

satellites, has hitherto remained unbroken, and revolves in its entirety round that planet.<sup>1</sup>

This is, in broad outlines, the hypothesis of Laplace concerning the formation of the solar systems. But it may here be the place to pursue, with a few rapid traits, the history of our planet a little farther. When it was in that gaseous state in which it detached itself from the solar ball, all the solid substances, which at present compose it, were spread, vapour-like, in a far larger volume than it now occupies, extending considerably beyond the orbit of the moon. But the temperature of the fiery mass gradually decreased by the radiation of heat. The heaviest bodies, the metals, were the first to assume a solid form; later, other substances condensed themselves, though more slowly, under the influence of chemical affinities; and new combinations were produced. Thus a nucleus of our globe was formed, partly by the centripetal tendency of the heavier bodies, and partly by the pressure of the outer masses upon the central layers. The temperature sank more and more; oxygen, hydrogen, sulphur, and almost all non-metallic bodies, generally operated upon each other, and formed the water and numerous other combinations. Oxygen, especially, was produced in abundant quantity, and it still constitutes one-fifth part of our atmosphere, eight-ninths of the weight of water, and one-third of the whole solid crust of the earth, as far as its elements are known; it amalgamated itself with metallic substances, and thus, by combination, fusion, and separation, the first rocky cover of the earth was formed; gneiss, mica-schist, and those granites which constitute the primary mountains and the foundations of all future stratifications. It must not be forgotten, that during all these processes, the matter of the earth, being a part of that of the sun, remained in uninterrupted rotation; and that thus its fluid state could effect its depression at the poles, so that the equatorial exceeds the polar diameter by  $5\frac{1}{3}$  geographical miles.<sup>2</sup> The chemical combinations continued as long as the mantle of the earth was liquid, or at least soft. The development of the central heat was naturally diminished in a very considerable degree; more heat was radiated on the surface than reached it from the interior, and the surface began to cool down and to harden. But this process was not uniform on all its parts; first, an irregular girdle was formed under the equator, and extended, but gradually, towards the poles; its corresponding condensation or contraction was the consequence. The immense vaporous sphere, which had hitherto surrounded the globe, assumed a liquid form; the fervent water fell in vast quantities, hissing on the refrigerating surface, covered it to a considerable height, like a universal primitive sea, but soon entered with it into chemical operation. The cover of gneiss and granite was in many tracts rather thin; a part of it was decayed by the action of the atmosphere; depressions were formed; and the waters, vehemently seeking their equilibrium, pressed into those cavities. The impetuosity of the waves destroyed many portions of the earth's surface; huge masses of the dissolved material were washed together, and thus the oldest strata were formed. The eruptions from the interior of the earth continued; by contraction of some parts of its crust, fissures and cavities were produced; the water penetrated through them into the fiery centre, and new eruptions, with thunderlike shocks and fearful convulsions, roared from the opened abyss; granites, porphyries, and chalk were thrust up; they partly raised the old obstructing cover of gneiss and granite, and partly rent it; they were protruded, and often occupied higher positions; and, therefore, the formations of both periods are frequently found mixed and combined. But the earth was not yet capable of producing organic life, and no remains, either of plants or of animals, are discovered in those rocks. The

<sup>1</sup> We remind the students of the physical science of the "drops of Plateau," representing the "creation of the world in a wine glass."

<sup>2</sup> The proportion is as 230 to 229, the equatorial diameter being  $171\frac{1}{3}$  geographical miles.

water continued to operate; it again destroyed and united; and thus, after an incalculable lapse of time, the older stratifications were produced; a regular order of successive groups and formations, marking the various epochs, can be distinguished; and the crust of the earth advanced considerably in thickness. The forces in the interior of the globe did not rest; the contraction increased; and islands, coasts, and continents rose from the waters. The sun penetrated through the thick, vaporiform atmosphere; his rays reached the earth; plants and animals appeared, but in forms totally different from those of the present era, and, for the greatest part, now extinct. But successive catastrophes destroyed these creations; millenniums elapsed before new forms were produced, which, in their turn, shared the same destiny, to make room for new and higher orders. Whilst the hardened crust was thin, a tropical climate prevailed almost in all parts of the earth; warm vapours and thermal springs broke through the rocky surface; and vegetation of colossal size and extent developed itself; the subterranean forests exhibit astounding proportions. But the earth cooled down more and more; the vegetation decreased in size and abundance, but grew in variety. The refrigeration of the planet kept pace with its internal revolutions; considerable elevations took place, whilst other parts were covered with a wild fathomless ocean; all loose and unconsolidated particles were washed along by the waves, which absorbed all soluble substances, and they became the component parts of another series of stratifications. Such alternate neptunic catastrophes and plutonic eruptions were frequently repeated. At last, after the lapse of endless periods, those revolutions became more rare; the physical conditions of the earth were more regulated; the sun shone in his full splendour; higher organised plants and animals appeared; till at last the planet was in every way prepared to receive man — its lord, and the crowning-stone of creation.<sup>3</sup>

Let us now briefly return to the theory of Laplace as a whole. It owes its chief support to the admirable telescopic observations of Sir William Herschel, which have disclosed to us worlds of amazing wonders. This illustrious astronomer traced the progress of condensation in the assemblage of nebulae, "much in the same manner as in a large forest we may trace the growth of trees among the examples of different ages which stand side by side," or as we see the different stages in the lives of individuals; he has examined the distant nebulous matter, in some instances feebly condensed round one or more faint nuclei; in others, exhibiting brighter separated nuclei, and forming multiple nebulous stars, each surrounded by its own atmosphere; and in others still uniformly condensed, and producing nebulous (planetary) systems, finally to be transformed into stars by a still greater degree of condensation.<sup>4</sup> Thus it is plausible, on the one hand, that the stars which now exist are the result of extreme condensation from an originally nebulous substance; and, on the other hand, that real stars are continually in the progress of formation. We may add, with a particular degree of emphasis, that indeed Sir William Herschel, induced by the results of his comparison of the nebulae of Orion, in 1780, 1783, and 1811, confidently proclaimed "that he had proved the existence of changes";<sup>5</sup> and "had surprised nature in the midst of her secret operations."<sup>6</sup>

Nor do the conclusions and inferences, which this theory justifies, recommend it less

<sup>3</sup> Compare *Leonhard*, in *Schneider's Geologischen Studien*, p. 126—147; *Humboldt*, *Kosm.*, i. 9, 26, 258, 261, 315; ii. 388—393; *Schoedler*, *Buch der Natur*, p. 386 *et seq.*; *Maedler*, *Astronom. Briefe*, p. 335 *et seq.*—The history of the other planets was certainly analogous to that just delineated; but it is here not the place to enter into the question, however tempting and interesting, which has lately been

discussed with renewed animation, whether they are also peopled with organic life. In our opinion, the weight of the arguments is in favour of those who affirm it.

<sup>4</sup> Compare, also, *Arago*, *Astr.*, i. 333; *Humboldt*, *Kosm.*, i. p. 86.

<sup>5</sup> *Phil. Trans.*, 1811, p. 324.

<sup>6</sup> *Arago*, *Astr.*, i. 337.

convincingly to our attention. It accounts for a variety of extraordinary facts, which it would be difficult to explain, namely, why the sun occupies the centre of the system, as the source of light and heat; and why almost all the planets move in the same direction, from west to east, and nearly in the same plane; why they stand in such clear mutual relation and harmonious agreement, that their relative distances, with a curious regularity, proceed nearly in a succession of duplications; why Saturn, that most remarkable of all planets—that “imperishable hieroglyphic”—has both moons and rings; why the satellites follow their planets in the same line<sup>1</sup>; and why the orbits of the planets show such small eccentricity; further, why an almost complete uniformity of climate reigned in the earlier epochs all over the globe, so that both the animal and vegetable life of the arctic regions bore obviously a more tropical character, as, for instance, the skeleton of an ichthyosaurus has been found in latitude 77°, and the trunk of a tree, standing in an erect position, in latitude 75°; and why<sup>2</sup> the planets most distant from the sun have the least degree of density, which increases the nearer the planets lie to that centre, since the nearer planets, which are of later formation, are parts of a mass more condensed by longer rotation and attraction.

We shall, however, not omit to state, that great astronomical observers incline to the opinion, that all apparent nebulae might, by increased telescopic power, be resolved into clusters of stars; and that there exists really no essential physical distinction between nebulae and clusters of stars; that the universe, after the period of its formation, has long arrived at the state of equilibrium, stability, and the regular operation of all-preserving order.<sup>3</sup> It is true that many nebulae, which seemed irresolvable, have been resolved into stars. In the nebula of Andromeda 1500 stars have been distinguished on the borders, although the nucleus itself has not been dissolved. By the great telescope of Rosse many nebulae have been examined and resolved, though the celebrated nebula in the sword has resisted its power.<sup>4</sup> But it ought not to be forgotten, that, generally, the same optical instrument which resolves *old* nebulae into stars reveals *new* ones, defying its analysing force; and that, therefore, Humboldt, for instance, is of opinion that “the number of nebulae cannot be exhausted by that diminution;”<sup>5</sup> and Arago quotes the words of Sir William Herschel: “There are nebulosities which are not of a starry nature,” and speaks of “the celestial matter nearer the elementary state.”<sup>6</sup> The matter of the comets is so thin, that even through their nucleus fixed stars are discernible, and their light is thereby not refracted. The comets are, then, the cosmic primitive matter. The different planets and comets exhibit almost all the various phases of condensation, through which the earth has probably passed, in order to arrive from its original condition of liquidity to its present solid state. The immortal astronomer of Slough, who pursued his grand researches with a vigour and devotion commensurate with their sublimity, published, indeed, in 1811, a catalogue of fifty-two diffuse nebulae, which he believed not to be resolvable. Other astronomers cling to the same opinion with unshaken confidence.

Nor shall we deny, that even this hypothesis leaves difficulties which it is impossible satisfactorily to explain, namely, why the four planets nearer to the sun (Mercury,

<sup>1</sup> With the only exception of the moons of Uranus, which move from east to west.

<sup>2</sup> Again with the exception of Uranus.

<sup>3</sup> *Sir John Herschel*, *Outlines of Astronomy*, p. 597, 598; *Schubert*, *Weltgeb.*, p. 105; *Schumacher*, *Astron. Nachr.*, No. 536; *Nichol*, *Thoughts on some important points relating to the System of the*

*World*, p. 55; *Maedler*, *Astron.*, 455; *Sedgwick*, *Discourse on the Studies of the Univ. of Cambr.*, p. 118, 177.

<sup>4</sup> *Comp. Humboldt*, *Kosm.* iii., 316, 321; *Maedler*, *Nachtrage*, p. 24, 25.

<sup>5</sup> *Kosmos* iii. 322; *comp.* i. 86.

<sup>6</sup> *Astr.* i. p. 322; see, in general, p. 318—350.

Venus, Earth, and Mars) follow evidently different laws from the four planets more removed from that centre (Jupiter, Saturn, Uranus, and Neptune); for in the former group the magnitude of the planets increases with their distance from the sun;<sup>7</sup> whilst in the latter group, on the contrary, the size diminishes with the distance, for Jupiter is the greatest of the four, as he, indeed, surpasses all planets in magnitude;<sup>8</sup> further, the former four are deficient in moons or satellites (the Earth alone possesses a moon, the other three have no satellite), whilst the latter four are furnished with a greater number of moons and rings;<sup>9</sup> and lastly, the former are of five times greater density, and of two or three times slower axial revolution, than the latter. It is therefore scarcely possible to avoid the conclusion, that we have here two quite different families of planets, essentially distinct in their organisation and composition. This conclusion seems to gain additional consistency from the fact, that between these two groups is found another class of planets, the Asteroids, or Planetoids,<sup>10</sup> fundamentally distinct from either. They are remarkable both by their extraordinary smallness,<sup>11</sup> and their eccentric and marvellously complicated orbits. There are other facts besides, which are, at least, not necessarily accounted for by the nebular hypothesis, namely, why all the moons, however different in themselves and in their distances from the sun, yet appear all of exactly the same size, if viewed from that centre.<sup>12</sup>

But all these questions do not affect the nebular theory as a whole; it is recognised by the greatest natural philosophers as affording an acceptable basis for further investigations, which, it is hoped, will gradually remove the difficulties to which we have alluded, and will prove the correctness of that hypothesis in its details and its inferences. Buffon proposed the theory, that a comet fell obliquely into the sun; that the torrent of fluid matter which it impelled before it, formed, by concentration, our planets; and that there were, therefore, in the beginning, burning substances in a complete state of fluidity, which cooled down during 75,000 years to their present state; and will, after the lapse of other 93,000 years, have fallen to the freezing-point, when all life will perish from the earth. But even this theory, although by far more questionable, on account of the doubtful agency of the comet, is, on the whole, in harmony with that of Laplace, as it likewise assumes a physical cause for the immediate formation of the planets.<sup>13</sup> Now, if we compare the details of this hypothesis with the Biblical narrative, and consider that the process of condensation of nebulous matter is infinitely slow; that millenniums are required to compress the extremely diffused mass round one nucleus; that between this process and the formation of planets again lies an interval of endless ages; that the earth itself had to pass through many stages of vast duration till it reached its present condition; that the time required for the cooling down of our planet from its original fiery condition to its present tem-

<sup>7</sup> With the exception, however, of Mars, which is only greater than Mercury, but smaller than Venus and the Earth.

<sup>8</sup> Being 1414 times the volume of the earth, and having a surface of about 1200 millions geographical square miles.

<sup>9</sup> Of Jupiter have hitherto been observed four moons; of Saturn, besides his ring, eight moons; of Uranus, six, and perhaps eight, according to Lassell; of Neptune, two: twenty in all.

<sup>10</sup> Flora, Victoria, Vesta, Iris, etc. They amount at present (April, 1857) to forty-three in number (the forty-third was discovered by Mr. Pogson, of Oxford; it is of  $9\frac{1}{2}$  magnitude, and is about

two degrees north, preceding the planet Iris); thirty-nine of them were discovered within the last ten years, and thirty-three since 1850; Hygiea is the Asteroid nearest to Jupiter (*Humboldt*, *Kosmos*, iii. 436; *Arago*, *Astron.* i. 483, 484).

<sup>11</sup> The greatest of them is not more than 145 geogr. miles in diameter, that is  $\frac{1}{10}$  of the earth.

<sup>12</sup> i.e., seventeen minutes in diameter. Compare *Maedler*, *Astronom.*, 4th ed., p. 134, 204 *et seq.*; *Humboldt*, *Kosmos* iii. 420—556; *Gruson*, *Blicke in das Universum*, 1854, etc.

<sup>13</sup> See *Arago*, *Astr.*, i. 646—649.

perature, or from 2,000° to 200° C., amounts, according to some chemists, to 353 millions of years; or that, certainly, since the time when a tropical clime reigned in our countries, a period of one million of years has elapsed:<sup>1</sup> if we bear in mind that the microscopic observations show the same progress of conglomeration constantly and uninterruptedly continued in the infinitude of space; and if, in order to adduce at once the highest scientific authority, according to Humboldt, "creating in its strict sense, as an act of a self-conscious will, and formation, as the beginning of existence after non-existence, are both beyond our conceptions and our experience":<sup>2</sup> if we reflect on all these circumstances, there seems indeed to be no alternative left, but honestly to acknowledge the immense difference existing between the Biblical conceptions and the established results of the natural sciences. But we need not apprehend thereby to lose or endanger what is eternal in the Scriptures. It is only necessary to pursue their exposition with the same vigour and energy, with the same unwearied attention and eager research, which characterise the natural philosophers of our time. The Bible has no more dangerous enemies than those who, either from indolence and apathy, or from fanaticism and bigoted zeal, are deaf to the teachings and warnings of the other sciences; and those men, however well-meaning or warm-hearted, must be made mainly answerable if the authority of the Scriptures should be disregarded by the most enlightened and most comprehensive minds. We shall, in the concluding part of this treatise, have occasion to dwell more fully on this momentous subject.

As nothing can be of more immediate interest to us than the history of our own planet, we may add a few remarks which will yield additional confirmation to our arguments. It is known that, since the middle of the last century, the naturalists have been divided in two hostile camps with regard to the origin of our continents. The two antagonistic views are generally known under the names of *Neptunism* and *Plutonism*; the former had its first champion in the profound A. G. Werner, the latter in the sagacious James Hutton; the one assigns the chief agency in the formation of the earth to the water, the latter to the fire, by means of volcanic operation. It would be as unnecessary as it would be foreign to our purpose, to characterise both schools more minutely, or to pursue in detail that combat which has, on both sides, been carried on with incredible determination and vast learning and penetration. But two points are, for our disquisition also, of infinite importance; namely, first, that the deductions of both theories prove equally an inexpressible age of the earth, however widely they may differ in many other most important results; and, secondly, the preponderance of the arguments appears at present to be on the side of the *Plutonists*. Men like Leopold Buch and Alexander Humboldt have, after long fluctuations and careful researches, embraced their theory; the celebrated French geologist, D'Aubuisson, also, in the latter part of his life, became a most decided Plutonist, after having long been one of the most zealous advocates of the opposite principles; and, among many other followers of that school, we mention besides, De Luc, Hamilton, Hoff, and Leonhard. The question regarding the formation of the basalt was one of the cardinal points which assisted in the solution of the main problem. That rock is at present almost universally acknowledged to be a formation of the fire.

*The primary condition of the earth was a fiery one. Even the regular crystal-*

<sup>1</sup> Comp. *Bischof*, Waermelehre, p. 479; *Gehler*, Physik. Woerterb., ix. i. 618; *Burmeister*, Schoepfung, p. 134.

<sup>2</sup> "Von einem eigentlichen Schaffen als einer Thathandlung, vom Entstehen als *Anfäng des Seins nach dem Nichtsein*,

haben wir weder Begriff noch Erfahrung," *Kosmos*, i. 87; "Das Geschaffene, wie man gewöhnlich das Seiende und Werdende zu nennen pflegt," ii. 367; comp. iii. 430, 431.

lisation of the rocks — as, for instance, that of the granite — was produced on a dry way by means of heat. The temperature of the earth increases in regular progression as we advance from the surface towards the centre, about  $1^{\circ}$  Celsius every 100 Parisian feet; so that at a moderate depth nearly all bodies would melt. In the Erz-Gebirge of Saxony, at a depth of 1,000 feet, a constant heat prevails, equal to the mean temperature of Naples and even of Cairo; at a depth of 9,000 feet water would boil, and at that of five geographical miles granite would melt, and yet the radius of the earth is  $859\frac{1}{2}$  geographical miles.

But the co-operation of the water can, nevertheless, not be denied; its action is indisputable in the petrifications, in the parallel layers, and the erratic blocks; the influence of that element still changes considerably the beds of the rivers and the coasts of the seas; modifies the course of waterfalls, and breaks through rocks and clefts; converts isthmi into isles, or diminishes and destroys islands; many limestone layers, and even many crystalline and hard rocks, are deposits of the water. But, besides fire and water, a third agent, *chemical powers*, contributed to produce the grand revolutions through which our planet has passed; they worked by dissolution and trituration, separation and combination, and the formation of chasms and crevices.<sup>2</sup>

But lest there remain the least indistinctness or doubt, we shall here insert a concise outline of the Biblical views on the earth and the celestial bodies; after which we shall give a rapid sketch of the universe, such as it is taught by modern astronomy. Thus the reader will be enabled to make, in a safe and easy manner, the most instructive comparison between both systems. It is our utmost desire to do the fullest justice to both: and, as regards the Scriptural conceptions, we are so deeply impressed with their grandeur, their purity, and their sublime beauty, that they cannot lose their own peculiar value even by contrast with the grandest of all sciences.

#### IV.—THE BIBLICAL VIEWS ON THE EARTH AND THE UNIVERSE.

THE fullest picture of the Hebrew notions concerning the nature, construction, and shape of heaven and earth, is found in the first chapters of Genesis. But even this picture is drawn in very faint outlines; we are compelled to complete it by the scanty notices scattered through the various other books of the Bible; an accidental and often obscure allusion must be accepted instead of more direct and more exact information; and the science of Hebrew cosmogony is thus left to the multiform conjectures of imaginative minds. The Hebrews were, indeed, deeply susceptible of the beauties of nature; but they seized it as a whole, without analyzing it in its parts; it was to them the grand work of the One God, and it reflected His majesty; it filled their minds with a reverential feeling, but tempted not their intellects to a scientific research; nature has neither power nor life of its own, but owes all to the Mind that created it; it is the herald of His omnipotence and wisdom, the visible garment of His grandeur, the perpetual proclaimer of His glory; but all its wonders have their end and aim only in man; for him they have been created, both to rouse him by their sublimity to an enraptured contemplation, and, by contrast with his own weakness and transitoriness, to call forth within him the salutary feeling of humility: thus, the poetical descriptions of nature have their distinct tendency and their clear boundaries; though soaring, they are free from wild ejaculation; though abounding in luxuriant imagination, they are controlled by lucid thought; though fervid and impassioned in feel-

<sup>2</sup> Compare *L. von Buch*, Jahrbuch der Akadem. der Wissenschaften in Berlin, 1812 and 1813; *D'Aubuisson*, Traité de

Géognosie; *Burmeister*, Gesch. der Schoepfung, 6, 7, 31—50, 106—112; *Schubert*, Geschichte der Natur, i. 205.



ing, they are under the dominion of a dignified, moderate, and measured diction: image, thought, and language, stand in most perfect harmony. But however excellent such productions are for deducing the religious and general literary character of a nation, they contribute little to ascertain its notions of the cosmos. It is, therefore, extremely difficult to arrive at a distinct view of this part of Biblical antiquities. Strict practical science was neither in the mental disposition of the ancient Hebrews nor was it in the tendency and end of their sacred books; both their national character and their literature were developed in a very different direction. We shall, however, in the following brief remarks, try to concentrate those fragmentary notices.

### 1. THE HEAVEN.

The heaven<sup>1</sup> is regarded as a canopy or a curtain,<sup>2</sup> spread over the earth in such infinite distance, that men appear from there "like grasshoppers"; it is a tent for the habitation of God.<sup>3</sup> It is immeasurable.<sup>4</sup> It is strong and massive, like "a molten mirror";<sup>5</sup> but not brazen, like the Homeric heaven;<sup>6</sup> it resembles the mirror chiefly with regard to its bright splendour;<sup>7</sup> for it is like pellucid sapphire,<sup>8</sup> or like crystal.<sup>9</sup> This vault has a gate, through which the angels descend to the earth,<sup>10</sup> or through which the prophets beheld their heavenly visions.<sup>11</sup> It has, further, windows<sup>12</sup> or doors,<sup>13</sup> through which the rain and dew, snow and hail, treasured up in the clouds above,<sup>14</sup> and held together in those spheres by the will of God, pour down upon the earth at His command; by which the tempests also, there confined in apartments,<sup>15</sup> are let loose; and through which the lightning flashes, either as a symbol of Divine omnipotence, or as a messenger of Divine wrath.<sup>16</sup> In the heaven or firmament, the sun, the moon, and the stars are fixed, to send their light to the earth and its inhabitants, and to regulate the seasons;<sup>17</sup> hence the heaven is described as exercising power or government over the earth,<sup>18</sup> since the phenomena of the air also are controlled by its influence.<sup>19</sup> Beyond this illumined canopy reigns darkness, which the Divine wisdom has, with a nice distinction, separated from the regions of light.<sup>20</sup> But above it is a sphere of liquid stores;<sup>21</sup> here dwells God,<sup>22</sup> for here He has framed His chambers; here is His sanctuary, His palace, the place of His glory;<sup>23</sup> from hence He traverses the world on the wings of the wind and in the chariot of the clouds;<sup>24</sup> for the heaven is His throne, and the earth is His footstool.<sup>25</sup> That whole vault is supported by mighty pillars or foundations,<sup>26</sup> resting on the earth; and thus heaven and earth are marked as one majestic edifice, forming the universe. — We need scarcely to observe, that many of these notions, especially those concerning the abode of the Deity, are rather poetical metaphors than the real conceptions of the Hebrews; and although some of

<sup>1</sup> שָׁמַיִם, שָׁמַיִם, רָקִיעַ.

<sup>2</sup> רִיעָה or רִק.

<sup>3</sup> Ps. civ. 2; Isai. xl. 22.

<sup>4</sup> Jer. xxi. 37.

<sup>5</sup> Job xxxvii. 18; comp. *Seneca*, *Natur. Quæst.*, vii. 13.

<sup>6</sup> Ὠρανός πολύχαλκος, or σιδήρεος. Il. v. 504; xvii. 425; *Odyss.* iii. 2; xv. 323.

<sup>7</sup> Dan. xii. 3.

<sup>8</sup> Exod. xxiv. 10.

<sup>9</sup> Revel. iv. 6; comp. Ezek. i. 22.

<sup>10</sup> Gen. xxviii. 17.

<sup>11</sup> Ezek. i. 1.

<sup>12</sup> מַלְאָכֹת, Gen. vii. 11; 2 Kings vii. 2, 19; Isai. xxiv. 18; comp. the *κόσμινον* of *Aristophanes*, *Nub.* 373.

<sup>13</sup> דְּלָתַיִם, Ps. lxxviii. 23; *Herod.* iv. 158.

<sup>14</sup> Gen. i. 7; Job xxvi. 8; Ps. cxlviii. 4; *Prov.* viii. 28.

<sup>15</sup> Job xxxvii. 9.

<sup>16</sup> Job xxxvii; xxxviii. 22 *et seq.*; Ezek. xiii. 13; *Sir.* xliii. 14 *et seq.*

<sup>17</sup> Gen. i. 14—19.

<sup>18</sup> Job xxxviii. 33.

<sup>19</sup> *Ver.* 36.

<sup>20</sup> Job xxvi. 10.

<sup>21</sup> Compare the *Rig-Veda*, in *Colebrooke*, *Essays*, i. 47.

<sup>22</sup> Psal. xxix. 10; Job xxvi. 9.

<sup>23</sup> Ps. xi. 4; Ezek. iii. 12.

<sup>24</sup> Ps. civ. 3; Ezek. i. 26.

<sup>25</sup> Isai. lxvi. 1.

<sup>26</sup> עֲמֻדָּוַיִּם, מְסֻדָּוֹת, Job xxvi. 11; 2 Sam. xxii. 8.

them might be the remnants of mythic times, others are certainly figurative expressions.<sup>1</sup> That we must not take such terms literally, we are strikingly warned by the passage in the book of Job (xxvi. 7): "He stretcheth out the north over *the empty place*, and hangeth the earth upon nothing." And yet, not only in the Psalms (civ. 5), but even in the very same book (Job ix. 6), the earth is said to rest on pillars. On the other hand, both in Genesis (ii. 6) and Job (xxxvi. 27), the rain is correctly traced to the vapours ascending from the earth; whereas, according to the notions above described, it is poured out from the stores preserved above the firmament.—The physical views were still fluctuating and undecided. Sometimes the word heaven (שמים) is used in its original etymological signification, as "the upper regions,"<sup>2</sup> and includes, therefore, the air; that is, the whole space between the earth and the sky, or the clouds; as in the expression: "the birds of heaven."<sup>3</sup>—It was a belief common and popular among almost all ancient nations, that at the summit of the shadow of the earth, or on the top of the highest mountain of the earth, which reaches with its crest into heaven, and from where the whole earth can be surveyed at one glance, the gods have their palace or hall of assembly; thus,<sup>4</sup> the Babylonians imagined, in the uppermost north, the "Mountain of Meeting" (הר מועד); it was called *Albordah*, was considered as the chief residence of Ormuzd, and the source of his radiant light; and was most likely believed to be identical with the high mountains of the Caucasus. Thus, the Greeks had their *Olympus* (and Atlas); the Hindoos their *Meru*, also called *Sabha*, or mountain of congregation; the Chinese their *Kulkun* (or Kuen-lun), which is "the king of mountains, the highest part of all the earth, the mountain which touches the pole and supports the heavens"; the Arabians their *Caf*, and the Parsees their *Tireh*.<sup>5</sup> That similar notions were entertained by the Israelites is improbable, as they rest essentially on polytheistic ideas; and a "Mountain of Meeting" is absurd for One all-pervading, omnipresent God, whose "glory the heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain"; but to identify Mount Meru with Mount Moriah is one of those vain conjectures which sacrifice a whole religious system to an accidental resemblance of names.

## 2. THE SUN.

The Sun<sup>6</sup> is the "greater luminary" placed in the firmament of heaven to rule the day;<sup>7</sup> it is the result of the concentrated light diffused through space on the first day of creation.<sup>8</sup> It is made, like the other celestial orbs, only for the sake and the benefit of the earth, to give light to its inhabitants, to produce vegetation,<sup>9</sup> and to mark the division between day and night. The sun was believed to move from east to west, encompassing in his course the whole universe.<sup>10</sup> At the western boundary of the heaven, where the latter was considered to touch the border of the earth, the sun has a tent, where he enters in the evening, rests over night, and whence he emerges in the morning with renewed vigour, like a hero, to recommence his brilliant career with the bloom and freshness of a bridegroom.<sup>11</sup> That, according to Greek notions, the god of the sun, also an eternal youth, was in the evening received by the goddess Thetis in

<sup>1</sup> So, for instance, we read in Ps. xviii. 8, which passage is parallel with 2 Sam. xxii. 8, "the foundations of the mountains," instead of "the foundations of the heaven"; and mountains are, in almost all ancient languages, poetically called the pillars of heaven.

<sup>2</sup> See note on i. 1.

<sup>3</sup> See note on i. 6—8.

<sup>4</sup> According to Isai. xiv. 13.

<sup>5</sup> See *Ward*, View of the Hist., Liter.,

and Relig. of the Hindoos, i. 13; *Asiat. Research*, vi. 448, viii. 284, 314, 316; *Kleuker*, *Zend-Avest*, ii. 222, iii. 67, 70; *D'Herbelot*, *Bibl. Orient.*, p. 230; *Gesen.*, on Isai. xiv. 13; *Rosenm.*, *Bibl. Geogr.*, I. i. 154.

<sup>6</sup> שמש, חמה, חרס, or חרסח.

<sup>7</sup> Gen. i. 14—19. <sup>8</sup> Vers. 3—5.

<sup>9</sup> Deut. xxxiii. 14.

<sup>10</sup> Isai. xlv. 6; Ps. l. 1.

<sup>11</sup> Ps. xix. 5—7; comp. Hab. iii. 11.

the waves of the ocean, where he remained during the night, is sufficiently known from Homer; and in the poems of Ossian, also, we find similar views. Hence we can understand why the sun is, in Hebrew, said to "go out" (נָסָה) when he rises, and to "come in" (נָסָה) when he disappears beneath the horizon. It is an awful sign of God's wrath if He takes away the light of the sun, and sends eclipses; when night envelopes the earth in the hours of day,<sup>1</sup> and the sun is changed into darkness and gloom.<sup>2</sup> It is always the portentous forerunner of a fearful disaster. Those eclipses were believed to be caused by the mighty dragon, which ensnares the disc, but which might be frightened away by the spell of conjurors,<sup>3</sup> or pierced by the hand of God.<sup>4</sup> This remarkable astronomical notion was prevalent amongst most of the Eastern nations.<sup>5</sup> The sun is among the most wonderful, the most magnificent works of God; he is a chief instrument of His glory, an everlasting witness of His majesty,<sup>6</sup> and an emblem of His all-pervading goodness.<sup>7</sup> Even Plato observes, that the eyes of man, by contemplating the heavenly bodies, must guide him to the knowledge of the Deity; and Luther considered it as the strongest proof of the immortality of the soul, that it can rise above the earth, and explore the marvellous course of the celestial orbs. It is, therefore, not astonishing that the Israelites were, during many periods of their history, seduced by surrounding idolators to worship the sun; they had a chariot and horses of the sun;<sup>8</sup> they revered him by burning incense to him on the roofs of their houses,<sup>9</sup> and they erected statues in his honour.<sup>10</sup> Even the pious Job finds it necessary to protest that the grandeur and brilliancy of the celestial orbs did not tempt him to a criminal worship.<sup>11</sup> Moses interdicts it repeatedly;<sup>12</sup> and the first chapter of Genesis implies, with peculiar emphasis, that sun, moon and stars are the work of God, appointed and controlled by Him, dependent on His will, and serving His designs.

God has for all time fixed the course of the sun;<sup>13</sup> these innate laws give to him the appearance as if he knew his path,<sup>14</sup> or as if he spontaneously hastened to reach his daily-prescribed goal;<sup>15</sup> but he stands yet under the sovereign will of God, who sometimes suspends his course, or interrupts those laws.<sup>16</sup> His rise is preceded by a dawn (זָרוֹחַ) and the dew-fall;<sup>17</sup> he seizes the borders of the earth;<sup>18</sup> then bounds cheerfully above the horizon; gilds first the peaks of the mountains;<sup>19</sup> the fearful beasts of prey, which had howlingly traversed the forests in search of booty, retire to their caverns and hiding-places;<sup>20</sup> and the wicked men, who sought to profit by the cloak of night for their evil deeds, disperse and disappear;<sup>21</sup> till at last the light, with its wings,<sup>22</sup> or its eye-lids,<sup>23</sup> illumines with splendour the whole earth; and the towns and the objects of nature, which had been buried in indistinguishable confusion, appear in their beautiful proportions.<sup>24</sup> Therefore the sun serves as a metaphor for youth, beauty, and bloom,<sup>25</sup> and his light for happiness and joy.<sup>26</sup> He reaches his highest elevation and his greatest power at noon;<sup>27</sup> then the heat of the day is greatest,<sup>28</sup> and the light has a double brilliancy (צִהְרִים), that of the ascending and declining sun;<sup>29</sup> it often causes the sun-stroke,<sup>30</sup> and is dangerous by its excess;<sup>31</sup> the rays burn many times more fiercely than a blazing furnace, and are especially fatal to the eyes.<sup>32</sup> Gradually the magnificent orb

<sup>1</sup> Amos viii. 9.      <sup>2</sup> Joel iii. 4; iv. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Job iii. 8.      <sup>4</sup> Ib. xvi. 11—13.

<sup>5</sup> See *Bohlen*, *Alt. Indien*, ii. 290.

<sup>6</sup> Ps. xix. 2; Sir. xliii. 2, 5.

<sup>7</sup> Matt. v. 45.      <sup>8</sup> 2 Kings xxiii. 11.

<sup>9</sup> Jer. xix. 13; Zeph. i. 5.

<sup>10</sup> Lev. xxvi. 30; Isai. xvii. 8; see *Winer*, *Bibl. Dict.*, ii. p. 481.

<sup>11</sup> Job xxxi. 26.

<sup>12</sup> Deut. iv. 19; xvii. 3.

<sup>13</sup> Ps. lxxiv. 17.      <sup>14</sup> Ib. civ. 19.

<sup>15</sup> Eccl. i. 5.

<sup>16</sup> Josh. x. 12—14; Isai. xxxviii. 8.

<sup>17</sup> Ps. cx. 3.

<sup>18</sup> Job xxxviii. 13, 19.

<sup>19</sup> Joel ii. 2.

<sup>20</sup> Ps. civ. 21, 22.

<sup>21</sup> Job xxxviii. 13.

<sup>22</sup> Ps. cxxxix. 9.

<sup>23</sup> Job iii. 9.

<sup>24</sup> Job xxxviii. 14, 15.

<sup>25</sup> Cant. vi. 10; Sir. i. 6, 7.

<sup>26</sup> Job xi. 17; Ps. xcvi. 11.

<sup>27</sup> Prov. iv. 18.

<sup>28</sup> חֹם הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ.

<sup>29</sup> 1 Sam. xi. 9; 2 Sam. iv. 5; Neh. vii.

<sup>30</sup> Isai. xvi. 3.

<sup>31</sup> 2 Kings iv. 18 *et seq.*

<sup>32</sup> Jon. iv. 8; Ps. cxxi. 6.

<sup>33</sup> Sir. xliii. 4.

declines; the heat loses its intensity, and the light its dazzling brilliancy; the shadows grow longer; light and darkness begin to *mix* (ערב), and the evening (ערב) is followed by the gloom and silence of the night.<sup>1</sup>

### 3. THE MOON.

The moon<sup>2</sup> is the "lesser luminary," which rules the night. She is chiefly intended to indicate the lapse of the months;<sup>3</sup> and her four distinct phases have, no doubt, at an early time suggested the division of the month into four weeks, or periods of seven days.<sup>4</sup> Her mild, beneficent rays, still more beautiful in the pure, transparent Eastern sky, illumine the sombre darkness of night, and cheer the lonely paths of the wanderer. But she sometimes also causes destruction; for the power of her rays were considered dangerous to man.<sup>5</sup> The festivals were based upon her course; the day of the new-moon was solemnized with sacred rites and social festivities;<sup>6</sup> the whole religious year was regulated after her motion, and she was therefore not only an object of importance, but of sacredness, in the eyes of the Israelites. Hence it may be accounted for, that the idolatrous worship of the moon found easy access into Palestine from the Pagan nations; she was revered as the "Queen of heaven;"<sup>7</sup> various sacrifices and libations were offered to her, and the Hebrew women especially devoted themselves to this forbidden service; in fact, the whole ritual of the Phœnician goddess Astarte, with whom that "Queen of Heaven" is identical, and who was the goddess of fertility,<sup>8</sup> seems to have been transferred to her. But there are some other ancient notions concerning the moon, which at least are not traceable in the Biblical writings. The new-moon was believed to be fatal to the fruits and harvests;<sup>9</sup> the frosts of the night and other agricultural damages were attributed to the influence of the moon; her rays were deemed most injurious to the eye-sight; it was curiously maintained that she is "the star of human life," controlling and tempering the vital humours and the blood of the body; that the shell-fish grow with her increase; and that she, in general, exercises a sovereign power over all things: whilst the Hindoos, who believed the moon to consist of water, thought that the rain descended from that orb.<sup>10</sup> Even in our own time, the moon has not ceased to be endowed with certain mysterious influences upon man and his affairs; and many vulgar superstitions emanate from that source. By the ancients the moon was considered as one of the seven known planets, and one day of the week received its name from her.

### 4. THE STARS.

The Stars<sup>11</sup> are the companions of the moon in the evening sky;<sup>12</sup> they surround her to enhance her magic brilliancy, or shine to replace it; their nature as distant suns, or as planets of the solar system, was not yet known; no distinction between fixed stars, planets, and comets, is ever alluded to; nor was the whole wonderful economy of the starry worlds, revealed by modern astronomy, understood or remotely suspected. The stars are affixed to the firmament: they will therefore share its fate at the destruction of heaven;<sup>13</sup> they existed before the foundation of the earth; they were then already inhabited by angels, or "sons of God," who accompanied that great act of Divine omnipotence with shouting and rejoicing.<sup>14</sup> But they were not considered

<sup>1</sup> Ps. civ. 20.      <sup>2</sup> לבנה; ירח.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. i. 14.

<sup>4</sup> See Notes on Exodus, p. 449.

<sup>5</sup> Ps. cxxi. 6. Compare *Plin.* ii. 1<sup>o</sup> 2; and the words "moon-stricken," "lunatic," etc.

<sup>6</sup> 2 Kings, iv. 23; *Isa.* i. 13, 14.

<sup>7</sup> *Jer.* vii. 18; xlv. 17, 25. Comp. *Hor Carm.* Saec. 35.

<sup>8</sup> Mylitta, מולדתא.

<sup>9</sup> Comp. *Virg. Georg.* i. 276, 427, *et seq.*

<sup>10</sup> *Plin.*, *loc. cit.*; *Macrobi.*, Sat. vii. 16. Comp. *Shakespeare*, Midsummer Night's Dream, ii. 2; *Othello*, v. 2; *Winer. Bibl.*

Dict., ii. 104; *Colebrooke*, *Essays*, i. 45.

<sup>11</sup> כוכבים.

<sup>12</sup> Gen. i. 16.

<sup>13</sup> *Isa.* xxxiv. 4; 2 *Pet.* iii. 12.

<sup>14</sup> *Job* xxxviii. 7.

themselves as animated beings (זֵאָא), as the Persians, and several other heathen nations, and even some fathers of the church, believed; if life is attributed to them, it is only with regard to those glorious inhabitants; thus they fight in the combats of the Lord;<sup>1</sup> they are His army, His troops;<sup>2</sup> they are the "host of heaven:"<sup>3</sup> but this expression is used promiscuously for the stars and angels.<sup>4</sup> God is, therefore, "the Lord of Hosts" (*Zebaoth*), both with reference to the former and the latter;<sup>5</sup> He preserves peace and harmony in those heavenly worlds by His awful power.<sup>6</sup> The stars are, therefore, unable to help or to save; it is folly and perversity to worship them, or to invoke their aid;<sup>7</sup> they owe their brilliancy not to their own power, but to the will of God who made heaven and earth.<sup>8</sup> The stars are numberless; they are used to express an infinite multitude;<sup>9</sup> but God knows the names of all; He leads them out every morning and numbers them, and never has one been missed.<sup>10</sup> Only a few names of stars occur in the Biblical canon: the *Zodiac*;<sup>11</sup> the *Great Bear*,<sup>12</sup> with the three stars in his tail;<sup>13</sup> *Orion*,<sup>14</sup> the fool or impious man, probably Nimrod, fettered in the firmament as a punishment; and the *Pleiades*, in the neck of the Bull;<sup>15</sup> further, *Draco*, between the Great and the Little Bear;<sup>16</sup> and *Gemini* or *Twins*, in the border of the milky way.<sup>17</sup> Besides these we find mentioned the planets *Jupiter*;<sup>18</sup> *Mars*;<sup>19</sup> *Venus*, the morning-star, or the *brilliant* planet;<sup>20</sup> and *Mercury*.<sup>21</sup> In the later times of the Hebrew commonwealth, the Israelites were made better acquainted with astronomical observations; the computation of the Mosaic festivals obliged them especially to study the course of the moon; and in the Talmudical writings occur many subtle and sagacious astronomical calculations. The superstition of reading the destiny of man in the stars never took root among the Israelites; astrology is excluded by the first principle of Mosaism, the belief in one all-ruling God, who is subject to no necessity, no fate, no other will. Jeremiah<sup>22</sup> warns the Hebrews not to be afraid of the "signs of heaven," before which the heathens tremble in vain terror; and Isaiah<sup>23</sup> speaks with taunting irony against the "astrologers, star-gazers, and monthly prognosticators," in whose counsel it is folly and wickedness to rely.<sup>24</sup> But the Israelites had not moral strength enough to resist the example of star-worship in general; they could not keep aloof from an aberration which formed the very focus of the principal Eastern religions; they yielded to that tempting influence; and ignominious incense rose profusely in honour of the sun and the hosts of heaven.<sup>25</sup>

## 5. THE EARTH.

The Earth<sup>26</sup> forms, according to Biblical notions, the centre of the world, or, rather, its only habitable part; the heavens, with the sun and the whole astral canopy, exist merely for the use and in the service of the earth. This is, among almost all ancient nations, the first purely optical, unscientific view; and not only Plato, but even Ovid, expresses it in distinct terms: "The earth has been placed in the very middle of the universe," . . . "in which position it is kept by its perfect roundness, not pressing on

<sup>1</sup> Judg. v. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Job xxv. 3. צבא השמים.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. Ps. cxlviii. 2; 2 Chron. xviii. 18.

<sup>4</sup> Isa. xxiv. 21. Job xxv. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Job xxxi. 26—28. Deut. iv. 19.

<sup>6</sup> Deut. i. 10; Nah. iii. 16.

<sup>7</sup> Isa. xl. 26.

<sup>8</sup> מזורות or מזלות; Job xxxviii. 32;

2 Kings xxiii. 5.

<sup>9</sup> עֵשׂ or עֵשׂ; Job ix. 9.

<sup>10</sup> בנינים; Job xxxviii. 32.

<sup>11</sup> כְּסִיל; Amos v. 8; Job xxxviii. 31.

<sup>12</sup> בימה; Job ix. 9; Amos v. 8.

<sup>13</sup> נחש בריח or נחש; Job xxvi. 13.

<sup>14</sup> Διόσκουροι; Acts xxviii. 11.

<sup>15</sup> נֶגֶל; Isa. lxxv. 11.

<sup>16</sup> נֶגֶל; 2 Kings xvii. 30.

<sup>17</sup> הֵילֵל; Isa. xiv. 12; Rev. ii. 28; or מְנִי; Isa. lxxv. 11.

<sup>18</sup> נֶכֶד; Isa. xlv. 1.

<sup>19</sup> xlvii. 13.

<sup>20</sup> Comp. Jer. v. 24; Dan. ii. 27; *Diod. Sic.* ii. 30, 31.

<sup>21</sup> Jer. xix. 13; Ezek. viii. 16; Zeph. i. 5; Wis. xiii. 2.

<sup>22</sup> תבל, ארמה, ארץ.

one part more than the other."<sup>1</sup> It stands for ever, though the generations of men pass away and disappear.<sup>2</sup> It rests on foundations, or pillars,<sup>3</sup> so that it never moves;<sup>4</sup> except when God, in His anger, makes it tremble, and in His wrath overthrows or dislocates mountains.<sup>5</sup> But no human wisdom has ever explored the basement on which these pillars are erected, or has discovered the place where the cornerstone of the earth is hidden.<sup>6</sup> However, we are taught that our planet is founded on the seas,<sup>7</sup> or spread out over waters,<sup>8</sup> and that God even marked out the circumference of the earth over the aqueous depths;<sup>9</sup> a notion which, though kindred, is not identical with that of the Greeks, of a vast insular plain, encircled by the sea Oceanus.<sup>10</sup> Or we are led to suppose, more in harmony with our modern ideas, that the earth is hanging "upon nothing," or "upon the empty space;"<sup>11</sup> corresponding with the doctrine of many of the old Greek poets, "that the vast earth hangs in the open space of the air, and that one earth cannot stand upon another earth."<sup>12</sup> The proportions, dimensions, and shape of the earth defy equally the understanding of man.<sup>13</sup> Whether it was regarded as a large disc,<sup>14</sup> or as a square plain,<sup>15</sup> is not quite evident; but it has certainly borders,<sup>16</sup> extremities,<sup>17</sup> and even *ends*, and *gates*.<sup>18</sup> Nor can we with safety deduce from some uncertain and disputed expressions in Ezekiel,<sup>19</sup> that the Israelites considered Palestine as the centre of the whole earth, a notion which certainly prevailed among the later Jews and Christians.<sup>20</sup> Similar ideas were held by other ancient nations; the Greeks believed Delphi to be the centre or *navel* of the earth;<sup>21</sup> Xenophon asserts the same of Athens; Statius<sup>22</sup> of Mount Parnassus; Pliny<sup>23</sup> of Abydos; the Scythians of their country; and the Arabians of Sarandib, or Ceylon;<sup>24</sup> China is called the "empire of the middle;" and Media received this name because it was believed to be situated in the centre of Asia.<sup>25</sup> The surface of the earth was described after the four cardinal points; and as the east, or sunrise,<sup>26</sup> was considered as the region *before* the face,<sup>27</sup> west<sup>28</sup> is that which lies *behind*; south<sup>29</sup> is the *right* hand,<sup>31</sup> and north<sup>32</sup> the *left* hand;<sup>33</sup> which manner of designating the parts of the globe is exactly the same among the Hindoos and in Ireland, and was sometimes applied by the Romans.<sup>34</sup> The north was considered to be higher than the south; therefore going from north to

<sup>1</sup> Fast. vi. 271—276; Plato, Phæd. 132.

<sup>2</sup> Eccl. i. 4; see, however, *infra*.

<sup>3</sup> Ps. lxxv. 4; Enoch xviii. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Ps. xciii. 1, xcvi. 10, civ. 5, cxix. 90.

<sup>5</sup> Job ix. 5, 6; Psalm xviii. 8.

<sup>6</sup> Job xxxviii. 6; Prov. viii. 29; Jer. xxxi. 37.

<sup>7</sup> Ps. xxiv. 2.

<sup>8</sup> Ps. cxxxvi. 6; compare the Rig-Veda in *Colebrooke's Essays*, i. 47.

<sup>9</sup> תהום Prov. viii. 27.

<sup>10</sup> Hom., Iliad, xxi. 195—197; Aristot., De Mundo, ii.; Strabo, i. 1; comp. Ps. cxxxix. 9.

<sup>11</sup> Job xxvi. 7.

<sup>12</sup> Lucret. ii. 602, 603; comp. Ovid, Fast. vi. 269, 270.

<sup>13</sup> Job xxxviii. 4, 5.

<sup>14</sup> As has been inferred from Isa. xl. 22; Job xxvi. 10; and Prov. viii. 27.

<sup>15</sup> As might be concluded from Isa. xl. 12; Ezek. vii. 2; Job xxxvii. 3; Rev. vii. 1; comp. Asiatic Researches, viii. 272.

<sup>16</sup> כנפות

<sup>17</sup> אפסי הארץ, or אצילי, or קצות

<sup>18</sup> תוצאות Jer. xv. 7.

<sup>19</sup> v. 5, and xxxviii. 12; מכור הארץ

<sup>20</sup> See Theodoret and Jerome, Rashi and

Kimchi, on Ezek. v. 5, and xxxviii. 12; Tertullian, contr. Marc., ii. 196, etc.

<sup>21</sup> ὀμφαλός, umbilicus; Strabo, p. 419, ed. C.; Sophocl., Oed. Tyr., 480; Eurip., Orest., 331; Pindar., Pyth., iv. 8; Cicero, De Divin., ii. 56; Liv. xxxviii. 48; Ovid, Metam. x. 168.

<sup>22</sup> Theb. i. 118. <sup>23</sup> Hist. Nat. iii. 17.

<sup>24</sup> Selden, De Jure Nat., p. 342.

<sup>25</sup> Polyb. v. 44.

<sup>26</sup> מוצא השמש, אור, or מוצא השמש.

<sup>27</sup> קדם. <sup>28</sup> מכו השמש.

<sup>29</sup> אחר. <sup>30</sup> דרום or ננב.

<sup>31</sup> תימן or ימין. <sup>32</sup> צפון.

<sup>33</sup> שמאל.

<sup>34</sup> See Asiatic Researches, viii. 275; Rosenm., Bibl. Geogr., I., i. p. 141; Ovid, Metam., i. 45. That the original meaning of קדם is primary, or ancient, and that it, therefore, geographically denotes that primary province where man was first settled (Taylor on Calmet, Nos. 526, 660), is not probable, as ancient languages derived the first necessary notions from the phenomena of nature, rather than from scientific researches.

south is, in Biblical language, called *to descend*; <sup>1</sup> from south to north, *to ascend*.<sup>2</sup> The west was regarded as the remotest part;<sup>3</sup> the north as the most concealed region<sup>4</sup> — the most mountainous, and, therefore, most ponderous part;<sup>5</sup> and as including the gold-lands,<sup>6</sup> which other ancient nations likewise placed in the hidden north.<sup>7</sup> The earth itself was divided into dry land and sea,<sup>8</sup> or into dry land and islands;<sup>9</sup> and was distributed among the descendants of Shem, Ham, and Japhet, in the manner which will be described in our notes on the tenth chapter. It furnishes food, and supports all living beings; and is, therefore, called “the productive earth.”<sup>10</sup>

## 6. THE SEAS.

The Seas<sup>11</sup> are the gatherings of water,<sup>12</sup> which were, on the third day of creation, concentrated on some parts of the earth's surface, so that, on others, the dry land<sup>13</sup> became visible.<sup>14</sup> They are enclosed in rocky basins.<sup>15</sup> Their sources are in the deep interior of the earth, from which they break forth with violence.<sup>16</sup> But nobody can fathom their depths, much less descend to those sources, which reach down to the very “gates of death.”<sup>17</sup> The sea is, therefore, a figurative expression for everything infinite or gigantic. The omniscience of God reaches to its ground,<sup>18</sup> or beyond its extremities;<sup>19</sup> His wisdom is as immeasurable as the extent of the sea;<sup>20</sup> sins are pardoned as if they were sunk to its bottom;<sup>21</sup> the unspeakable misery of the dispersed children of Jacob is inexhaustible as the sea.<sup>22</sup> Yet God may, in His anger, lay bare the bottom of the sea, and make visible the foundations of the earth.<sup>23</sup> A part of the floods retired beneath the earth, to form its foundation, or the base over which it is spread;<sup>24</sup> and beneath these waters is the hell, or Sheol, the abode of the departed spirits — the “house of meeting for all living.”<sup>25</sup> The Sheol is not at the bottom of the seas; for the earth opened itself to devour Korah and his associates, and to hurl him into the Sheol.<sup>26</sup> All the rivers of the earth are a part of the sea; and as everything which is of the earth returns to the earth, so all the rivers go back into the sea,<sup>27</sup> which thus for ever remains unaltered in magnitude.<sup>28</sup> The waves of the ocean are, by the all-powerful hand of God, checked within their ordained boundaries;<sup>29</sup> and although their rage strives restlessly to overflow the shores, and to inundate and immerse the earth again, they are impotent against the will of God;<sup>30</sup> He has shut them up with gates and bars. Tempests might rouse its surface;<sup>31</sup> the billows might tower up in unbridled violence;<sup>32</sup> their tumult and their roaring are in vain;<sup>33</sup> for God spoke to the sea: “Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further; and here the fury of thy waves shall be stayed.”<sup>34</sup> Clouds and mists hover above its surface, covering it like a garment;<sup>35</sup> and vast sand-plains border its coasts;<sup>36</sup> it is peopled with an endless variety of beings, from the harmless and useful fish to the majestic leviathan and the

<sup>1</sup> יָרַד.

<sup>2</sup> עֹלָה; and מַלְמַלָּה is used for *north-ern*; Judg. viii. 13; comp. Gen. xii. 10, and xlv. 25; see also *Virgil*, *Georg.* i. 240, 241.

<sup>3</sup> Jon. i. 3; Ps. cxxxix. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Hence the name יָפֶת.

<sup>5</sup> Job xxvi. 7. <sup>6</sup> Job xxxvii. 22.

<sup>7</sup> *Herod.* iii. 115; *Plin.*, *Hist. Nat.*, vi. 12; xxxiii. 4.

<sup>8</sup> Gen. i. 9, 10; Jon. i. 9.

<sup>9</sup> *Ezth.* x. 1; Ps. xcvi. 1.

<sup>10</sup> יָבֹל; compare תָּבַל.

<sup>11</sup> יָמִים. <sup>12</sup> מְקוֹה יָמִים.

<sup>13</sup> יִבְשָׁה. <sup>14</sup> Gen. i. 9, 10.

<sup>15</sup> *Isa.* xi. 9; *Hab.* ii. 14.

<sup>16</sup> Job xxxviii. 8, 16; comp. Gen. vii. 11.

<sup>17</sup> Job xxxviii. 16, 17.

<sup>18</sup> *Amos* ix. 3. <sup>19</sup> Ps. cxxxix. 9.

<sup>20</sup> *Job* xi. 9; comp. *Deut.* xxx. 13.

<sup>21</sup> *Micah* vii. 19. <sup>22</sup> *Lament.* ii. 13.

<sup>23</sup> Ps. xviii. 15.

<sup>24</sup> Ps. xxiv. 2, cxxxvi. 6; 2 *Sam.* xxii. 16.

<sup>25</sup> *Job* xxvi. 5, xxx. 23; *Isa.* xiv. 9.

<sup>26</sup> *Num.* xvi. 30, 33; *Isa.* xxxviii. 10.

<sup>27</sup> *Sir.* xlii. <sup>28</sup> *Eccl.* i. 7.

<sup>29</sup> *Job* xvi. 10.

<sup>30</sup> Ps. lxxxix. 10.

<sup>31</sup> *Dan.* vii. 2; *Jon.* i. 11, 13.

<sup>32</sup> *Isa.* v. 30; *Jer.* vi. 23; Ps. xcvi. 11.

<sup>33</sup> *Sir.* xliii. 25.

<sup>34</sup> *Job* xxxviii. 8, 11; comp. *Prov.* viii. 28, 29.

<sup>35</sup> *Job* xxxviii. 9.

<sup>36</sup> *Gen.* xxii. 17; *Job* xxix. 18; *Hos.* ii. 1.

fearful monsters; but all are lovingly sustained by the providing care of God.<sup>1</sup> They are partly created for the use of man;<sup>2</sup> partly for the glory of God.<sup>3</sup> The Bible introduces the following seas:— 1. the Mediterranean;<sup>4</sup> 2. the Red Sea;<sup>5</sup> 3. the Dead Sea;<sup>6</sup> 4. the Indian Ocean;<sup>7</sup> 5. the Lake Merom;<sup>8</sup> 6. the Sea of Tiberias;<sup>9</sup> 7. the Adriatic;<sup>10</sup> 8. the Archipelago;<sup>11</sup> and 9. the Libyan Sea.<sup>12</sup> But water is a frequent Scriptural metaphor for misery and misfortune, or for dreary confusion.<sup>13</sup> In the time of the chaos, water covered the whole earth; it was a sign of the loving care of God that it receded from some parts; therefore it is promised, that in the new heaven and the new earth the water will altogether disappear; there will be no more sea.<sup>14</sup>

These are the chief notions of the Bible regarding the individual parts of the Kosmos. A few remarks on the universe, as a whole, will complete this sketch.

Heaven and earth, which comprise the created universe, are eternal, their laws are unchangeable.<sup>15</sup> But they are only eternal compared with the frailty and transitory existence of man; "generation cometh, and generation goeth; but the earth standeth for ever."<sup>16</sup> Measured by the inconceivable eternity of God, or by the endlessness of His love, or the immutability of His Word, the stars of heaven will wither like the dry leaves of the vine or the fig;<sup>17</sup> the firmament will vanish like smoke, and the earth will decay like a garment.<sup>18</sup> God, who has created the world, is its Lord; He allows it to exist only so long as His profound designs demand it; the Mind rules the matter. He does not tremble that the heavens will once be destroyed by the flames, as the heathen gods, who stand under the rule of fate, constantly feared.<sup>19</sup> He will, in due season, Himself effect that awful consummation for the punishment of the impious,<sup>20</sup> but only to create a new heaven and a new earth;<sup>21</sup> and a time will be, when the light of the moon will be like that of the sun, and the light of the sun seven times greater, or like the light of seven days;<sup>22</sup> and the new Jerusalem will have no need of the sun or of the moon, for the glory of God will illumine it.<sup>23</sup>

We now entreat the reader to compare all these Biblical views with the lessons of astronomy. A very moderate degree of attention will show that both systems are organically and radically different; that their whole character is almost opposite. It is not sufficient to say that both have different ends, and move in different spheres; that the one has an exclusively *religious* tendency, and aims only at the majesty and glory of God; whilst the other has a purely *scientific* character, is unconcerned about the First Cause, and explores only the secondary causes; or that the chief end of the former is *man* and his moral excellence, whilst the tendency of the latter is to demonstrate the undeviating necessity of the *physical laws*. This, we repeat, is not sufficient. There might be differences of treatment rather than of conception. But there are other more decided distinctions. The Bible contemplates the objects of nature as they *optically appear* to the unscientific eye, and as they have been observed by almost all

<sup>1</sup> Ps. civ. 25—28; James iii. 7; compare Pa. cxlvii. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. ix. 2; comp. Lev. xi. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Ps. civ. 26; Job xl. 25 *et seq*; Sir. xliii. 27.

<sup>4</sup> ים הים האחרון; הים הנדול; הפלשתיים; or הים סוף.

<sup>5</sup> ים מצרים.

<sup>6</sup> הים הקדמוני; or הים הערבה; ים החלח; ἡ Ἀσφαλίτις λίμνη.

<sup>7</sup> In the phrase ים ער, from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean; Amos viii. 12; Zech. ix. 10; Pa. lxxii. 8.

<sup>8</sup> ים מרומ; Σμερματικός.

<sup>9</sup> ים כנרת.

<sup>10</sup> ὁ Ἀδριακός; Acts xxvii. 27.

<sup>11</sup> Acts xvii. 14.

<sup>12</sup> Acts xxvii. 17.

<sup>13</sup> Ps. lxxix. 2, 3, 16; xviii. 17.

<sup>14</sup> Revel. xxi. 1.

<sup>15</sup> Jer. xxxi. 35, 36; Ps. lxxxix. 37, 38; cxlviii. 6.

<sup>16</sup> Eccl. i. 4.

<sup>17</sup> Isa. xxxiv. 4.

<sup>18</sup> Isa. li. 6; Ps. cii. 27, 28; comp. Lu. xxi. 33; 2 Pet. iii. 7.

<sup>19</sup> Ovid, Met. i. 253—257.

<sup>20</sup> 2 Pet. iii. 7.

<sup>21</sup> Isa. lxxv. 17; 2 Pet. iii. 13; Rev. xxi. 1.

<sup>22</sup> Isa. xxx. 26.

<sup>23</sup> Rev. xxi. 23.



unlearned ancient nations; whilst astronomy enters into *their real character*, often against the obvious evidence of the senses, and strives to discover their hidden properties and their marvellous motions: the one is satisfied with phenomena as they *exist* and *are*, whilst the other penetrates into the mysteries of their origin and progress, and has even the courage to anticipate their future changes and their ultimate unavoidable revolutions: the former considers the earth as the principal object of the universe, to which the sun and the stars, which are fixed in the solid expanse of heaven, are subordinate; whilst the latter teaches that the earth is but a most inconsiderable part of the sidereal systems—a part so small that “no arithmetician can assign a fraction low enough to express its proportion to the whole universe”; that it is a subservient link in our solar system; that it is a *celestial* body every way analogous to many of the stars which crowd the heavens; and that, so far from being motionless, it revolves round the sun, its centre, with extraordinary velocity: the one represents the moon as the second great luminous body of the world, to which the stars are scarcely more than mere appendages; whilst the other shows that the moon shines only by borrowed light, and that the stars are objects of infinitely greater importance in the universe than the moon: in the former all plants and animals are created at the same epoch, whilst geology teaches, that the different species belong to periods vastly remote from each other. Every one may pursue these comparisons in further detail, and he will at every step be arrested by the striking contrasts which exist between the Biblical and the astronomical teaching. But let it not be said, that the Bible *intentionally* described the actual objects in so simple and unscientific a manner, in order to adapt itself to the uncultivated understanding of the contemporaries. We shall not urge that the Bible repeatedly insists, that it was not written for one age and one people, but for all times and all nations; that it must, under that supposition, have assumed that in no future period any nation would advance to more profound researches and more refined culture. But every one sees at once the very dangerous character of that principle. If the Scriptures are not *bonâ fide* truth, but in many important points a convenient accommodation to prevailing absurdities and childish ignorance: where can we with confidence say that they are in earnest, and that their doctrines claim the authority of absolute truth? This would throw open the Bible to uncertainty and doubt in so unparalleled a degree, that it would practically cease to have any definite meaning. And if the sublime acts of creation, as described in the first chapter, are not serious truths, of what other parts can we expect it? If a book, which is intended as a *guide* and a *preceptor*, withholds, on many momentous questions, *designedly* its better knowledge and conviction, it has necessarily forfeited, in a great measure, that esteem and confidence which alone secure its authority. It is, therefore, the first principle of interpretation to suppose, that the Bible expressed *in every respect* and *on all subjects* what it considered to be the truth.

It may, however, be alleged, that the Mosaic legislation, in several instances, evidently accommodated itself to ancient usages. It is true, the law-giver often *adapted* his precepts to existing customs; that is, *he converted falsehood into a truth*; he did not simply adopt the pagan views, but he purified and ennobled them; he retained the *form*, which is immaterial, and infused into it a *new spirit*, which alone is essential. The laws on circumcision, the phylacteries, or the sacrifices, are based upon similar rites prevalent among other eastern nations; but they contain nothing which recalls their heathen origin; they are the total reform of customs which it was either impossible or unadvisable to eradicate. Nothing of this nature was done with regard to the physical conceptions. They were, indeed, purified from all superstitious alloy, but their fundamental errors were not corrected: they are more noble, but not more true or exact, than the cosmical systems of other primitive nations.

In order to prove these assertions still more decidedly, we now insert a brief outline

of the astronomical results on the nature and economy of the *Universe*. We are induced to do this by the additional consideration, that it becomes a Biblical commentary on the Creation, to show the majestic grandeur of the Creator by the marvellous character of His works.

### V.—THE UNIVERSE.

Overwhelming as our solar system is in its vast dimensions, it is a mere point compared with the endless number of fixed stars which fill the infinitude of space.<sup>1</sup> It may astonish us that our sun has a diameter of 192,492 geographical miles; that he is 1,410,000 times greater than the earth; and that his volume amounts to 4,078 millions of cubic miles; that Neptune moves round the sun at a distance of more than 700 millions of geographical miles, and requires 217 years to complete one revolution; and that there are probably other planets beyond Neptune, the remotest of which might be 13,000 millions of geographical miles distant from the sun, and would require 15,000 years to complete its orbit. We may well admiringly ponder over the facts, that there are comets which visit the horizon of our heaven once every 1,500 to 8,000 years, that of 1780 every 75,838 years, and that of 1844 every 100,000 years; that others, describing a parabolic line in their course, will most probably never reappear; that the radius of the head of the comet of 1843 was, on the 28th of March, 47,000 miles, the breadth of its tail 33 millions of miles, and the length 150 millions of miles; and that 600 to 700 comets have already been seen, whilst their probable number has been estimated at one million, or, as Kepler observes, "like fishes in the ocean."<sup>2</sup> But who can suppress a religious awe, if he considers, that the whole system of our sun, with all its planets, satellites, and comets, moves again, as an inexpressibly small fraction of universal space, round another point (towards the constellation of Hercules),<sup>3</sup> in the same manner as Jupiter and his moons revolve round our sun; so that if the universe has no common central sun, it moves at least round one common centre of gravity,<sup>4</sup> and that there exists no resting or fixed point in the realms of space,<sup>5</sup> but that the whole moves uninterruptedly like "an eternal world-clock"; that the fixed stars form independent systems, some of which resemble our solar system, others, at present about 6000 in number, consist of two, three, or four sidereal bodies of various colours, revolving, at a very small distance from each other, round a common centre of gravity, and often requiring many hundreds, and even thousands, of years to complete their revolution; no doubt accompanied by planets with extremely complicated orbits, and with white, blue, red, and green days;<sup>6</sup> that most probably many luminous bodies, as, for instance, Sirius and Spica, move round large dark masses, which form their centre of gravity; that, according to a very moderate calculation of Sir William Herschel, the milky way alone contains eighteen millions of stars, and the whole heavens 273 millions, of which about 8,000 are visible to the unaided eye, and of which Bessel has calculated the positions of 75,000, and Argeland that of 22,000 more;<sup>7</sup> that the Pleiades<sup>8</sup> contain forty-four visible stars in

<sup>1</sup> But let us remind the reader, that the term "fixed stars" is one of those received erroneous expressions dating from the infancy of science, when it was not yet known that there is no fixed point in the whole universe. See *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> According to others, their number amounts to seventeen millions. Comp. *Humboldt*, *Kosm.* iii. 556—586; *Laplace*, *Exposition du Syst. du Monde*, p. 396, *et seq.*; *Arago*, *Astron.* i. 521—669.

<sup>3</sup> R. A. 260° 44', and N. D. 26° 16', in 1800.

<sup>4</sup> *Humboldt*, *Kosm.* iii. 278—288; *Maedler*, *Astron.* 318—414.

<sup>5</sup> *Humboldt*, *Kosm.* iii. 37, 38; i. 149, 155.

<sup>6</sup> *Humboldt*, *Kosm.* iii. 289—310; *Arago*, *Astron.* i. 288—317.

<sup>7</sup> Between the celestial parallels—15° and +80°. Comp. *Arago*, *Astron.* i. 226, 227.

<sup>8</sup> Which, according to some astronomers, as Maedler, are the central group of all the systems of fixed stars, as Alcy-one is the central sun.

less than three degrees; that not only our planets, and even our sun, but probably the comets and the numberless satellites of the other suns, are the theatres of organic life; that our sun belongs, with regard to the intensity of light, to the weaker fixed stars, for the power of the light of Sirius is, for instance, sixty-three times greater, although its brightness *appears* to be about 200,000 millions of times less intense than that of the sun;<sup>1</sup> that, by means of the telescope, systems of stars are discovered at a distance of 100,000 billions of miles, and that their light required many thousand years to reach our earth, although it travels nearly 42,000 geographical miles in a second; that, for instance, the star Vega of the Lyre is 41,600 times more distant than the planet Uranus, although this latter is nineteen times more distant from the sun than the earth, namely, 396 millions of geographical miles; which stupendous, inconceivable space may be brought nearer to our comprehension, if we suppose the distance of the earth from the sun to be one foot; then Uranus would be nineteen feet from the sun, and the star Vega thirty-four and a half geographical miles;<sup>2</sup> that one double-star (61 Cygni) is 18,240 times more distant from the sun than Neptune, and 550,900 times more than the earth, that is, more than eleven billions of geographical miles;<sup>3</sup> that the light of certain nebulae which are nearly twelve millions of miles distant from our system, employs rather more than a *million of years* in reaching us,<sup>4</sup> and that, as Sir William Herschel explicitly remarks, "the rays of light of the remotest nebulae must have been almost *two millions* of years on their way, and, consequently, so many years ago this object must already have had an existence in the sidereal heavens, in order to send out those rays by which we now perceive it;"<sup>5</sup> the undulations of light proceeding from an unresolvable nebula have been called the oldest witnesses of the existence of matter; they lead back "over a myriad of millenniums" into the depths of primeval time; and many heavenly objects have long vanished before they reach us, whilst others have assumed a different character.<sup>6</sup> More than twenty new stars have been observed appearing and disappearing; for instance, in the year 1572 the star of Tycho Brahé was seen in the constellation of Cassiopeia; it surpassed Sirius, Jupiter, and Venus in brilliancy; it was distinguished even at day-time, and remained at night visible even through clouds of considerable density; but it vanished in March, 1574, without trace, after having shone for seventeen months; its light was, in succession, resplendently white, yellow, red, and whitish pale.<sup>7</sup> Similar phenomena occurred in 1600 with a star in the constellation of Cygnus, and in 1604 with one at the foot of Ophiuchus; both of them were brighter than stars of the first magnitude: the former remained during twenty-one years in the firmament. Kepler and Tycho, anticipating the theory of Laplace, declared these new stars to be the result of recent agglomeration of the cosmic nebulae, which fill the space of heaven. A new star of the sixth magnitude was discovered so late as the 28th of March, 1848, by Hind; in 1850 it appeared only as a star of the eleventh magnitude, and approached its disappearance. In the year 1845, the comet of Bila divided itself before our eyes into two comets of similar shape, both consisting of nucleus and tail, but of unequal dimensions;<sup>8</sup> so that it might be asked, if similar processes are not of possible daily occur-

<sup>1</sup> *Arago*, Astron. i. 456.

<sup>2</sup> The solar system to Uranus occupies a space not less than 3,600 millions of miles in diameter.

<sup>3</sup> *Humboldt*, Kosm. iii. 294, 295.

<sup>4</sup> *Arago*, Astron. i. 362.

<sup>5</sup> Transact. for 1802, p. 498; *Sir John Herschel*, Astron. § 590; *Arago*, Annuaire 1842, pp. 334, 359, 382—385; *Humboldt*, Kosm. i. 416; *Maedler*, Astron. p. 454, who asserts that the light from the astral

systems nearest to our milky way, must have travelled not less than thirty millions of years to reach our telescopes.

<sup>6</sup> *Humboldt*, Kosm. iii. 593, 618; comp. *Bacon*, Nov. Organ. 1733, p. 371; *Arago*, Astron. i. 234, "the rays of the stars relate the ancient history of the stars."

<sup>7</sup> See *Arago*, Astron. i. 264—274.

<sup>8</sup> *J. Herschel*, Outlines, § 580—583; *Arago*, Astron. i. 612; *Humboldt*, Kosm. ii. 363, 364.

reaca." "Does the number of stars," asks Arago,<sup>10</sup> "sensibly increase from year to year, either because new stars are in the course of forming, or because the light of the most remote has not had time to arrive at the earth since the beginning of creation?" But without dilating upon the "periodic stars," that is, those the brilliancy of which varies periodically,<sup>11</sup> even the brightness of the stars is not constant: the light is diminishing in some; it has been entirely extinguished in others; and is continually increasing in others.<sup>12</sup>

The nebulous matter above alluded to (p. 13) is spread through the whole immensity of space in very different degrees of density and luminosity, as nebulae incapable of being further resolved into stars, planetary nebulae, or nebulous stars; and in very different shapes, partly globular, partly annular and spiral; and these nebular stars especially tend to convince us that "stars are incessantly forming"; that we are present at the slow progressive birth of new "suns."<sup>13</sup> One of them (which was observed on the 6th of January, 1785), if its centre coincided with that of the sun, would encompass with its atmosphere the orbit of Uranus, and extend eight times beyond! Sir William and Sir John Herschel furnished two lists of not less than 3,538 nebulae, and 338 clusters of stars.<sup>14</sup> They form a huge zone which, it is believed, engirds, as the greatest circle, the whole heaven, and cuts, perhaps, the stars of the milky way almost perpendicularly.<sup>15</sup> Between 10,000 and 20,000 stars appear frequently compressed within a nebula, the diameter of which is not more than six to eight minutes. By far the greater number of nebulae are crowded together in the *northern* hemisphere, where they irregularly spread through many constellations; whilst, in the southern heavens, they are both less frequent and more uniformly distributed: the region of the south-pole itself is poor in stars; and no pole-star is there visible to the naked eye. But many of those nebulae are still shapeless masses of matter of the vastest dimensions, not yet formed into bodies or stars; they extend frequently over several degrees. According to the observations of the Earl of Rosse, one of these cosmic nebulae, occupying only eight degrees, must have the enormous diameter of 200 millions geographical miles! The planetary nebulae in the Great Bear are probably diffused through a sphere the diameter of which is seven times greater than the orbit which Neptune circumscribes, and which is 747 millions of geographical miles.<sup>16</sup> And if we, in conclusion, remind our readers of that most extraordinary of all nebulae, in the Orion, which has since the last two centuries engaged the attention of almost all astronomers, with a light apparently changing from blazing flames to complete blackness; and of those dark clouds in the southern hemisphere of the heaven, called Magellanic clouds, which filled Sir John Herschel with speechless astonishment, which he considered as an irregular aggregate of stars and round clusters of nubeculae, varying in dimensions and density, and of vast tracts of "star-dust"; and which, on account of the extraordinary variety of elements of which they consist, were called "an epitome of the whole starred heaven"<sup>17</sup>—if we combine these and the preceding facts, we might well, in

<sup>9</sup> *Humboldt*, Kosm. iii. 569.

<sup>10</sup> *Astron.* i. 228.

<sup>11</sup> For instance,  $\alpha$  Ceti.

<sup>12</sup> *Arago*, *Astron.* i. 239—260.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, i. 342.

<sup>14</sup> See *Humboldt*, Kosm. iii. 325; comp. *Maedler*, *Astron.*, p. 448; *Philos. Transact.* 1833, p. 365—481; *Sir John Herschel*, *Observations at the Cape of Good Hope*; *Struve*, *Astr. Stellaire*, p. 48.

<sup>15</sup> *Sir John Herschel*, *Treatise on Astronomy*, in *Lardner's Cabin. Cyclop.*

§ 616; *Observations at the Cape*, §§ 96, 107; *Littrow*, *Theoret. Astron.*, ii. § 234.

<sup>16</sup> *Sir John Herschel*, *Outlines of Astr.*, § 876.

<sup>17</sup> The larger cloud covers forty-two square degrees, with an apparent breadth of twelve moon-diameters, and contains 582 stars, 291 nebulae, and 46 clusters of stars; see *Herschel*, *Outl. of Astr.*, § 892—896; *Observ. at the Cape*, p. 143—164; *Philos. Transact.*, 1828, i. p. 147—151; *Humboldt*, Kosm. i. 387; and, in general, iii. 311—370; *Arago*, *Astr.*, pp. 349, 350.

adoration of the Creator, exclaim, with humble reverence: "The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament tells the work of His hands."<sup>1</sup>

"These are Thy glorious works, Parent of good —  
Almighty! Thine this universal frame,  
Thus wondrous fair! Thyself how wondrous then!  
Unspeakable! who sitt'st above these heavens,  
To us invisible, or dimly seen  
In these Thy lowest works; yet these declare  
Thy goodness beyond thought, and pow'r divine."—(*Milton, Par. L., b.v.*)

We are now sufficiently advanced in our proofs and arguments, to be enabled to draw the practical conclusions: but one essential point in connection with the history of creation remains to be discussed; namely, the origin and nature of man, the crowning work of the six days. Hoping, therefore, that the reader will not lose the thread of this inquiry, we shall here introduce a few remarks, comparing the Scriptural notices on the origin of man with the evidence of the various sciences connected with that subject.

## VI — THE CREATION OF MAN.

IF, in the words of a modern poet, "the proper study of mankind is man," it is a satisfactory circumstance, that, with regard to the origin and diffusion of the human race, Scripture and science are less at variance. The statements of the former have, on the whole, been confirmed by the latter in a surprising degree; and we may expect similar results from the future investigations of the ethnographic sciences.

1. The Mosaic narrative teaches that man was the latest act of God's creating energy. The researches of geology have led to the same result. Remains of human forms or works are found in no formation that can be called stratified, not even in the newest Tertiary beds, except those nearest to our present surface; man did not exist before the present condition of the earth. The history of our planet's crust reveals a progressive continuity of creations, the highest of which is man; he is the most perfect of all organic beings; he was framed to strive after virtue and to enjoy happiness; therefore he was not created before the earth offered him a fit abode; not before the plains and valleys were adorned with the charms of a rich vegetation, nor before the air, the waters, and the forests were peopled with animals destined to serve his use or to bear his yoke.

2. The cradle of the human race is in the central region of Western Asia. This Biblical statement is more and more ratified by every progress of ethnographical science. The most perfect and most beautiful type of the human species is found in that centre of the temperate zone, in Iran, Armenia, and the Caucasus; whilst some naturalists have awarded the palm of superiority to the Arabs on the east side of the Red Sea. Man is here, both physically and intellectually, in the highest perfection of his nature. The Caucasian race includes the Greeks and the Hebrews; the nation of beauty and the nation of truth, of art and of religion; it has thus become the delight and the guide of the human families; it has ennobled and elevated mankind. Now it is a very important and remarkable fact, that the further we depart from that centre, the type of man loses both in physical and internal perfection; and it loses in proportion to the distance. The further we proceed—either to the south, to Africa; or eastward, to Australia; to the west, to America; or, northward, to the poles—we find a gradual degeneracy of the human form and the human mind; till the Hottentots and the Bushmen, the South Australians and the natives of Van Diemen's Land, the South American Indians and the Pesherais, the Laplanders and the Esquimaux, either cause disgust by their deformity, or pity by their wretchedness, or aversion by their

<sup>1</sup> Ps. xix. 2; comp. viii. 2; Job xxxvi. 26; xxxviii. 4, 5.

sensual and brutish propensities. This remarkable law assists us, not only to discover the original seat of mankind, but it is another very weighty proof of the unity of all human races; it is another link in the chain of brotherhood which encircles the children of men.

3. The Scriptures further contend, that all nations of the earth descend from *one* primitive pair.<sup>2</sup> This is a principle of the highest moral and practical moment in the system of Biblical theology; it is one of the corner-stones of the whole edifice; for it establishes the *UNITY OF THE HUMAN FAMILIES*; it teaches that the aim and end of mankind, which is universal brotherhood in the love of God, is no new, no unattainable principle; that it is only a return to the primordial idea of the Creator, and to the original state of the newly-formed earth. It is as important and vital as the two other unities which the Bible proclaims, the unity of *God*, and the unity of the *world*, with all its starry hosts; it is the fountain and source of all duties which man owes to man, and nation to nation; it fills us with a proper moral horror against the idea that there are some classes born for slavery, whilst others are destined to govern — a notion by which even the most civilized nations of antiquity disgraced their philosophy; it is, in a word, the only guarantee, as it is the root, of those admirable social laws and precepts which constitute a chief part of the Scriptures. Now the ethnographic inquiries have established the fact, that if the human race does not descend from *one* pair, it certainly belongs to *one* species. The former supposition has been doubted by many intelligent and competent scholars;<sup>3</sup> and a plurality of first parents, brought forth in the different centres of creation, seems to be more and more extensively adopted. But the latter hypothesis is now raised beyond the sphere of uncertainty; it has almost the weight of unimpeachable truth. It has been sanctioned by the nearly unanimous opinions of the greatest natural philosophers of this and the preceding century.

There are, indeed, black and white races; and it appears to be a law, that the less perfect the type the deeper the colour.<sup>4</sup> But it is now generally acknowledged, that colour is no fundamental characteristic. Those inhabitants of Hindostan, who are of one descent, contain groups of people of almost all shades of colour; some Negro nations of Africa, as the Jolofs and Kafirs, possess features and limbs not inferior in elegance to those of Europeans; Arab and Jewish families, settled in Northern Africa, became black like the natives; Negro infants acquire their deep black colour only after exposure for some time to the atmosphere; the face and hands are always of deeper hue than the parts of the body protected by clothing; true whites are sometimes born among the Negroes; and an Arab couple, living in the valley of the Jordan, became the parents of perfectly black children. The skin and the hair are, in their physiological nature, very analogous formations; for the hairs are but skin tubularly prolonged; and yet we find all possible varieties of the colour of the hair among the same tribe, and often in the same family. Although there are races with a facial line nearly vertical, and others with the same line greatly inclined, there are individuals who display every possible degree between these differences; it is, therefore, impossible to draw the line of separation, if they are not all from a common origin. The influence of climate, the mode of living, ease or hardship, the quality of food, of dwellings and clothing, cleanliness, civilisation, the operation of the mind, and general habits, are sufficient to explain the differences in the various tribes, from the Caucasians down to the Negroes; even with regard to the anatomical structure, which, in general, refers only to some not fundamental modifications of form. Nor does the variety of languages

<sup>2</sup> Compare Gen. iii. 20, and Acts xvii. 24—26.

<sup>3</sup> See, for instance, *Burmeister*, *Geschichte der Schoepfung*, 501—506. Even Targum Jonathan, in order to explain the

variety of colours, paraphrases, in ii. 7: "and God created man red, black, and white."

<sup>4</sup> As is obvious, if we successively compare the Negro, the Malay, the American, the Mongolian, and the Caucasian.

contradict the unity of the human race; though all tongues have been classified in groups or families, they seem reducible to one primitive idiom; every progress in the comparative study of languages brings to light new analogies in the structure and in the grammatical forms, and affinities of the roots and terms; even the languages of the new continents do not seem to be excepted from this general resemblance. The human race might, in consequence of its wide diffusion, exhibit similar modifications to those, which single species of animals, if dispersed and domesticated, show with regard to their colour, integument, structure of limbs, proportional size of parts, their general animal economy, and the instincts, habits, and powers.<sup>1</sup> But we cannot refrain from quoting the observations of a man, who has surveyed the vast field of the natural sciences at once with the minuteness of an analyst and the comprehensiveness of a philosopher, and who has, with singular learning and industry, summed up almost the whole enormous range of this branch of literature. Alexander von Humboldt remarks: "Whilst attention was exclusively directed to 'the extremes' of colour and form, the result of the first vivid impressions derived from the senses was a tendency to view these differences as characteristics, not of mere *varieties*, but of originally distinct *species*. The permanence of certain types, in the midst of the most opposite influences, especially of climate, appeared to favour this view, notwithstanding the shortness of the time to which the historical evidence applied. But, in my opinion, more powerful reasons lend their weight to the other side of the question, and corroborate the *unity of the human race*. I refer to the many intermediate gradations of the tint of the skin and the form of the skull, which have been made known to us by the rapid progress of geographical science in modern times; to the analogies derived from the history of varieties, both domesticated and wild; and to the positive observations collected respecting the limits of fecundity in hybrids. The greater part of the supposed contrasts, to which so much weight was formerly assigned, have disappeared before the laborious investigations of Tiedemann on the brain of Negroes and of Europeans, and the anatomical researches of Vrolik and Weber."<sup>2</sup> If we add to these external analogies the inward resemblance of all tribes of man; if we consider, that almost all, from the civilised European to the savage inhabitant of Madagascar and the South Sea Islands, are conscious of a supreme government, and are capable of understanding the bliss of virtue and the torment of crime; that all feel the necessity of penetrating through the vestibule of time to the realms of eternity, and there to seek reward for the good and punishment for the wicked—that all try to express, by the medium of language, the cravings of their hearts, and the thoughts of their mind; if, in a word, we consider, that all which is essential and characteristic in man, in his superiority over the brute creation, is equally found, though in different degrees of development, among the various nations most distant in local habitation, and most differing in external appearance:—we shall cease to doubt that all men form *one species*, and that all are descended, at least, from a kindred ancestry; we shall willingly admit, that it is impossible to divide the human families in distinct *races* with clearly definable criteria;<sup>3</sup> and we shall allow our minds more unrestrictedly to indulge in the beatifying promise of a time, when all the nations of the earth will form one fraternal community, linked together by the same religion and by that exalted humanity which is the un-failing result of an enlightened knowledge of God. If, therefore, the arguments in favour of a plurality of first ancestors should even be considerably increased, and raise this opinion to a perfect certainty, the beautiful doctrine of the Bible would not be

<sup>1</sup> See the works of Cuvier, Blumenbach, Link, Wiegmann, R. Wagner, Willbrand, Lueken, Pritchard, Johannes von Müller, and others.

<sup>2</sup> Kosmos i. 379.

<sup>3</sup> The classification of Blumenbach in five races, of Pritchard in seven, having, like all the others, been found unsatisfactory.

endangered or overthrown; the idea of an indestructible unity of mankind would remain; all would yet be the children of *one* eternal Father, and all would possess the same general qualities. From the physical unity we should rise to the higher internal relationship; and if all are not the bodily descendants of Adam, all bear alike the spiritual image of the Creator.

But it is our duty to advert to another opinion regarding the origin of man. Were we to weigh it by the intrinsic force of its arguments, it would scarcely deserve a serious notice; but it is, unfortunately, making so rapid progress, that it is impossible to overlook it; and the spirit of our age is peculiarly favourable to its pernicious propagation.

It is a very old physical doctrine, that all organic beings, both plants and animals, were produced directly by the earth itself, in virtue of its innate properties; this was called the "free creative power of matter";<sup>4</sup> for the earth was believed to enclose, from the beginning, the hidden seeds of all organic life; whilst some attributed the *difference* of the creatures to the agglomeration of the substances in different proportions and forms. This view is not only found in the epitome of Justinus,<sup>5</sup> but also in the works of St. Augustine;<sup>6</sup> although the latter, of course, makes the powers of the earth immediately subject to the will and command of God. Now it is asserted, that, in precisely the same manner, men were created in all parts of the globe, wherever the earth was sufficiently advanced in its component parts to furnish the materials for the human organism; and wherever the earth was *capable* of producing men, it was *necessitated* to do so.<sup>7</sup> If the naturalists had stopped at this point, it would have been difficult to refute them conclusively; for they appeal to facts which lie entirely beyond human experience and human speculation; although the recent microscopic observations have proved the spontaneous generation of even the most diminutive animalcules to be a fallacy,<sup>8</sup> and although the question why, at present, human beings are not produced by the same process, has never been satisfactorily answered, unless we admit the usual reply, that the earth lost that power as soon as the human race was for itself capable of propagating its species, in accordance with the general law, that nature permits only what is necessary, not what is superfluous. But the naturalists did not stop there. They asserted, that there is no difference between chemical processes and organic life; that it is, therefore, not impossible to bring forth organic beings by chemical forces; and they exultingly pointed to an insect of a not very inferior order, called *Acarus Crossii*,<sup>9</sup> which was ostensibly produced in that way, by the operation of a powerful voltaic battery upon a saturated solution of silicate of potash. This instance was proclaimed as a clear illustration of the origin of man, who, it was contended, was formed at a time when the earth's surface still possessed the elements for the spontaneous working of similar chemical processes. But even this theory was not deemed sufficient; it was but the starting-point for other more adventurous and more audacious conjectures, the detestable consequences of which strike at the very root of human existence. It was asserted, that all organic beings, with their various classes, orders, and types, are literally the lineal descendants of each other; that the first step in the creation of life upon our planet was a chemico-electric operation, by which simple

<sup>4</sup> *Generatio originaria sive æquivoca, spontanea sive primaria.*

<sup>5</sup> *ii. 1: Humillimo autem solo eandem aquam diutissime immorata, et quanto prior queque pars terrarum siccata sit, tanto prius animalia generare coepisse. Comp. Ovid, Met. i. 80, 81, 416—420.*

<sup>6</sup> *De Civit. Dei, xvi. 7: Si e terra exortæ sunt (bestiæ) secundum originem primam, quando dixit Deus: Producat*

*terra animam vivam! multo clarius apparet, etc.*

<sup>7</sup> According to the principle: *A posse ad esse valet consequentia.*

<sup>8</sup> Compare *Ehrenberg, Infusor., p. 121, 525; Joh. Müller, Physiol., i. 8—17; Humboldt, Kosmos, i. 373, 488.*

<sup>9</sup> Minute and semi-transparent, and furnished with long bristles.



germinal vesicles were produced; that then the lower organization always produced the next higher form, in the same manner as the butterfly emerges from the larva, or the beetle from the worm, or the frog from the fish-like tadpole; till at last man was born in due and regular succession; that, for instance, the fishes are the ancestors of the reptiles; which, in their turn, are the progenitors of the birds; and so on, till the Labyrinthodon or Cheirotherium, that massive Batrachian, which left its hand-like footprints in the New Red Sandstone, became the parent of man! This is the glorious origin of our race! this is the noble ancestry of which man has to boast! His pedigree ascends to the beetle and the shell-fish; his relationship comprises all the fishes of the sea, and all the beasts of the forest! A Batrachian (or, according to older naturalists, a monkey) is the father of man, of whom the greatest bard exclaimed, in enraptured admiration: "How noble in reason! how infinite in faculties! in form and moving, how express and admirable! in action, how like an angel! in apprehension, how like a God!"<sup>1</sup> And those philosophers even hold out the hope that man will, in the course of time, become the parent of a higher order of beings, whenever it happens that the fetus is retained and developed in the mother's womb beyond the present period of its secret genesis; just as, by a mere modification of the embryonic progress, which it is in the power of the adult animals to effect, a working-bee or a queen may be produced; or as *oats*, if sown at the usual time, kept cropped down during summer and autumn, and allowed to remain over winter, are said to become *rye* at the close of the ensuing summer.

According to some champions of this theory, Hindostan was the first seat of the human race; and the reason which they assign will no longer surprise us: "because we must expect man to have originated where the highest species of monkeys (*quadrumana*) are to be found, which is unquestionably in the Indian archipelago!" And they teach that, as the monkeys are the parents of the Negroes, or the lowest type of men, so the Negroes became, by the principle of development, the ancestors of the next higher, or the Malayan race; till, in the same gradation, the highest, or Caucasian, tribes were produced: so that mankind itself has passed through stages similar to those which mark the progress of the various orders of animals! And lest we omit any important point in this sublime theory, we add, that this is but a very small portion of the metamorphoses which we have undergone. The organisation of man, it is said, gradually passes through conditions of, generally speaking, a fish, a reptile, a bird, and the lower mammalia, before it attains its specific maturity; and at one of the last stages of his fetal career, he exhibits one characteristic of the perfect ape; that, especially, his brain resembles successively that of an adult fish, a reptile, of birds, of the mammalia, after which it is at last developed into the brain of man. For it is asserted as a general principle, that each animal passes, in the course of its germinal history, through a series of changes resembling the *permanent forms*, first of the various orders inferior to it in the entire scale, and then of its own order.

But all facts rise with a thousand-fold voice against that theory; the relationship between the present and the extinct creatures can in no instance be proved; there are no genealogies of development; there is no direct lineage, nothing like parental descent.

It cannot be surprising, that such premises led to the most monstrous conclusions; that a school has been formed which not only renewed the system of the heathen Epicureans, but carried it out in its most revolting consequences; that it is most clamorously asserted, that the world was formed through itself by atoms, or "*monads*," working upon each other by the aid of chance; that man is a developed animal; his thoughts are the product of oxidised coal and phosphorescent fat; his will depends on the swelling of the fibres, and the contact of the different substances of the brain; and his sentiments are the movements of the electric currents in the nerves;

<sup>1</sup> Hamlet, ii. 2.

that the notions of God, soul, virtue, conscience, immortality, and the like, are illusory products of the changes of matter in the brain; crime and murder are the consequence of a deception, and of the dislocation of a brain-fibre. Therefore, the greatest regard for criminals is demanded; for those of them who are not victims of erroneous social conditions, are the prey of some unfortunate tendencies which they have inherited from nature; so that malefactors must be sent to hospitals and asylums, and not to prisons and workhouses; the judge is to be entirely superseded by the physician; theft, and calumny, and fraud, do not come before the tribunal of morality, but are to be cured by physic and medicines; and even murder is no atrocious crime, but an unhappy mistake, which it would be absurd and cruel to visit with punishment. In such perversion of notions we must tremble for the safety of society. The very essence and nature of man are denied; and his consciousness itself is declared a phantom and a dream! The happiness of men and the order of the universe are crushed in one vast and fearful ruin. Every sympathetic feeling is a weakness, and all enthusiasm is infatuation; hope and faith are the offspring of credulous indolence; and soon, alas! love will follow into the same awful abyss!<sup>2</sup>

And what is Providence? or how does it work? "The individual is to the Author of nature a consideration of inferior moment. Everywhere we see the arrangements for the species perfect; the individual is left, as it were, to take his chance amidst the *mêlée* of the various laws affecting him. If he be found inferiorly endowed, or ill befalls him, there was, at least, no partiality against him. The system has the fairness of a lottery, in which every one has the like chance of drawing the prize." This is the dreary and awful result of that materialistic philosophy which, in order to secure the glory of the race, abandons the individuals to despair and to chance, and hurls all into a ghastly precipice of misery and wretchedness, even the scanty number of those not excepted, who, by their superior organisation, are favoured "to draw the prize." What consolations has that wisdom to offer to the "blanks" who so urgently need them? What will support and encourage them to bear the endless toils of existence, to maintain the serenity of the mind, and, in spite of temptations and hardships, to persevere in the path of virtue? It is not sufficient for man that God is the *Creator*; he requires also a *Providence*; he demands the free interposition of a moral agency; he will be certain, not only of the grandeur of God, but of His love; he draws courage and hope only from the conviction that an all-seeing eye explores the heart, regards virtue, and inflicts deserved castigation on vice; he can strive after perfection only when he knows that there is greater happiness in *wisdom* than in worldly *prudence*; and that external *success* is not the true test of human worth. Let no philosopher, in the conceit of an artificial fortitude, call this weakness; even he will frequently shudder at the chilling greatness of his doctrines; even he will often be overwhelmed by unspeakable wretchedness, from which not his death-spreading theory, but the returning conviction of an immutable moral order, can alone relieve him.—Nature is certainly a work of art, but the Artist is greater than His work; it is but a part of the emanation of His mind. The world is founded on eternal laws; but within the universal necessity ample scope is preserved to the liberty of man. It is, indeed, added by some, that there is a system of mercy and grace behind the screen of nature, which is to make up for all casualties endured here; but the more determined votaries of that school have ridiculed the idea of an after-life; and they could not consistently but reject it; for, on the one hand, their notions regarding the close connection between man and the brute creation would oblige them to accord immortality to the animals also; and, on the other hand, their conviction that a soul cannot exist without being associated with matter, excludes the idea of life after the dissolution of the body.

<sup>2</sup> See the works of Carl Vogt, Burmeister, Moleschott, Gruson, Czolbe, Buechner, Lamarck, Maillet, and "Ves-

tiges of the Natural History of Creation," pp. 146—278, 297, 380.

In that theory is nothing but death, corruption, and annihilation; but as long as one human mind feels an aspiration beyond the dust on which the foot treads, that theory is a falsehood and a lie, even if it should have every microscope and the whole chemical apparatus in its favour; the conviction which comes from within; which has lived in the human race for millenniums as an imperishable property; which has from a faint dawn risen to greater and greater brilliancy; which has given birth to all religions and to all philosophies; which is the invisible anchor to which every uncorrupted soul instinctively clings — this internal conviction is a thousand and a million times more irresistible than all analysis and all demonstration: for the spirit cannot be analysed, and the superhuman truths mock human demonstration. It is true that every function is tied to an organ, without which the function is impossible; but the individual parts are animated by an invisible bond, by a power which converts the mechanism into an organism; and a free manifestation of the will, independent of the parts, and emanating from that organic life, is required to move and to direct the organs of reflection and of feeling, and to cause the *functions* of the nervous system. And, as it is impossible to deny the *function* of the intellect, as every one must confess that man displays a mental life, he necessarily has a corresponding *organ* — he has a *mind* and a *soul*. But the converse of that axiom, viz., that every organ must always and unavoidably exercise a function, is erroneous; it is false in point of fact, and would theoretically turn man into a piece of machinery, which, once put in motion, must always and perpetually continue the same movements. Thus the wild strife about the relation between "power and matter," which, like a furious war-cry, sounds through the camps of science, is at once silenced. Honour, and duty, and faith, and love, have moved millions to defy death and torture; to these millions, certainly, the Divine was an all-powerful, a sacred reality; and, indeed, they are the true representatives of the human family. The study of nature cannot destroy, but must enhance and fortify, the idea of the godly attributes of man; it cannot lead to the idolatrous deification of the physical powers; the Mind which called this matter into existence, and which rules and directs behind the matter, must not only speak to the intellect, but to the heart and to the soul of man; the physical is but the basis for the metaphysical, the natural is but the starting-point for the supernatural. Even in the most perverse tendencies of the sciences, the nobility of the human mind still manifests itself; and even through the most fearful aberrations of faith, a ray of divine grandeur still gleams. A higher yearning might cease in many individuals, it will live in the nation; it might become extinct in one nation, it will flourish in another; on the ruins of Greek literature rose that of Rome; the decaying Roman empire was re-animated by the influence of the Biblical truths and the vitality of the Teutonic race; and the darkness of succeeding barbarous ages was dispersed by the dawn of a brighter civilisation: truth and idealism, if driven from pole to pole, will never fail to find a refuge in mankind. Wherever they lose their power the social ties are severed, the national prosperity declines, and the political structure totters. One religious system may be overthrown by another, but religion is indestructible; one philosophical theory may be refuted by a later reasoner, but philosophy is an inherent part in human nature; and even poetry, that aerial daughter of fancy, frail and unsubstantial as it may appear, will last beyond the eternal rocks and the unfathomable oceans — it will survive all the capricious fluctuations of taste and fashion, and with the last man will be buried the last lover of poetry and art.

#### VII.—CONCLUSIONS AND INFERENCES.

We have seen that the results of the natural sciences are at variance with the Biblical narrative, especially with regard to the Age of the World, the Creation in Six Days, and the Formation of the Solar System and the Universe.

In the exposition of that Book, the mission of which is the diffusion of *truth* on earth, candour and unreserved truthfulness are primary duties. Truth can never be aided by falsehood, nor does it require its questionable assistance; zeal preserves, but blind zeal destroys. Firmness is one thing, and obstinacy another; the one may be coupled with the calmest prudence, the other wilfully shuts the ears to arguments and to experience. The one yields when it is convinced, the other is determined to be never convinced; the one proceeds from strength of mind, the other from weakness of intellect. We deem it as impossible as it would be degrading, to conceal or to gloss over the difficulties to which we have alluded. The Book of Nature is no longer a sealed secret; it is no longer the exclusive privilege of the initiated; it has become the common property of nations; every man who has passed beyond the first elements of education hastens to study the Creator in His works, there to adore His wisdom, to prostrate himself before His grandeur; in fact, the time is approaching when the study of Nature will belong to the very elements of education. Are the expositors of Scripture prepared to stem this torrent? Will they oppose this universal movement towards the knowledge of the physical sciences? Will they once more proclaim open war against academies and observatories? Will they brand with the odious names of heretic, infidel, and atheist, those whom God has graciously gifted with the subtle intellect to penetrate into the abstrusest laws of nature, to search the depths of the ocean and the earth, and to watch the marvellous orbits of unnumbered stars? "Shall man curse where God has blessed?" Fatal error! demented fanaticism!

A Brahmin crushed with a stone the microscope that first showed him living things among the vegetables of his daily food. The prophets of Israel were persecuted and killed, because they placed purity of the heart higher than ceremonial worship. Socrates was ridiculed in the "clouds" of Aristophanes, because he was favourable to an explanation of thunder and the storms by natural causes; and he was compelled to empty the poisonous cup, because he declared the gods of Homer as the offspring of imagination. Huss suffered death by fire, nearly on account of the same doctrines which, a century later, made Luther the founder of a new era in the history of mankind. Dr. Elliot was, in 1787, declared mad, because he maintained that the sun might be inhabited, an opinion at present extensively adopted by astronomers. Robespierre was, in the early part of his life, persecuted for his exertions to introduce Franklin's lightning conductor into France, as it was considered an audacious attempt to avert the decrees of Providence. And some are "still ashamed to find any Christian author" upholding the theory of the gradual cooling down of our planet, and of the successive formation of its surface; they call this "one of the wildest, most extravagant, and unfounded theories which it ever entered into the mind of man to conceive."<sup>1</sup> The history of human civilisation is sufficiently abundant in martyrs not to require a repetition of blind persecution.

The natural sciences have a right to ascend to the first causes of creation. This is no arrogance, no ungodly assumption on their part. It is no rebellion of the human intellect to exert itself in comprehending the wonders of the Deity; it would, on the contrary, be despotism and short-sighted tyranny on the part of the theological sciences, if they dictated to physical researches arbitrary limits—if they permitted to the latter the analysis of that which exists, but decried the enquiry into its origin and its probable future development. If the human mind can, in the world of *thought*, penetrate through endless regions of time and space, why should it, in the *material* world, be fettered to actual appearances? Why should it not, in the realm of the sciences, also be able to ascend from effects to causes, or to descend from means to ends? It is, on the other hand, no derogation to the natural sciences that they have often been

<sup>1</sup> *Taylor, Geology, p. 260.*

convicted of fallacies and erroneous conclusions; or that one hypothesis is frequently opposed by another perfectly contrary theory.

We are here reminded of the beautiful words of Socrates, who, in Plato's *Phaedon*, when new and apparently unanswerable objections were raised against his proofs of the immortality of the soul, said: "First of all, we must beware, lest we meet with that great mischance to become haters of reasoning as some become haters of men (*misanthropes*); for no greater evil can happen to any one than to hate reasoning. But hatred of reasoning and hatred of mankind both spring from the same source. For the latter is produced in us, from having placed too great reliance on some one without sufficient knowledge of him, and from having considered him to be a man altogether true, sincere, and faithful; and then, after a little while, finding him depraved and unfaithful, and after him another; and when a man has often experienced this, he at last hates all men, and thinks that there is no excellence at all in mankind. And yet he attempts to deal with men without sufficient knowledge of human nature, since he is unable to discern between the good and the bad. Just so a man who has discovered the fallacy of one argument after another, after having some time relied on their soundness, at last distrusts all argument, and becomes a hater of reasoning, though he ought to accuse his own shortsightedness, or unskilfulness."<sup>1</sup> It seems to be the task and mission of the intellect to advance by labour and exertion, and often to arrive at truth only by the long and wearisome circuits of error. But though the natural sciences may have occasion to retract many of the theories at present prevailing, they have succeeded in establishing so many fundamental truths, that their organic development towards the highest aim is for ever secured; and as we have, in the preceding remarks, based our arguments on those incontroverted facts only, we consider the results which we have derived from them, on the whole, beyond dispute, although we shall always be willing to modify some of the details whenever their inaccuracy may be demonstrated. We, for our own part, have the unshaken, deeply-rooted conviction, that every earnest exertion of the human mind necessarily leads to an increased and purer fear of God; and even if the abundance of light which science suddenly pours forth, should at first dazzle the eye—even if reason, surprised and amazed at its own power and glory, should for a time walk its own path, apparently independent and free from the control of the Universal Mind, the excess of light will gradually subside into a serene brightness, and reason will, in more perfect harmony, ally itself to Him, of whom it is a part. Only let the research be calm and unprejudiced, humble and modest—only let "the axe not boast itself against Him who works with it."

The Pentateuch has a three-fold end; it is intended to show, first, God as the Creator and Ruler of the World; secondly, to define the position of Israel among the nations of the earth; and, thirdly, to explain the organization of the Hebrews as a theocratical monarchy after their conquest of Palestine. Such is the aim; such are the leading ideas of the Books of Moses. These principles they unfold and carry out with minute consistency, whilst all other portions are only introduced to throw light upon them. They constitute the essence of the Mosaic dispensation; they are its exclusive characteristics, which are found in no other work which man possesses. The Scriptures proclaimed those *spiritual* and *moral* truths, which will be acknowledged in all ages; and they proclaimed them at a time when the whole earth was shrouded in mental darkness. But it is quite different with the *scientific* truths. The people of Israel, although favoured as the medium of higher religious enlightenment, remained, in *all respects*, a common member in the family of nations, subject to the same laws of progress, left to the same exertions, adhering to their former notions

<sup>1</sup> *Plato, Phaedon, 87—90.*

and habits of thought, rectified by their faith only in so far as to harmonise with the pure doctrine of monotheism and the absolute rule of a just Providence. Hence, for instance, Moses did not abolish the "avenge of blood," although he materially modified it; nor did he command monogamy, although he evidently encouraged it; he retained the phylacteries, which he, however, divested of all superstitious elements; and he ordained, in common with almost all heathen legislators, the sanctification of all first-born of men and animals, and all first-fruits, although he made this law subservient to the purposes of his theocracy.<sup>2</sup> But the law is inexorable in punishing witchcraft, necromancy, divination, enchantment, or any other appeal to the power of spirits, because this would have endangered the principal idea of the legislation; it would have defiled the purity of monotheism.<sup>3</sup>

The Bible was *not even intended* to supersede science, but only to control it; faith should not awe reason, but guide it, and protect its daring flight from degrading aberrations. The Israelites were to enter the lists with all other nations in every worldly progress, in sciences and discoveries; they were to exert their intellects; they were "to study day and night": far from imagining that they had, by an act of grace and without their co-operation, received all the treasures of thought from God, they were to strive and "to dig for wisdom and knowledge more than for riches." If the minds were to be shielded against stagnation, new channels of mental activity were to be opened to them after they had been set at rest about the great and mysterious problems of the creating and ruling power of the Universe. Therefore we constantly find, both in the Old and the New Testament, in worldly and scientific matters, a very close analogy to the ideas of the respective times and nations; the Biblical writers adopt, in these respects, not only the ordinary phraseology, but they can express but the general notions, of those whose *religious* conduct they intended to regulate or to correct. The Hebrews had, indeed, no predilection for *positive* sciences; they were of a reflective, intuitive nature; they delighted in religious speculation; external observation and scientific combination were not in their mental disposition. At no period, therefore, did the natural sciences flourish among them; and though they excelled all nations in sublimity of thought, they were inferior to all in practical studies; their life was too much directed to the higher aims of truth, to leave much leisure for curiosity or expediency; and if they obtained some scanty scientific results, they soon forced them under the dominion of religion, and made them assume an unsecular character. We are well aware of the opinion of certain schools, that the intellect of man was, before the Fall, able to penetrate into all truth, but that, by his sin and disobedience, the book of nature was sealed up to him; we know that many even maintain, that God revealed to the first man the origin and the wonders of Creation, and that this knowledge was by tradition preserved among all the nations of the East; whence they account for the numerous analogies in the ancient cosmogonies; we know that it is frequently added, that God imparted that revelation, not in the Hebrew tongue, but in that "one language" which was spoken on the whole earth before the dispersion of nations (xi. 1); and that, by the transfusion into the Hebrew language, many ideas and truths have been lost: but whether the Hebrew historian entertained such notions, it is absolutely impossible to prove from his words; and we cannot accept dogmatical theories precariously erected upon the tottering basis of fantastical conjectures. Even the account of the Creation is not introduced in order to afford information on physical problems, but to form a basis for the institution of the Sabbath;<sup>4</sup> and as the Sabbath is a chief foundation for the whole Law, so the Creation is the basis of the whole system of Biblical history. This constitutes one of the most essential differences between the

<sup>2</sup> See Commentary on Exod. pp. 185, 220, 223, 370, 391, *et seq.*

<sup>3</sup> See Lev. xix. 31; xx. 6; xviii. 10—

12; comp. Commentary on Exod. pp. 330, 425.

<sup>4</sup> Exod. xx. 11.

Hebrew and other cosmogonies. The Scriptures have, from their beginning, a fixed spiritual end; the narrative has an ideal tendency; it is not inserted for its own sake, but to prove a great truth, and to support a sublime precept; it is represented as historical, but it has a philosophical back-ground; its interpretation must be literal, but it yet borrows some celestial light from the great source of eternal truth. These remarks suffice to explain why the Mosaic records begin with a cosmogony; it is not merely an accommodation to the usual forms of eastern religious codes; it has not directly the aim of justifying the expulsion of the Canaanites from Palestine, and its occupation by the Israelites, to whom God, "the possessor of heaven and earth," granted it by His profound will; it is but partially designed to illustrate the connection of the Abrahamites with the whole human family; it is much more calculated to show that the God of Israel is identical with the Creator of the Universe; that the World existed not from eternity; and that the whole aim and goal of all physical existence are spiritual rest and mental elevation.<sup>1</sup>—Bacon already saw the great danger of the attempt to find natural philosophy in the first chapter of Genesis, or the Book of Job; he called it a deification of error, and "a seeking of the living among the dead"; he considered those who indulged in it, guilty of much levity; and denounced it with all the vigour of his mind, because he was convinced that it produces "not only a phantastical philosophy, but also an heretical religion." Humboldt expresses, in more than one place, similar views; he urges, that there exists no primitive physical science revealed to the first generations of men, no natural wisdom of first nations, obscured by sin and crime, or later civilization; such views, dictated by faith, are not sanctioned by science. He observes,—that, indeed, an overwhelming feeling of the unity of the powers of nature rises even in the bosom of the savage; but that feeling is widely different from the attempt at comprehending the connection of the phenomena by ideas; such conceptions are the result of continued observations and patient combinations; of a protracted contact of men with the external world; not of one nation, but of mutual interchange of opinions, and of an extensive international intercourse.<sup>2</sup> "Indistinct conjectures and imperfect inductions are gradually replaced by clear and well defined conceptions. The dogmatic views of past centuries will then survive only in popular prejudices and in certain disciplines which, conscious of their weakness, are eager to shroud themselves in darkness."<sup>3</sup>

If the Scriptures imply, that they contain the complete system of theology necessary to the soul of man, they never intimate, that they embrace all the sciences accessible to his mind; they leave to the latter an infinite extent and surface beyond their pages; they allow to the intellect endless scope for labour, and research, and progress,—but they have, in some measure, reserved to themselves the test of truth and error, and have assigned to the human understanding the boundary, beyond which it is not permitted to travel.

Now, the results of the physical sciences regarding the Creation have not to fear that test; they have not trespassed that boundary. They do not in the least contradict the three chief principles of the Pentateuch; they have, in fact, only reference to the first of them, to God as Creator and Ruler of the World. But they are so far from weakening this truth, that they have, indeed, become one of its most powerful and most substantial supports. Every inch which the geologist descends into the depth of the earth, proclaims to the astonished eye the secret working of an omnipotent Creator; every star which the magic power of the telescope reveals to the astronomer in the realms of space, preaches with overwhelming eloquence the unspeakable glory of an all-wise Governor. Does it derogate from the grandeur of the Eternal, if He has watched over the progress of our planet for millions of years instead of a few millenniums? or, if our earth is only as a sand-corn among the numberless worlds which His power has created? The oldest and the youngest of the natural sciences, astronomy and geology,

<sup>1</sup> See notes on ii. 1—3.

<sup>2</sup> Kosmos, ii. 147.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, i. 5.

so far from being dangerous to the notion of a Universal Mind, are peculiarly calculated to lead back the wandering intellect to religious emotions; they spontaneously assume the dignity of sacred sciences; the student rises from them hallowed and elevated; they seem, indeed, providentially destined to engage the present century so powerfully, that the ideal majesty of infinite time and endless space might counteract that low and narrow materialism which threatens to bury all the sublimest aspirations of our divine nature in the common gulph of selfishness and worldliness, and which prompts man, "the feeble tenant of an hour," to regard himself, in the pride of his property or the vanity of his knowledge, as the master of creation; though—

"Man's noisy years seem moments in the being  
Of the eternal silence."<sup>4</sup>

And it is the duty of Biblical interpretation, with a vigilant and prospective eye, "Heart within, and God o'erhead," to watch over those precious boons, and, for their defence, to borrow weapons from every accessible store-house.

We have thus shown, by positive argument, that a conciliation between the Bible and the natural sciences is impossible: but, in order to give another proof that we are perfectly impartial; that we have no other end but the truth; and that we have considered this important object in all its bearings, we deem it necessary to conclude with a review of the various attempts which have been made to effect that harmony, and to show that all these efforts have signally failed. This negative part will complete our task, and will, we trust, remove every uncertainty which might still linger in the reader's mind, and might cause him to hesitate as to his final judgment. For we shall prove, that some of those attempts are specious, others futile, but all utterly untenable.

### VIII.—REVIEW OF CONCILIATIONS HITHERTO ATTEMPTED.

We may be permitted to pass over the strangely sceptical, but perfectly ungrounded, opinions, that our present knowledge of the Hebrew language is insufficient for an accurate understanding of the Biblical narrative;<sup>5</sup> or that the Hebrew text is grossly corrupted by several erroneous and absurd glosses, which by mistake have, in the course of transcription, been inserted in the Biblical narrative by ancient copyists.<sup>6</sup> These opinions evade the question rather than solve it; and we proceed to mention the following more positive interpretations:—

1. The world was really and literally created in six days. This opinion is, we believe, sufficiently refuted by the preceding remarks;<sup>7</sup> it is made absolutely impossible by the indisputable results of all the combined natural sciences. The attempt to raise that opinion to a dogma would totally estrange all reflective minds and the men of science from the Biblical records; it would compel them to a decision by no means favourable to the authority of the Scriptures; and would for ever destroy that *moral* influence which they are so eminently calculated to exercise. It is, therefore, unnecessary to urge minor difficulties; for instance, how vegetation could thrive before the existence of the sun;<sup>8</sup> how we can reconcile the established fact, that both plants, and fishes, and other animals are, in consequence of their peculiar structure and entire anatomy, confined within precise geographical boundaries, beyond which they cannot live, with the statement that all trees and all animals were combined in Paradise;<sup>9</sup> and how these beings could afterwards find their way to the different, and often very distant, zones and climes adapted to their various organisms. These and many other difficulties, to which we have already alluded, prove undeniably that the literal acceptance of the text is incompatible with the fundamental results of the natural sciences.

2. In order to gain scope for the geological epochs, many critics have proposed to

<sup>4</sup> Wordsworth.

<sup>5</sup> Thus, for instance, Babbage.

<sup>6</sup> Granville Penn and others.

<sup>7</sup> pp. 6—13.

<sup>8</sup> vers. 11, 12, 16.

<sup>9</sup> ii. 9, 19, 20.



interpret the term "day" (דַּי) as a *period*, or an *indefinite epoch*. But this is equally inadmissible. In our plain, purely historical, and calm narrative, this metaphorical use of the word is rendered impossible by the repeated phrase—"And evening was, and morning was," both forming one natural day. Nor can the circumstance, that on the fourth day only the sun was created to divide the day from the night,<sup>1</sup> prove that the word "day" denotes, in the preceding verses at least, an unlimited time; if it means *day* in one verse, it has the same signification throughout the whole narrative, or we should be obliged to take the day of Sabbath<sup>2</sup> likewise as "a period of rest." This has, indeed, sometimes been done, even in recent works.<sup>3</sup> It is maintained that the work of Redemption is the work of God's Sabbath-day, and that the Sabbath of man is a miniature imitation of this seventh period, just as a map may be a faithful, though small copy of the countries represented. But if the "rest" of God is intended as the type of the human Sabbath, it must in every way be adapted to man's capability and condition; it is a mere fiction, to say, that "the work of Redemption" is, in the Old Testament, represented as "the work of God's Sabbath"; and what, we ask, will become of Biblical interpretation, if such rules are unhesitatingly applied, which, in the exposition of any other book, would be denounced as preposterous, or dismissed with a smile—if the word "day" is interpreted to mean four-and-twenty hours, and in the very same verse is made to signify a hundred thousand years? The poetical sentence, "A thousand years are, in the eyes of God, as one day,"<sup>4</sup> describes simply the eternity of God, which knows no time and has no limit; and its metaphorical character is unmistakably expressed in the parallel passage—"One day is with the Lord as a thousand years."<sup>5</sup> We speak, indeed, of the "morning" or "evening" of life; but such figurative expressions prove as little for the ordinary usage of the word *day*, as those Biblical metaphors, "the day of perdition,"<sup>6</sup> "of darkness,"<sup>7</sup> or "of distress;"<sup>8</sup> the "day of revenge,"<sup>9</sup> or "of Divine wrath;"<sup>10</sup> the "day of war,"<sup>11</sup> "of help and rescue;"<sup>12</sup> or the frequent phrase, "in that day."<sup>13</sup> All these terms occur only in poetical or prophetic portions, where a misconception is entirely impossible. The "day of the departure from Egypt,"<sup>14</sup> or "the day of Egypt,"<sup>15</sup> means strictly the day of the exodus itself, which was the time of Israel's greatest glory, or the time when God smote all the firstborn of the Egyptians.<sup>16</sup> In a similar manner a great number of analogous passages are to be explained.<sup>17</sup> The word דַּי, "in the day," is sometimes used as a conjunction of time, in the general sense of *when*;<sup>18</sup> but דַּי alone is in no prosaical part of the Scriptures applied in a similar signification. The first creative act of God was the production of matter; a word, a thought sufficed; it was the introductory work of the first day; and the command that light should appear was pronounced in a subsequent part of the same day. As the end of the creation was order, life, and beauty, the production of the chaos did not occupy a day for itself, but formed the starting-point from which the cosmogony at once passed to the origin of universal

<sup>1</sup> ver. 14.

<sup>2</sup> ii. 2, 3.

<sup>3</sup> See, for instance, *Hugh Miller, Testimony of the Rocks*, p. 153; *Donald Macdonald, Creation and the Fall*, p. 105—107; *Delitzsch, Genes.*, p. 61.

<sup>4</sup> Ps. xc. 4.

<sup>5</sup> 2 Pet. iii. 8.

<sup>6</sup> Deut. xxxii. 35; Jer. xli. 21; comp. Ps. cxxxvii. 7.

<sup>7</sup> Job xv. 23; Ps. xxvii. 5.

<sup>8</sup> Gen. xxxv. 3; Ps. xx. 3.

<sup>9</sup> Isa. xxxiv. 8, lxiii. 4; Jer. xvii. 18; Joel i. 15, ii. 1.

<sup>10</sup> Lament. ii. 1, 21, 22; Zeph. i. 18, ii. 3.

<sup>11</sup> Hos. x. 14; Amos i. 14; Zech. xiv. 3; Job xxxviii. 23.

<sup>12</sup> Isa. xlix. 8.

<sup>13</sup> בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא; Isa. xxiii. 15; xxvii. 12, 18; Jer. iv. 9, etc.

<sup>14</sup> Deut. xvi. 3. Comp. Exod. xii. 51, xiii. 4; Jer. vii. 22.

<sup>15</sup> Ezek. xxx. 9.

<sup>16</sup> Num. iii. 18, viii. 17.

<sup>17</sup> 1 Sam. xv. 35, xxvii. 1; Ps. lxxviii. 42; Isa. xlii. 6, 9, etc.

<sup>18</sup> Gen. ii. 4, iii. 5, v. 1, 2. Comp. Exod. ix. 18; 2 Sam. xxii. 1, 19; see especially Eccl. xii. 3 (בַּיּוֹם), compared with ver. 1 (יָמֵי הָרָעָה).

light. Whatever efforts have been made to prove that the days here represent periods, the advocates of this opinion have not been able to bring forward one single plausible argument;<sup>19</sup> unless it be considered in harmony with the *Biblical notions* of Divine omnipotence, that God created the light, or the heaven, or the dry land, in a period of 50,000 or 100,000 years; of that Omnipotence which "commands, and it exists." The term "evening and morning" describes indisputably the lapse of one complete day, or of four-and-twenty hours<sup>20</sup> and this cycle of hours elapses, even if there were no sun to mark it. Sun and moon do not *make* the day; they only *govern* it.<sup>21</sup> And as there were days and nights before the creation of the sun and the moon, so there will be, at the end of time, light without the luminaries which diffuse it; as is distinctly stated, both in the Old and the New Testament.<sup>22</sup>

3. Hugh Miller once believed that the "six days" were ordinary days of twenty-four hours each, and that the latest of the geologic ages was separated by a great chaotic gap from our own. But at that time his labours as a practical geologist had been restricted to the palaeozoic and Secondary Rocks; later, however, he directed his attention to the more recent formations also, and studied their peculiar organisms; and his unavoidable conclusions were, that "for many ages ere man was ushered into being, not a few of his humble contemporaries of the fields and woods enjoyed life in their present haunts, and that for thousands of years anterior to even *their* appearance, many of the existing molluscs lived in our seas;" and, consequently, he *since then accepted the six days of creation as vastly extended periods*, perhaps "millenniums of centuries."<sup>23</sup> We have introduced this opinion as a type of many similar views. It is perfectly unworthy of Biblical science, constantly to modify the interpretation according to the successive and varying results of other sciences, just as if the Biblical text were composed of indefinite and vague hieroglyphics, capable of every possible construction; it is a most objectionable practice to make the Hebrew narrative subservient to all the fluctuating movements of heterogeneous studies, which are based upon premises perfectly different from the Biblical notions, and which, as systematic sciences, neither derive support from them, nor require their authority and sanction. Scientific honesty and manly firmness prescribe a far different conduct, at once more simple and more decided. Let the true and authentic sense of the Biblical narrative be ascertained with all possible assistance of learning and philological knowledge: independently of this, let the other sciences bearing on the subject be zealously studied; and then let the results of both researches be compared, without bias and without anxious timidity. If careful geological studies press upon the mind the conviction, that even the present epoch commenced many ages before the appearance of man on earth; let it be admitted, without unavailing reluctance, that the Mosaic record speaks of a creation in six days, which is irreconcilable with those investigations, since it is philologically impossible to understand the word "day" in this section in any other sense but a period of twenty-four hours. Thus geology preserves its legitimate freedom, and the Bible is liberated from the trammels of an irrational mode of interpretation. That this conflict does not affect the moral and religious teaching of the Scriptures, has already been urged and explained.

4. But the device that the days denote epochs, is not only arbitrary, but ineffective; for the six "epochs" of the Mosaic creation correspond in no manner with the gradual formation of the cosmos. More than one attempt has, however, been made to show this agreement; but they crumble into nothing at the slightest touch. Geologists and astronomers have divided the six days between themselves, and both of them have

<sup>19</sup> See, for instance, *Delitzsch*, Genesis, p. 61, 62; *Macdonald*, *ibid.* p. 92—108.

<sup>20</sup> *πυθμιασπον*; see note on i. 3—5.

<sup>21</sup> i. 16.

<sup>22</sup> Isa. lx. 19; Revel. xxi. 23.

<sup>23</sup> See *Testimony of the Rocks*, x. xi. 121, 122.

limited themselves to those three days, which, they thought, alone fell within their province. The same distinguished geologist to whom we have already alluded, found himself called upon only to account for the third, fifth, and sixth day of the creative week. They correspond, in his opinion, with the three great divisions of the geological strata, in such manner that the oldest, or palaeozoic division, is identical with the third day, or the period of *plants*; the middle, or Secondary series, with the fifth day, or the epoch of *the great sea monsters and whale-like reptiles*; and the later, or Tertiary fossiliferous beds, with the sixth day, or the age of *the beasts of the field and of man*.<sup>1</sup> This view might, at first glance, appear inviting; it captivates by an apparently remarkable coincidence. But the resemblance is deceptive; it is limited to the mere outlines and general characteristics, and ceases entirely in the more detailed application. The objections which a more careful consideration brings to light are insurmountable. That view is based upon the erroneous assumption, that the "days" of creation are periods of vast duration; it violently dismembers the *six* days into two unconnected periods; whereas the astronomical and geological days belong inseparably together, since the earth is an integral part of the astral systems; and it confounds the *predominant* or *prominent* organic creatures with the origin of the other, though perhaps less numerous, species; for there existed shells, fishes, and reptiles *long before* the period of the plants which we find compressed in the Carboniferous beds; and yet, according to the Biblical record, the fishes and reptiles were created on the fifth and sixth, the plants on the third day. This circumstance is fatal to the view in question, which, indeed, stands in a decided conflict with the spirit of our narrative: for the Bible lays the principal stress, not upon "the amazing development of the plants during the protracted *aeons* of the Carboniferous period," but upon the *order* in which the plants, the fishes, and the other animals were successively produced; the first and smallest "creeping thing that creeps upon the earth" was brought forth *later* than those huge and enormous trees, whose gigantic structure fills us with astonishment. This is the doctrine of the Bible, which can never be argued away by any geological theory.

5. But, according to that explanation, it remained to account for the astronomical part of the first chapter. In order to effect this, the same scholar has not only revived, but developed with greater copiousness, a conjecture which we had hoped was at last numbered among the errors of the past. It is asserted,<sup>2</sup> that the sun, moon, and stars may have been created long before, though it was not until the fourth period of creation that they became visible from the earth's surface; since the Bible describes, "not what *was*, but what *seemed* to be, and what optically *appeared*." For it is further maintained, that the description of the first chapter is the result of *actual optical vision*; that, in the same manner as Moses was shown the pattern of the holy Tabernacle and its vessels,<sup>3</sup> he saw "by vision the pattern of those successive pre-Adamic creatures, animal and vegetable, through which our world was fitted up as a place of human habitation"; it is believed that "the drama of creation has been *optically* described, because it was in reality *visionally* revealed"; and that this was done because the communication of the correct scientific theory of Galileo and Newton would have been disbelieved or rejected, as contradictory to the evidence of the senses.—What a complicated tissue of conjectures and assumptions! It is, indeed, very difficult to conceive by what miracle Moses could have enjoyed that extraordinary privilege which this theory claims for him; it is beyond the capability of man to inquire how Moses could actually, standing on some elevation above our planet, have seen, "in a great air-drawn panorama," the creation of light, of the firmament, of the sun and the stars, of

<sup>1</sup> See *Hugh Miller*, Testimony of the Rocks, 135—152, 159—169; see, also, *McCausland*, Sermons in Stones, pp. 92—200.

<sup>2</sup> For instance, by Granville Penn, Moses Stuart, Kurtz, and H. Miller.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Exod. xxiv. 9, 40; xxvi. 30; xxvii. 18.

the earth itself, with its successive strata and its numberless tenants; and in what manner he knew how many thousand years each "tableau" comprised: such ideas lie so entirely beyond the intellect and experience of man, and *are so utterly destitute of every, the faintest and remotest, Biblical foundation*, that we should reproach ourselves with levity if we attempted to enter fully into these subjects. Those who think this remark too decided, may read the pages in which that imaginary vision is described; they will scarcely believe that they are on the sober ground of science; they will think themselves floating in the aerial spheres of fiction: they see themselves at once introduced into an untrodden recess of the Midian desert; here they behold Moses; a great and terrible darkness falls upon the prophet; he sees the Divine spirit moving on the waters; he hears the words: "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth"; unreckoned ages pass on; he hears again the creative voice: "Let there be light"; myriads of heavy, sunless days elapse; the dim light sinks beneath the undefined horizon; it again brightens; Moses sees that the lower stratum of the heavens, occupied in the previous vision by seething steam, is clear and transparent, and only in an upper region do the clouds appear. Darkness descends for a third time upon the seer; but again the light rises, and there is no longer an unbroken expanse of sea. "The white surf breaks, at the distant horizon, on an insulated reef, formed, mayhap, by the Silurian or Old Red coral zoophytes ages before, during the bygone yesterday."<sup>4</sup> And in this manner, the author, though with a rare charm of fascinating eloquence, carries out the visions of the six days. Do such soaring flights of fiction demand refutation? They lie beyond the pale both of science and of criticism, in a sphere where reason willingly resigns the sceptre to fancy. And yet it is of this "panorama of creation" that the author contends, with a strange assurance: "I know not a single scientific truth that militates against even the minutest or least prominent of its details": though he admits, in another place, that "the Scriptures have never yet revealed a single scientific truth";<sup>5</sup> and describes those who defend the plain, literal, and exclusively correct acceptation of the text, as men who labour to "pledge revelation to an astronomy as false as that of the Buddhist, Hindu, or Old Tenton."<sup>6</sup> The few arguments which are scantily interspersed in these poetical descriptions, vanish before the slightest examination. The Bible contains notions and miracles far more incomprehensible to the human intellect than the systems of Copernicus, Kepler, and Newton, or the discoveries of geologists; and yet it did not hesitate to proclaim them, because it believed them to be true.—A prophetic vision which reveals *past events* is without example or analogy in the whole range of the Biblical records.—Wherever the Scriptures intend to describe visions, they are careful to introduce them in a manner that they are clearly distinguishable as such, and can never be confounded with plain history. The prophecies of Ezekiel offer so numerous instances of such visions, that it suffices simply to refer to that part of the Old Testament. The concession which has been made, that, in the lapse of time, the prophetic framework of the narrative may have been lost or forgotten,<sup>7</sup> shows the extreme weakness of the whole theory.—How could the plants of the third "period" have grown and prospered, if the sun obtained his power on the earth in the fourth only? And to what extravagant conclusions will, at last, that objectionable mode of interpretation lead? The Biblical records are written in the ordinary style of human composition, for they were intended for the perusal and study of man. This ancient and orthodox principle must remain our supreme rule and guide. Wherever we swerve from it we are hopelessly tossed on the endless waves of unprofitable and often dangerous speculation; we sow the seeds

<sup>4</sup> *Hugh Miller*, loc. cit., pp. 135—152, 159—169, 187—191; *Bauer*, *Hebr. Mythol.* i. 63; *De Wette*, *Bibl. Dogm.*, p. 76; *Poole*,

*Genesis of the Earth and of Man*; *Kurtz*, *Bibel und Astronomie*, and others.  
<sup>5</sup> P. 265.    <sup>6</sup> P. 369.    <sup>7</sup> *Kurtz*, p. 89.

of interminable dissensions; and we contribute to make that book, which was designed to unite mankind, the badge of separation and animosity. By a simple and judicious system of interpretation, in which calm common sense presides, we might hope to see the infinite variety of sects diminished, and to promote the reign of love and concord.

The first chapter of Genesis is, therefore, not a "creative picture," but a creative history; it presents not a series of "prophetic visions or tableaux," but of acts and events; it is neither "mythic poetry," nor "a hieroglyph," nor an "apologue"; but, what it has always struck every plain and unprejudiced reader to be, a simple prose narrative, though sometimes rising to the boundaries of the majestic and the sublime.

6. Another specious conciliation of the astronomical part of the first chapter with science has been attempted. It is urged that, according to the theory of Laplace, between the formation of the earth and that of the sun in its final state, lies the origin of the two nearer planets, Venus and Mercury; and that, therefore, the sun received its complete and permanent form on the *fourth* day only, whilst the earth existed before that period.<sup>1</sup> It has, indeed, been seriously asserted, that the system of Laplace is implied in the Bible.<sup>2</sup> But, according to this hypothesis, all the planets which lie beyond the earth (Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, etc.) were completed before the earth detached itself; that is, a number of *stars* existed *before* the earth; and yet, according to the Biblical narrative, the stars were created only on the *fourth* day, whilst the earth appeared on the *second*. For it must not be forgotten, that the Bible nowhere makes a distinction between planets and fixed stars; and that, although Mercury and Venus, as well as Mars and the more distant planets, stand, in their general character, on the same line with the earth, the Bible *opposes* them, under the denomination of stars, to our planet. And where does the text imply the least allusion to a *gradual* formation of the sun? The latter shines forth at once, and on the command of God, as the lord of the firmament, as the light-clad ruler of the day!

7. From very early times, it has been justly supposed, that the first verse of our Book describes the creation of matter, or of the universe in general; whilst the following part of the chapter treats of the arrangement and distribution of matter, of the formation of the earth, and of the beings which people it. This opinion was entertained by many of the early fathers of the church;<sup>3</sup> and has been adopted by many later theologians and critics.<sup>4</sup> Now, most of the modern followers of this opinion, believe that an infinite interval of time elapsed between the creation of matter recorded in the first verse, and the formation of the universe in its present admirable order, a period sufficiently extensive to account for the various and repeated changes, both in the condition of the earth, and the sidereal systems; so that, in fact, the first chapter of Genesis does not fix the antiquity of the globe at all.<sup>5</sup> But this supposition is absolutely untenable, from the following reasons:—1. The second verse, beginning with *and* or *but* the earth (*וְהָאֲרֶץ*), stands evidently in a very close connection with the preceding verse, the contents of which it qualifies and defines, describing the state of the earth in its chaotic confusion, and leaving the "heaven" (that is, all the stellar hosts) to a later consideration. The connecting particle *and* (*וְ*) expresses here, necessarily, immediate sequence; it is inadmissible to translate:<sup>6</sup> "But *afterwards* the earth became waste and

<sup>1</sup> *Reinsch*, Schoepfung, p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> *Kurtz*, Bibel und Astronomie, p. 341.

<sup>3</sup> Clemens of Alexandria, Origen, Theodoret, Augustine (De Genesi, Contra Manich., i. 6; Confession., xii. 17, 29); Basil (Homil. i. in Hexahem); Chrysostom (Hom. ii.; Serm. i. in Gen.); Justin Martyr, Gregory Nazianzen, and Cæsarius.

<sup>4</sup> For instance, Calvin, Bishop Patrick,

Wiseman (Lectures on the Connexion between Science and Revealed Religion, i. 297); Geddes, Edward King (Morsels of Criticism, i. 90); Buckland, Baumgarten, and others.

<sup>5</sup> Which opinion, as far as we know, Dr. Chalmers was the first to propose, in 1804.

<sup>6</sup> With Dathe, and others.

desolate"; it is, in a word, utterly impossible to separate the two first verses, and to suppose between them an immense interval of time; this acceptance would not only mock all sound principles of interpretation; but it would, 2ndly, be in direct opposition with Exodus xx. 11: "For in *six days* the Lord made the heaven and the earth, the sea and all that is in them." 3. In the New Testament (Matth. xix. 4), man is said to have been created "in the beginning"; the work of the sixth day was, therefore, believed to be co-eval with the time specified in the first verse.<sup>8</sup> 4. This theory is of no avail unless it prove the possibility of the vegetable life found within the earth in a fossil state. But the light was only produced in the first, and the sun on the fourth day of the creative week,—and not within that indefinite space which preceded the latest creation;—how can we, therefore, account for the organic remains existing in almost all the secondary and tertiary strata of the earth? The earth could not have been called "dreary and empty"<sup>9</sup> if it teemed with life and vegetation long before its present state, and was, then also, though in an inferior degree, full of harmony, order, and beauty. Immediately before the appearance of man, there was not even one of those transitory chaotic periods which generally accompany the geological revolutions; for many mammiferous animals, as the badger, the goat, and the wild cat, which were the contemporaries of the extinct mammoth, the bulky northern hippopotamus and rhinoceros, or the massive northern elephant and tiger, still live in our forests; and by far the greatest part of the shells of that period still people our waters.<sup>10</sup> The impossibility of this hypothesis will be still more strikingly obvious, if we consider another theory, based, indeed, upon it, but more specifically developed.

8. Whilst the word *earth* (אֶרֶץ) is, in the first verse, taken in its usual and correct meaning, as our whole planet, it is, in the second and the following verses of the chapter, understood to express a *certain part* of the earth which God was adapting for the dwelling of man; namely, a part of Asia, lying between the Caucasian ridge, the Caspian Sea, and Tartary on the north, the Persian and Indian Seas on the south, and the high mountain ridges on the eastern and western flank; it is believed, that this region was first, by atmospheric and geological causes of previous operation, brought into some kind of general disorder (produced, probably, by the subsidence of the region); that extreme darkness accompanied this phenomenon; that gradually the atmosphere became pervious to light; that elevations of land took place by upheaving igneous force, and produced lakes; that this elevated land was instantly clothed with vegetation; that, by the fourth day, the atmosphere over this district had become pellucid, so that the sun could be seen; that animals were produced by immediate creation, and in the full vigour of their natures; and that, lastly, man was created to be the lord of this district.<sup>11</sup>—Nothing but the respect due to the pious and learned framer of this extraordinary conjecture, can justify its introduction in this place; considered on its own merits, it belongs to the most hazardous suppositions, by which the simplicity of the sacred text has been degraded. It is as singular as a whole, as it is incongruous in its parts; for, 1. It is perfectly against all laws of a sound exegesis to understand the word *earth* differently in two successive verses; especially as the second time it evidently points back to the same word in the first verse. 2. There is not, in the text, the least allusion to any particular part of the earth, as the scene of creation; why should it have been the region of the Caspian Sea rather than any other part of the globe? Such deficient and indistinct statement we are not permitted to suppose. Nor is it easy to understand how just that part of Central Asia retained an exceptional chaotic dreariness, whilst

<sup>7</sup> אֶרֶץ אֲדָמָה; corresponding to אֶרֶץ אֲדָמָה, in ver. 1.

<sup>8</sup> Comp. W. E. Tayler, *Geology*, p. 122.

<sup>9</sup> Ver. 2, וְהָאֶרֶץ וְהָאֲדָמָה.

<sup>10</sup> Comp. *Hugh Miller*, *Testim. of the Rocks*, 127—130.

<sup>11</sup> See *Dr. Pys Smith*, *Holy Scriptures and Geological Science*, pp. 243—264; comp. pp. 435—455.

everything around it, and almost over the whole surface of the earth, smiled in beauty and resounded with life. 3. Whilst the formation of that portion of Asia is, in itself, represented as the effect of natural causes, the aid of miraculous intervention is called in for the instantaneous and perfect production of plants and animals. But, without enumerating many other objections, we only remark, 4. That, according to this theory, our chapter would not describe a *creation* of the earth at all; it would merely narrate a transformation of a certain part, a change, a revolution, such as our planet has undergone in numerous other instances, "in different centres of creation, distinct from each other;" light, the sun, moon, and stars could not be said to have been *created*, if they only became *visible*, and *penetrated* through some dense mist which, from certain local reasons, hovered over one particular spot or tract of land. Instead of that grand, majestic, and wonderful act, depicting the origin of all the numberless astral systems, our text would allude to nothing more but an "earthquake, a movement of the igneous fluid below."

9. It is, indeed, a very convenient way of restoring harmony between the Bible and the natural sciences by asserting, that the production of the starry hosts, and the vast geological epochs, lie *before* the work of the six days; by making the first two verses a *carte blanche*, on which everything might be crowded, that disagrees either with astronomy or geology; and by maintaining that the condition of the *earth*, such as it is at present, and as it is adapted for human habitation, is the sole object of our chapter. Large volumes have, in this sense, been written with much pomp of language, and great self-sufficiency; and that of Kurtz<sup>1</sup> is inferior to few in irrational and pretentious deductions. But these scholars ought to see, that this is not to harmonize, but to separate; by such tactics, they tacitly acknowledge that they despair of a conciliation; they admit the difficulties in almost every point; but forsaking, by a cowardly manœuvre, the true arena of the dispute, they intrench themselves behind a few harmless verses; but calm and judicious criticism protests both against the stratagem, and the arguments: the former is undignified; and the latter spontaneously convert themselves into so many proofs for the contrary opinion. The first chapter of Genesis incontestably intends to offer a history of the creation of heaven and earth, such as the author believed to be authentic; he, therefore, commences with the Nothing, and then advances, through the chaos, in progressive steps up to the perfection of the universe. And all this was done during the six days which constitute the creative week, and which include that "beginning" when "God created heaven and earth."

10. Another retreat, equally ignominious, has been attempted, by the assertion, that the Bible never endeavours to teach that which the human mind is by itself able to discover; that it, therefore, in no way intended to give information on the origin of the world, since the natural sciences could, by due exertion, without extraneous aid, furnish the necessary knowledge.<sup>2</sup> But to what consequences does this principle lead? Many parts—nay, by far the greatest portion—of the *moral precepts* of the Bible have been independently discovered and enforced by the *heathen sages* also. Even the Decalogue contains, in its second part at least, commandments which are inherent in the nature of man, and which have been acknowledged as the standard of virtue even by savage tribes. It is not difficult to adduce from the literature of the Greeks and Romans, or the Hindoos and Persians, many, often literal, analogies with very important ethical injunctions. And yet the moral doctrines avowedly constitute the characteristic portion of the Scriptures. Why were they, then, embodied in the Bible, since they have been found in another way also? Or are they to be regarded as accessory and unessential, *because* they have thus been discovered? This nobody has had the courage to assert. But the Bible is *not* silent on the Creation; it attempts,

<sup>1</sup> Bibel und Astronomie.

Hugh Miller, *Testimony of the Rocks*,

<sup>2</sup> Kurtz, Bibel und Astronomie, p. 7; *passim*.

indeed, to furnish its history; but in this account it expresses facts which the researches of science cannot sanction, and which were the common errors of the ancient world. The Bible intended to give a complete system of morality; and, therefore, inserted even those truths which were not new, but were extensively acknowledged by other nations. In the same manner it furnishes a history of creation, such as it was able to give, without regard to the possible future discoveries of the physical sciences.

11. The author of the "*Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation*"<sup>3</sup> contends, that the Mosaic record represents the whole creation as flowing "from commands and expressions of will, not from direct acts." There is, in itself, from a Biblical point of view, no objection to the opinion, that the Divine will works by the natural laws inherent in matter. But it is not correct to suppose, that the first chapter of Genesis intended to convey this idea. Such terms as "let there be light," or "let there be a firmament," and other similar expressions, are fully counterbalanced by the distinct statements—"God divided between light and darkness;" "God made the firmament;" or "God made the two luminaries." These terms do not "occur subordinately;" nor are they "alternative phrases, in the usual duplicative manner of Eastern narrative." The former expressions contain the majestic commands of God, the latter record their instantaneous realisation; but though He had before created matter with its eternal attributes, He produced the heaven and the stars, the plants, animals, and man by direct acts of His will. This is clearly the sense of the text; and it cannot be forced into a fancied agreement with the theory of a creation by the exclusive intervention of physical laws.

12. It is maintained, that the lower strata of the earth were formed in the time from the beginning to the deluge, whilst the higher beds of the Tertiary system are the result of the post-diluvian ages. But a host of facts rises to overthrow this opinion. The period from the creation to the deluge comprised, according to Biblical Chronology, not more than 1656 years. This space of time is utterly insufficient to explain the formation of the different lower strata, one or two of which alone required a period incomparably more extended. Since the deluge more than four thousand years have elapsed, and yet within this epoch scarcely more than the alluvial drifts have been formed. The lower strata contain no traces of human bones or human works; the earth was then, indeed, unfit for human habitation; it could not possibly contain a Paradise such as the Scriptures describe, with its luxuriant vegetation and its perfect animal creation. The various beds are the result of violent revolutions of the earth's surface, and yet the Bible makes no mention of them; since even the Noachian deluge caused no material change of our planet; the waters, which covered for a short time its surface, subsided and retired, after which the earth assumed its former state and aspect. We consider it unnecessary here to multiply the reasons against that supposition, as they are partly apparent from our preceding observations, and will partly be supplied in the remarks on the Deluge.

13. Another opinion starts from the geological fact, that the origin of the *human race* dates only from a time considerably later than the last revolution of our planet's surface; and as the history of mankind is the chief object of Scripture, the age of the world is supposed to have been identified with that of man. This view, however, is as decidedly in antagonism with the tenor of the text as the other conjectures; the vegetable kingdom is, for instance, represented as having been produced but a few days before man, although we know that many millenniums intervened between the creation of both.

14. It is affirmed, that, according to the book of Job (xxxviii. 7), the "morning stars" shouted at the creation of the earth; that, therefore, the stars, in harmony with the lessons of astronomy, are said to have been created *before* the earth. But the

<sup>3</sup> p. 156.



"stars of the morning" (כוכבי בקר) can, in that poetical passage, only signify the young, newly-created stars; and their origin would, therefore, not date back much beyond the Biblical age of the world, or about 6,000 years, which contradicts all astronomical results. Besides, the sixteenth verse of the first chapter of Genesis states distinctly, that sun, moon, and stars were created in *one* day—namely, the fourth—*after the earth* had already been clothed with vegetation. Thus the clear words of the text defy the absurd distortions of the sense prompted by the obstinacy of prejudice. Nor can the book of Genesis, in all cases, be illustrated from the book of Job, since the physical notions of both are at variance in several instances (see p. 21).

15. One of the most extraordinary expedients has lately been resorted to. Men, too judicious and too moderate not to see the overwhelming scientific truths, or not to acknowledge their weight, freely admit that there are "insurmountable difficulties" in bringing those facts into harmony with Scripture; they confess that there exist "apparent difficulties": but, with the same unmanly inconsistency of which we have just given several instances, they desert the path to which calm scientific inquiry had led them, evidently afraid to arrive at conclusions which might be in disharmony with their old cherished opinions, and which might force them to open new mines of thought, hitherto unexplored by them; they simply maintain, that "difficulties of reconciliation are not necessarily contradictions"; and they impute all discrepancies either to the present imperfect state of the natural sciences or of Biblical exposition. But we ask if this conduct is worthy of men who profess to seek and to defend the truth? It is impossible to withhold the censure of mental indolence. It is impossible to banish the suspicion, that the mere apprehension of being disturbed in some convenient or favourite theory is, in most cases, the motive of that timid evasion. These men throw the Scriptural interpretation into infinite uncertainty; they forget the acknowledged axiom, that "truth emerges more easily from error than from confusion"; and, though appealing to reason for one moment, they abandon and defy it in the next. The doubt and perplexity which they affect do not exist: both the principles of the natural sciences and of Biblical exegesis are certain beyond dispute; and scarcely more than the application of these principles is necessary to lay open the entire disagreement of both.

---

#### FINAL RESULT.

We believe we have indisputably demonstrated, both by positive and negative proofs, that, with regard to astronomy and geology, the Biblical records are, in many essential points, utterly and irreconcilably at variance with the established results of modern researches. We must acquiesce in the conviction, that, at the time of the composition of the Pentateuch, the natural sciences were still in their infancy, and that the Hebrews were in those branches not materially in advance of the other ancient nations. But, on the other hand, they succeeded completely in removing, even from their physical conceptions, every superstitious and idolatrous element. It will be the task of the following notes on the first chapters to prove this proposition. We have cleared the way for a plain and unsophisticated interpretation. We are fettered by no preconceived dogmatical views. We shall be enabled to attempt a conscientious penetration into the notions of the Hebrew historian; and shall in no instance be induced to force upon his words, by a contorting and delusive mode of exposition, our modern systems of philosophy. Thus may we hope to secure a positive advantage for Biblical science.

---

## GENESIS I.

**SUMMARY.**—God created the matter of which heaven and earth consist (ver. 1); He brought the chaotic mass into shape and order; in six days He produced successively light, the heaven, the seas, the dry land and vegetation; the celestial orbs; the fishes and birds; the beasts and man (ver. 2—30). He approved of His works, both individually and collectively (ver. 31). He rested on the seventh day, and blessed and sanctified it (ii. 1—3).

## 1. In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.

1. The very opening sentence of Genesis manifests the infinite superiority of the Mosaic notions over all the systems of antiquity; it separates distinctly monotheism from the blind rule of physical powers, and from that dualism which recognises a good and an evil principle in the creation of the world; it marks the eternal division between Mosaism and paganism, between God and Nature; for it evidently represents God as the Creator and *primary* Cause of the Universe; perhaps in *intentional* opposition to the very far-spread ancient theory of an *original matter* (ὕλη), out of which the world was supposed to have been framed, or of the eternity of heaven and earth. The world is *generated* (γενητός); it is neither identical with God; nor a part of His substance; nor the product of chance or fate (ἀπαρμένη); nor the result of an internal or external necessity, “as though God needed anything”; it is the free emanation of the *will* of God; it is the spontaneous work of His *love* (comp. Ps. xxxiii. 6, 9; Isai. xlii. 5; Nehem. ix. 6; Hebr. iii. 4; xi. 3; Acts xvii. 24, 25; see our notes on Exodus, p. 185). He alone was before all time, from all eternity; “before the mountains were brought forth, and before the earth and the world were formed” (Ps. xc. 2; cxlviii. 4—6). But yet, He is not a mere lifeless abstraction of unbounded Time, as the *Zerwane Aherene* of the Persians, who neither animates man’s hopes nor cheers him in his despair; who neither feels nor rouses sympathy; who is a shadow rather than a personal spirit; and who, in order to be accessible to the human capacities, is compelled to produce the two inimical deities Ormuzd and Ahriman, who, similar to the Osiris and Typhon of the Egyptians, dispute with each other the

government of the world, and thus perpetuate on earth the din and fury of intestine war.

The Creator of the world is also its Ruler; for to Him alone belongs all power from eternity to eternity. The Bible does not, like the systems of philosophy, commence with a laborious proof of the existence of a Creator; this truth is the very foundation on which it rests; it is assumed as undisputed, and requires no demonstration: the Hebrew *cosmogony* alone is not preceded by a *theogony*. It is a fallacy to think, that the Egyptian *cosmogony* is essentially similar to that of Moses, who is still too often represented as nothing more than the expounder of the ordinary Egyptian wisdom. It is true, that in a most interesting Egyptian document, the celebrated Book of the Dead, Osiris is described as the creator of the world and of mankind; as the preserver of all creatures; as the eternal ruler and judge of the universe; and the holy avenger of every crime and impiety; but that Osiris is far from being an immaterial deity; he is the sun and his light; he produces, therefore, first the other seven great planetary gods; then the twelve minor deities who represent the twelve parts of the Zodiac, and who, in their turn, produce the twenty-eight gods who preside over the stations of the moon, the seventy-two companions of the sun, and other deities. Osiris is, hence, denominated the creator and king of the gods; and, if he is called “light of the world,” this is no figurative, but a strictly literal expression. It is, therefore, incorrect to infer that, in the belief of the Egyptians, God created the world out of nothing; that there was no chaos; and that He was from eternity. The only difference between these and

other heathen myths seems to be, that while the other gods are believed only to *preside* over the objects of nature, as, for instance, Mithras over the sun, who is, however, certainly different from Ormuzd and the sun himself; Osiris is the *personification* of the sun; he concentrates within himself all the powers of that luminary, and is absorbed in its attributes. Thus, there is, indeed, one intermediate deity less; but Osiris does not thereby cease to be an idol; he is a creature, and not a creator.—But, further, Osiris is, in the later mythology of the Egyptians only, the creator of the world, and the highest god; in the earlier myths this was Kneph (*Ἀγαθοδαίμων*) who produced the germ of the world from his mouth (*Euseb.*, *Præp. Evang.* iii. 11); or Phtha, corresponding with the Greek Vulcan; or Pan (*Herod.* ii. 145); or Ammon, who represents the productive power of the sun (*Ra*), who is most frequently called the creator of the universe, who was worshipped throughout all Egypt, but had his chief temple in Heliopolis or *On* (light), and who was, from the earliest times, viewed as a trinity of gods, consisting of Ammon Ra (the creator), Osiris Ra (the fructifying power), and Horus Ra (the dispenser of light). And ancient Greek writers give a very different account of the Egyptian cosmogony; they affirm expressly, that the ancient inhabitants of Egypt, when they looked with astonishment at the wonders of creation, were induced to the belief that there are two eternal gods, the authors of all things; namely, the sun and the moon, or Osiris and Isis (*Diod. Sic.* i. 11; comp. i. 7); they introduce a complete theogony, and narrate how Phtha (Vulcan), the inventor of the fire, was succeeded by Saturn, who begat, with Rhea, the principal deities, Osiris and Isis, Typhon and Nephthis; they relate, that the wicked Typhon attempted to destroy Osiris, who had undertaken a distant expedition to all the countries between the Nile and the Indus; that he forced him into a chest, and brought it to the river, from whence it was carried into the sea; that, however, Isis, the faithful wife of

Osiris, contrived to recover the chest; but that Typhon found it again, and cut the body into many pieces which he scattered over the land, but which Isis buried wherever she found them, except one member which the fishes had eaten, and in honour of which an annual festival was celebrated: at last Osiris returned from the lower world, and instructed his son Horus to avenge him; Typhon was now attacked, and perfectly defeated (comp. *Diod.* i. 13—20; 44; *Plat.*, *Is. et Osiris*, 12—20; *Herod.* ii. 42, 59, 156). In whatever way these myths may be interpreted, whether Osiris and Isis are regarded as the sun and moon; or as the Nile and the earth; or as the representatives of the early civilisation of Egypt, which was from thence spread over the whole ancient world, whilst Typhon is the symbol of the destructive hot wind (*samoom*); or of the tyrannical winter; or of dark ignorance: it is evident that all these conceptions lie entirely within the circle of paganism, and that they were no more the source of the Mosaic doctrine than any other eastern tradition. For, the God of Moses is not only all-powerful and all-wise, which qualities even rude and barbarous tribes have bestowed upon their deities, but He is also all-loving; independent of any other existence, creating all, Himself not created; and, therefore, unchangeable; a free and absolute Being, because subject to no necessity; omnipresent, because He watches with provident care over His works. He is at once the most perfect Ideal, and the completest Reality; His thoughts are creations:—thus, the very beginning of the Biblical canon reveals the highest, the most sublime attributes of God; it contains, as it were, the leading principle on which the whole Scriptural system is based, the vigorous root from which the imperishable stem of religious truth has sprung.

God is the author not only of matter (ver. 1), but of its wise and wonderful distribution in heaven and earth (ver. 2 *et seq.*). He called the universe into being out of nothing (*ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων*; 2 *Macc.* vii. 28), not out of formless matter co-eval in existence with Himself (not *ἐξ ἀμόρφου ὑλης*,

Sap. Sal. xi. 17; *Philo*, De Mund. Opif., p. 12). He alone is the fountain and the origin of the world; the expressions, "let the *earth* bring forth grass" (ver. 11), or "let the *waters* teem with abundant creatures" (ver. 20; comp. ver. 24), do not admit any independent, innate power of the earth or of the water, or a simple arrangement of pre-existing materials; they mean merely: "let the earth be clothed with vegetation"; "let the waters be filled with living creatures"; the elements of earth and water, with all their properties, are the productions of Divine omnipotence; and the text states expressly: "God created the great monsters with which the *waters* teem" (ver. 21); and, "God made the beasts of the *earth*" (ver. 25). All things were created, not by the indirect agency of God, through the medium of nature, but by His direct will and command. He did not resign his power as Creator after having produced matter with its eternal attributes. The same will which has created the universe, suffices to reduce it into absolute nothing (Job xxxiv. 14, 15; Isai. li. 6; Ps. civ. 29), or to suspend its laws, and temporarily to change its course, that is, to perform miracles.—The second and the following verses unfold, therefore, in detail what the introductory verse states in general terms; they are, hence, not to be separated from it by an indefinite interval of time (see p. 48).

The doctrine, that God created the world out of nothing (in opposition to the heathen principle: "ex nihilo nihil fit"; comp. *Aristot.*, *Phys.* i. 4, 8, 9), has been steadily developed since the time of the Old Testament; till it assumed, in later Jewish and Christian writings, almost the authority of an article of faith; and the Rabbins declare those who maintain a prior existence of matter, as utter disbelievers in the Law and in Revelation. So little truth is in the assertion, that the doctrine of the creation out of nothing is the later invention of theologians. This principle is, on the contrary, clearly implied in the first verse of the Bible; it forms the corner-stone of its theology; "Through faith we understand that the

worlds were framed by the word of God, so that things which are seen were not made of things which do appear" (Hebr. xi. 3; comp. Rom. iv. 17). The objection, that this notion is too abstract for the low degree of mental culture attained by the Hebrews, might be employed to deny the pure monotheism, and all the other sublime ideas for the first time proclaimed in the Old Testament.

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—Although the two first verses must not be separated, too close a connection between them is not intended; it is not necessary to translate—"In the beginning, when God created heaven and earth, the earth was," etc., and to read with Rashi בְּרֵאשִׁית instead of בְּרֵאשִׁית. For it is an erroneous opinion of ancient interpreters that the noun רֵאשִׁית is only used in the status constructus. It matters little that it indeed occurs forty-three times in that form; for "the beginning" is a *relative* notion, and requires generally a complement, as we have, in fact, in our instance to supply—"in the beginning of *all things*;" or that our text reads בְּרֵאשִׁית, בְּרֵאשִׁית, בְּרֵאשִׁית, for it is here intended to express the unlimited, indefinite commencement of matter; רֵאשִׁית is here the reverse of אַחֲרֵית, in the current phrase, בְּאַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים (xlix. 1; Isai. ii. 2, etc.; *Aquila* ἐν ἀρχαίῳ); and it occurs several times in the status absolutus, for instance, קֶרֶן רֵאשִׁית (Lev. ii. 12); וִירָא רֵאשִׁית לוֹ (Deut. xxxiii. 21; see also Ps. cv. 36; Neh. xii. 44; Isai. xli. 10). Ebn Esra, in order to explain the finite verb בָּרָא after the supposed status constructus בְּרֵאשִׁית, quotes two instances which he considers analogous—1. תַּחֲלֵת דְּבַר יי (Hos. i. 2); but this phrase is rather parallel with Job xviii. 21, and Ps. lxxx. 6, where the stat. constr. is to be accounted for by the omission of the demonstrative pronoun, "the beginning of *that* which the Lord spoke," an ellipsis perfectly inapplicable here; and 2. קִרְיַת חֲנָה דָּוִד (Isa. xxix. 1); but here the relative pronoun is omitted before the verb, "the city *which* David inhabited;" and in such cases the stat. constr. is by no means of rare occurrence (Lev. iv. 24;

Ezek. xxi. 30, etc.; *Gesenius*, *Lehrgeb.*, p. 679).—God first called matter into existence, and then, by the commands of His power, organised and arranged it for the purposes of His wisdom; but this idea is implied in the tenor of the whole verse, rather than *either* in the participle מִן, which some have understood to describe the *substance* or *matter* of heaven and earth (like the “alpha and omega” in the Revelation of St. John, מִן consisting, also, of the first and last letter of the alphabet, *esse coeli et esse terrae*), whereas it is merely the sign of the accusative; or in the word בָּרָא, which has very generally been conceived to mean “creating out of nothing,” whilst the verb עָשָׂה (in vers. 7, 16, etc.) is considered to signify “to arrange,” or to produce out of existing matter. But both verbs are, in vers. 7, 16, and 21, used promiscuously, whilst in ver. 26 (נַעֲשֶׂה), and ver. 27 (וַיַּבְרָא), they are evidently employed as synonymous (comp. ii. 3, 4). Quite as precarious is the fancied distinction between בָּרָא and יָצַר, which latter word is believed to be the poetical synonym of עָשָׂה, and therefore to signify “shaping or framing out of given materials” (whence יוֹצֵר, the potter), whereas it is quite as frequently used, like בָּרָא, with reference to the creations of God, who is not seldom called יוֹצֵר (Isa. lxiv. 7; see Gen. ii. 7, 8; Ps. civ. 26; Isa. xlv. 18, etc.). Although בָּרָא (originally to cut down, to separate, to work with difficulty; Josh. xvii. 15, 18; Ezek. xxi. 24) is exclusively used with reference to the *Divine* productions (Exod. xxxiv. 10; Isa. lrv. 17; Ps. cxlviii. 5; Jerem. xxxi. 22), especially to *new* creations (Ps. li. 12, civ. 30, both times coupled with הַיָּשָׁר), and is, therefore, never construed with the accusative of the material (comp. i. 27, and ii. 7), in which latter case עָשָׂה, or the more specific term יָצַר, is employed: it is manifest, from the following passage, that בָּרָא, עָשָׂה, and יָצַר, if applied to Divine acts, are synonymous בּוֹרֵא הַשָּׁמַיִם הוּא הַאֱלֹהִים יָצַר הָאָרֶץ וְעָשָׂה (Isa. xlv. 18. Comp. ver. 7; xliii. 1; Amos iv. 13; Lament. iv. 2, etc.).—The Targum Jerusalem translates בְּרִיאִית

with בְּחִכְלָא, “with wisdom created God heaven and earth” (comp. Jerem. x. 12, and especially Prov. viii. 22—31), which free and arbitrary acceptance has caused many ancient writers to understand by that word, the Logos, or Christ, who created the world with God, and whom they believe to be included in אֱלֹהִים (so, for instance, *Augustin*, *Confess.*, xi. 8, 9; *Clem. Alex.*, p. 759, ed. Potter. Comp. St. John i. 1, 2; Coloss. i. 16; Hebr. i. 2). But the attempt at deducing this explanation from the phrase “in the beginning,” has been rejected by the highest theological authorities: Luther abandons it; Calvin observes, “Nomen principii de Christo exponere nimis frivolum est;” “it is in direct opposition with Divine revelation,” says the thoughtful Baumgarten. We ought not to forget that the Persian faith also represents “the Word,” or *Honover*, as the medium through which Ormuzd produced his creations.—About the plural form אֱלֹהִים (of the poetical singular אֱלֹה) we observe here only, that it is to be regarded as pluralis majestaticus, or excellentiae, like אֲדֹנִים (Isa. xix. 4), בְּעֹלָם (Exod. xxi. 29; Job xxxi. 39), קִדְשִׁים (Hos. xii. 1); that it is generally construed with the singular both of the adjective and of the verb, except when it signifies the idols of heathens (Gen. xxxi. 32; Exod. xx. 3; comp. Isa. xxvi. 13. See, however, Gen. xx. 13, xxxi. 53, xxxv. 7; Exod. xxxii. 4, 8, and Neh. ix. 18; 2 Sam. vii. 23, and 1 Chron. xvii. 21; Deut. v. 23; 1 Sam. xvii. 26, 36); that it, therefore, neither indicates a *remaining* trace of previous polytheism; nor a plurality of beings in the person of the Creator; nor the activity of God surrounded or aided by His angels; nor much less His identity with them, as the sum and unity of the various powers and beings (*δυνάμεις, ἕξουσιαι*); and that, therefore, the plural of the verb in ver. 26, “let us make” (נַעֲשֶׂה) is to be explained in the same manner as in Ezra iv. 18, where the king says—“the letter which you sent to us,” or in vii. 27—“we certify to you” (comp. Gen. iii. 22; xi. 7), and in accordance

2. And the earth was dreariness and emptiness, and darkness *was* upon the face of the deep. And the spirit of God hovered over the face of the waters.

with the same usage in modern languages, and with our plural in addressing individuals; and we refer for further explanations to our notes on Exod. iii. 14, vi. 2, 3, 7 (see also *Buxtorf*, *Theol.*, p. 420; *Michaelis*, *Syr. Chrestom.*, p. 24—31; *Hengstenberg*, *Auth. des Pent.*, i. 257).—"Heaven and earth" is the Biblical term for the universe; the former is considered to exist only for the sake of the latter (comp. Deut. xxxii. 1; Isa. i. 2; Ps. cxlviii. 13). As our verse describes the creation of matter in general, and forms only the introduction to the following specified narration, עוֹלָם and יְרֵמָה are here almost to be taken in their etymo-

logical sense of "the high" (سما) and "the low" (ارض); see *Kamus*, i. 892; comp. Ps. vii. 8.

3. Matter was created, but it was a shapeless mass; the elements were mixed in irregular confusion; it was a *chaos* (χάος). This gloomy state of things prevailed through the whole universe, both in that part which later formed the heaven and in that which was to constitute the earth. But the framing of the latter is the first object of our text; the arrangement of the heaven is reserved to a later act of creation (vers. 6—8, 14—19); for it is erroneous to suppose the heaven to be described here as an unsubstantial expanse, since above the latter, and forming a part of the heaven, water was congregated (ver. 7); or to believe that the earth includes the heaven; or that it is the only end of our narrative.—This elementary state of nature is thus described by Ovid (*Metam.* i. 6—9)—

"One was the face of Nature, if a face;  
Rather a rude and indigested mass,  
A lifeless lump, unfashioned and unframed,  
Of jarring seeds, and justly chaos  
named."

The chief characteristic of the indistinct and dreary chaos is *darkness*; matter was still deprived of the rays of light, which can alone manifest order and beauty.

"No Sun was lighted up, the world to view;  
No Moon did yet her blunted horns renew."

It is true, that heathen writers introduce the same feature; the Orphic songs describe chaos as a black night, enveloping every object with its gloomy wings; they state that at first, primeval night reigned supreme: but they distinguish, also, chaos from night, representing the latter as the offspring of the former (*Hesiod*, *Theog.*, 123); and sometimes they even mention night as the mother of the gods, and of men. The chaos of the Bible produced, by the word of God, this beautiful world of order and blessing; what did the primeval night of the classical Greeks generate? It brought forth cruel fate, terrible necessity, and death; it engendered mocking Momus and woeful care, the ruthless Parca and terrible Nemesis, and fraud, and criminal love, and strife; it was the parent of labour and trouble—of tearful sorrow, and struggle, and death—of famine, war, and carnage—of falsehood, perjury, and contempt of the laws—and of every crime (*Hesiod*, *Theog.*, 212 *et seq.*; *Cicero*, *De Nat. Deor.*, iii. 17). The Greek gods produce evil out of evil; to the God of the Hebrews there exists no evil, for He has created all things for the purposes of His wisdom (Isa. xlv. 7), and He converts confusion into harmony.—The Chaldeans believed that during the chaos all was darkness and water, peopled by mis-shapen monsters; the Egyptians express it by a confusion of the limbs and parts of various animals; and the Phoenicians describe it as boundless, through many ages, and

pervaded by a wind of black air, and dark as hell.

The ancient and purer Hindoo religion, as expounded in the Vedas and in the laws of Manu, teaches that originally the universe was involved in darkness; there was no visible trace of a world, or of water, or sky, nor aught above it; all was imperceptible, destitute of every distinct attribute, neither accessible to reason nor to the senses, and entirely immersed in sleep; that, however, after the expiration of a day of Brahman, which is equivalent to 4320 millions of human years, the great THAT, existing through itself, immaterial, and undistinguishable by mortal eyes, breathing without affilation, infinite and eternal, the soul of all beings and the mystery of all understandings, felt a desire in his mind which became the original productive seed; he dispersed the darkness; removed the husk in which the universe was enveloped; and, by the power of contemplation, made visible the world, with its five elements and other principles, so that it shone in resplendent brilliancy and purity. The Hindoo legends approach, indeed, the Mosaic narrative perhaps more nearly than any other Eastern tradition; for they further narrate, that the original soul of the universe thought: "I will create worlds;" and water was called into existence; into its floods the spirit deposited a germ, which developed itself into an egg of beautiful lustre; and in this egg Brahman, or the Supreme Being, created himself; the waters bore the appellation, Spirit of God (*Nara*); and as they were his first place of motion (or *Ayana*), he is designated "moving on the waters" (or *Narayana*). These striking analogies remind us that, even with regard to the highest religious ideas, the historical student is justified in searching for their common national source, and that it is the philosopher's task to investigate psychologically their common mental origin. But we must not suppose that the Hebrew writings lose by such comparisons; they easily maintain their indisputable superiority: for in the Hindoo cosmogony, the great invisible God produced Brahman,

and it was Brahman only who became the parent of all rational beings and of the cosmos: the Supreme Spirit and the Creator are two distinct persons. Thus the purity of the conception is destroyed; a leaning towards pantheism is the pervading principle; the highest god created also a number of inferior deities (*devas*), with divine attributes and pure souls, bearing, like man, the divine image, mortal like him, and dependent on human actions; and a host of invisible genii (*sadyas*, Manu, i. 22). And that Creator, how different is he from the God of Moses! He did not only produce the founders of the four principal Hindoo castes from his mouth, his arm, his thigh, and his foot, respectively; not only did the sun spring from his eye, the moon from his mind, the air from his ear, and fire from his mouth—so that every element was, in a grossly pantheistic manner, considered as himself, or as a part of his existence: but he divided his body into two parts, a male and a female half, and begat thus the divine Viradj, called "I"; who, on his part, through himself, by a rigid devotion, and by also dividing himself into two moieties, produced Manu; the latter, in the same manner, called the ten great saints (*maharshis*) into existence; who, under Manu's direction, created again seven other Manus, the gods, and a great number of powerful saints, the gnomes, giants, vampyres, a great variety of other creatures, the celestial phenomena, and mankind (Manu, i. 31—41). Thus the direct sovereignty and majesty of the great Spirit is entirely lost by the vast number of intermediate agencies; the Creator and the creatures are not discriminated; a hundred and one gods assisted in framing the universe; the prayers of the Vedas teem with mythological allusions to the personified elements and planets; and many gods are subsequent to the production of the world.

Now Brahman is indeed defined as *That* whence all beings are produced, by which they live, and towards which they all tend; but even wise and holy men were uncertain whether this *That* was

food, or life, or intellect, or happiness. Brahman is further, indeed, the great intelligence, the lord of creatures; but the gods are likewise he, and so are the five primary elements; he is only the first-born; he shares his divine nature with the sun, the moon, the air, and the water (comp. *Colebrooke*, *Essays*, i. 52, 57, 77). It is, therefore, scarcely more than an isolated and transitory conception, if Brahman is occasionally described with the purest and sublimest attributes: none can comprehend him; his glory is so great that no image can express it; he pervades all regions; he is the immortal soul, eternally merged in profound contemplation; he is imperishable, incorporeal, and invisible, without form and quality, unaffected by worldly passions, unchangeable and omnipresent; in him the universe perpetually exists; in him this world is absorbed; he alone knows the mystery of creation, preservation, and destruction; he is the providence which governs all worlds. But these elevated notions are incessantly mixed with the grossest superstitions and the most palpably pantheistic views: the Hindoo religion has a *tendency* to the highest truth, but it has not sufficient energy to follow that difficult path with undeviating attention; it stops and hesitates at every cross-way, and not unfrequently goes astray into barren deserts, or dark, entangled forests. Again, it is admitted even by philosophical inquirers into the literature of the Hindoos, that those abstract ideas do not represent the popular views, but are the speculations of some gifted sages, who strove to rise above the degrading materialism of the multitude. This remark holds true to such a degree, that Brahman never became the god of the people; that he never obtained a public worship; and that no temples were erected to his honour. He was exclusively the god of the priests and of the theologians, who from him assumed the name of Brahmins. How different is all this from the God of the Hebrews, and His relation to people and priests!—But we remark further, with peculiar emphasis, that, according to a

popular belief of the Hindoos, the whole creation was not the result of spontaneous love, but of a *momentary forgetfulness of the Supreme Spirit*, who once accidentally was stirred from his usual motionless rest and sleep-like contemplation: the world is *the result of a mistake*, which can only be corrected by its destruction; the things are but created in order to perish. This tragical and gloomy idea pervades the whole life of the Hindoos; its first consequence was the notion of the transmigration of souls; for as the latter are ultimately to be swallowed up in Brahman, who, however, receives them only when they have attained a state of moral perfection, they again and again enter a material form, until they are entirely purified; but even these renewed attempts at a higher moral state are a vain and hopeless effort; for it is taught, that with the same immutable necessity as the same seasons always produce the like kind of vegetation, the souls spontaneously follow, at each successive return on earth, the same course which at their original creation was assigned to them, whether this be malice or kindness, virtue or vice, veracity or falsehood (*Manu*, i. 29, 30). Thus man is the victim of the most oppressive fatalism. And just as the world has been created by accident, so it will be dissolved, when the Great Soul falls asleep and rests in profound slumber; until having gathered in again all elementary principles, it enters into a vegetable or animal seed, assumes a new form, awakes again, and after the expiration of 4320 millions of years, or one day of Brahman, reproduces the world, which is thus alternately brought forth and destroyed, according to the nature of the Supreme Spirit (*Manu*, i. 51–57): but after the lapse of a hundred years, consisting each of 360 days of Brahman, the universal destruction takes place, and Brahman himself will cease to exist. Whereas, therefore, in the Bible, the world, and everything that is created, is by God Himself declared to be perfect and excellent, in the laws of *Manu* the world is called a horrible creation, which unavoidably and incessantly works its



own destruction (compare Manu, book i.; *Colebrooke*, *Essays*, i. 9—114; *Asiat. Res.*, v. 361, vii. 251; *Kennedy*, *Hindu Mythol.*, p. 217; *Wilson*, *Vishnu Purana*, p. 27; *Lassen*, *Indische Alterthümer*, i. 755 *et seq.*; *Christianity and Hinduism*, p. 273—303).

We cannot, therefore, be surprised to find in the later Indian literature the most extravagant notions as the natural development of such cosmogonic theories; the world was believed to owe its origin to the desire of the deity "to diversify himself," so that Maya, the goddess of pleasure, is the mother of universal nature (*Asiat. Res.*, i. 230); or it was thought that man and the universe were nothing but the mockery of a dream; idle shadows, which disturb the serenity of god; his ideal delusions, or Maya's, and destined to exist only so long as he is in a state of unconscious reverie (*Sir W. Jones*, *Asiat. Res.*, i. 245). The later Buddhists regarded as the Creator *Tao*, or the immeasurable *Space*, which produced *one*; after which one produced *two*, and *two three*, till three brought forth all beings: this *Tao* is without action, and without thought; calm and self-subsistent. Such a motionless creating principle leads naturally to the inactive quietism which is the ideal of Buddhist felicity and perfection, but which is the reverse of that life of useful but unselfish activity which the God of the Bible demands. "The spirit that moved on the waters" (*Narayana*), whose attributes had never been understood or acknowledged by the people, was deprived of its originally pure character, and converted into a separate god Vishnu. It was believed that the latter assumed nine successive incarnations; that he offered himself up as a sacrifice, in order to create the world; and that he resigned his divine nature, and came down upon earth in human form, in order to deliver the world from evil. Besides Vishnu, Siva was added to Brahman, as a principal god; first both were equal, and then even superior to his power; these three, together with their wives, form the trinity, or trimurtis, representing the

Creation, Preservation, and Destruction of the World. The old cosmogony of the Hindoos is, indeed, so indistinct and ambiguous, that it left ample scope for the most diverging interpretations; very different, and almost opposite, schools have founded their systems on the same texts. The Vedas and the Book of Manu, those ancient sources of Hindoo literature, gave rise and support, on the one hand, to the *Puranas*, with their gross and material idolatry; and, on the other hand, to the *Vedantas*, with their sublimizing and spiritualizing speculations. From the four Vedas alone eleven hundred different schools derived their tenets; and much disagreement and confusion exist in the Hindoo theology with regard to the gradation of persons intervening between the Supreme Being and the created world (*Colebrooke*, i. 14, 65). No distinct system of theology is derivable from the Vedas; in one place, Indra is the most powerful and the first of all gods; in another the sun: now three deities, the earth, the air; and the heaven, are mentioned, as equally potent and primeval, and now it is the great Spirit which is the soul of all beings; and often very different attributes are ascribed to the same deity. This vagueness of conception prevailing in the ancient religious books of the Hindoos, is acknowledged as a fundamental defect, even by the most profound students and the most zealous admirers of Hindoo literature. No aberration of this kind could happen with regard to the Hebrew cosmogony. The first chapter of Genesis is, in spite of its sublimity and grandeur, so plain and simple, so calm and unequivocal, that a fanciful exposition is utterly impossible, and can only be attempted by those who defy all reasonable rules of a sound interpretation. If Mosaism has even been derived from the same soil as many other Eastern religions, the germs developed themselves freely and independently, and reached a degree of loftiness and vigour which they attained in no other creed.

The vast matter of the earth was covered with water, "as with a garment" (*Pa. civ.*

6; 2 Peter iii. 5); but we do not stop to examine whether this fluid was produced by that process which modern theories have proposed, and to which we have alluded in the introductory remarks (pp. 14, 18). Nor are we justified by our verse in considering the water as the primary matter of the universe, as Thales among the Ionian philosophers, and the Vishnuists among the Hindoos believed; for the water was mixed with the other co-existing elements (see *Talm. Chag.* 15 a; *Aristot. Metaph.* i. 3; *Cusari.* iv. 25, pp. 356, 357, ed. Cassel; comp. *Diod. Sic.* i. 7; *Cic. Nat. Deor.* i. 10; *Colebrooke, Asiat. Res.* v. 351; viii. 452). In the Vedas we find the singular notion, that this world originally was water, in which the lord of creation moved, having become air; that he saw the earth, and upheld it, assuming the form of a boar; that he then moulded it, and meditating upon it, created the gods! (*Colebrooke, Essays.* i. 75). According to the traditions of the Chinese and Egyptians, also, the water was the earliest element; the Mexicans and Peruvians call the first age of the world that of the water; Xenophanes of Colophon, in the sixth century B.C., supposed that the dry land had originally been sea; Plato, in his *Cratylus*, quotes verses of Orpheus, to the effect, that the water co-operated in the production of the other elements, and he ascribes the same notion to Homer (*Il.* xiv. 201).—On some other ancient cosmogonies, see *Donald Macdonald, Creation and the Fall*, pp. 49—52.

But over this shapeless chaos works, in mysterious majesty, *the spirit of God*; He hovers over the waters; He is not identical with matter, but its Lord, whose will stirs the stagnant mass; the chaos is no cause, not even a secondary one, of the world, as Philo observes; and the infinitude of His wisdom and His love prepares a creation of order and beauty. The *Cosmos* (*κόσμος*, *mundus*) is about to be framed.

If we were not accustomed to the most phantastical contortions of the Hebrew text, we should express our utter astonishment at the opinion, that between the first and second verse lie the fall of the angels,

and the warfare of Satan, not mentioned for some recondite reason; that the consequence of this rebellion was the transformation of the originally beautiful world into a fathomless abyss (so that we should have to translate, and the earth *became* dreariness and emptiness), which are all figures to describe the empire of hell, and the government of Satan—but that these were ultimately conquered by the spirit of God that watched over this desolation, so, however, that many beautiful parts of nature have been disfigured by the diabolical powers, and show no longer the pure work of God; or that “the first creation, which arose and perished thousands and, perhaps, millions of years before the appearance of man, was a failure, an ungodly perversion, in consequence of the interposition of Satan and his powers,” (thus some fathers of the Church, Gregory of Nyssa and Nazianzen, Basil; comp. 1 John iii. 8; similarly, Michaelis, Schlegel, Stier, Baumgarten, Kurtz, and Delitzsch who, however, admits that these ideas cannot be deduced from our verse). The aberrations of profound minds, if they unfortunately indulge in mystic speculations, are more dangerous, and often more absurd, than the empty superficiality of shallow reasoners. The history of Neoplatonism, of scholastic philosophy, and of the Kabbalah, will furnish abundant illustrations of this remark. We suppress, therefore, the almost endless reveries which have been based on the simple grandeur of our chapter; incredible theories have been deduced from it; ingenuity and sophistry have been equally busy; truth and error have been mixed; almost all metaphysical theories of heathen and Christian philosophers have been discovered in our text by far-sighted thinkers;—till, at last, the quiet, impartial critic, astonished and bewildered, sees himself launched on an infinite sea of mysticism, and needs all the energy of his mind to reach again the safe shores of common sense. Will our readers blame us, if we do not notice this wild, and often unintelligible, jargon? We, for our own part, confess, that nothing but the sense of the

importance of our subject has armed us with the necessary patience and courage.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—The earth was *dreuriness and emptiness*; for both words are substantives; *וְהָיָה* is a deserted, uninhabited, pathless place (Deut. xxxii. 10; Job vi. 18; xii. 24; Pa.

cvii. 40; Arab. *تَبَع* desert), vast, empty space (Job xxvi. 7), dreary devastation (Isai. xxiv. 10; xxxiv. 11; Rashi, less appropriately, *étourdisant*, stunning); and *וְהָיָה* is emptiness, vacuum, or a space devoid of contents (Isai. xxxiv. 11; Jer. iv. 23); it is absurd to derive it from *בָּו* and *הָוָה*, and to explain that the germs of all future creations were contained in it. There is a very expressive paronomasia in the similar and most unmusical sound of the two words *וְהָיָה וְהָיָה* which seem to have been used almost proverbially; it is an alliteration which languages during their vigorous period of youth and nature usually form, and which occurs not unfrequently in Hebrew; as, *שָׁמָּה וְהָיָה* (Job xxx. 19); *שָׁמָּה קָצָה* (Isai. liv. 8); comp. Pa. xviii. 8; Isai. xxviii. 10, 13, etc. Gesenius, *Lehrg.* § 237. But none of the ancient, and few of the modern translations, have imitated this assonance (the Sept. renders *ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος*; Onkel *וְהָיָה וְהָיָה*; Aquil. *κίνημα καὶ οὐδέν*; Symm. *ἀργόν καὶ ἀδιάκρινον*, etc.), although some of the former have retained the Hebrew words (Targ. Jonath.; Jerus.; Syr.; etc.). The distinction which Nachmanides makes, that *וְהָיָה* is the *matter* (*עֲלֵה*), and *וְהָיָה* the *form* (*צֹרֶה*), is neither implied in the words, nor is it adapted to the context.—Darkness covered the *וְהָיָה*, the abyss of the waves or the deep waters; *וְהָיָה*, from *וְהָיָה* = *הָיָה* (not from *וְהָיָה*), to bring into commotion, to cause the noise of tumultuous waves; therefore, *וְהָיָה* tumult (comp. vii. 11; Pa. xxxvi. 7; etc.; Sept. *ἀβυσσος*; and, therefore, used in opposition to heaven, xlix. 25; Deut. xxxiii. 13; see Gesen. *Thes.* p. 371).—*וְהָיָה* is here not *wind* (as Onkel, Philo, Ibn Ezra, Rashbam, etc., render), nor *air* or *ether* (Nachmanid.), nor *mist* (Johannsen), nor *word* (comp. Pa. xxxiii. 6), nor

the *spirits* or *angels* (Enoch lx. 13, 14); but the *animating spirit of Divine love* (*רוּחַ דְּרַחֲמִין*, Targ. Jon. and Jerus.; comp. Ps. civ. 30; Job xxxiii. 4), the principle of life and action which pervades the universe, and which fills the human mind and the human heart (comp. Rom. viii. 11 *et seq.*, Rev. xxii. 17; see, also, John iii. 8; Acts ii. 2, and note on ii. 7); nor is *רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים* *strong wind* (as *רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים* *high mountains*; see on Exod. iii. 1); nor is *רוּחַ* to *blow*, as if it were synonymous with *נָשַׁב* in Pa. cxlvii. 18, and Isai. xl. 7; or with *נָשַׁף* in Exod. xv. 10, and the Targumim, the Samaritan and Saadiah translate, indeed, *כִּנְשָׁבָה*, so that the sense would be: "God sent a violent wind which blew, and dried up the waters"; but the meaning is rather, to hover lovingly over an object of tender care, as in Deut. xxxii. 11, where God is said to watch over Israel's welfare, "as an eagle hovereth over her young" (the Sept. and Vulg. inaccurately *ερεπερο*, and *ferebatur*, and so Aquil., Symm., Theod.), which poetical parallel, however, does not justify us in supposing here the notion of the Hindoos, Chinese and Japanese, of a "world-egg," in which Brahman dwelt or brooded through one of his years, comprising above three billions of ordinary years, Himself meditating on Himself, till he divided it into two equal parts, and framed from these two halves, the heaven and the earth (comp. Mann, i. 8—13; *Asiat. Res.* i. 244; *Bohlen*, *Alt. Ind.*, i., p. 162; *Hottinger*, *Thes. Philol.*, p. 348), although the spirit of God was later represented under the image of a dove (Matt. iii. 16; Mark i. 10; Luke iii. 22), and though Milton even paraphrases our passage: "Thou, dovelike, sat'st brooding on the vast abyss, and mad'st it pregnant"; nor can we infer that the water possessed an innate vital power, or was now endowed with this primitive germ of production (Chrysostom).—*וְהָיָה* coincides in sense with *וְהָיָה* in the preceding part of our verse, as is evidently the case in the two parallel passages, Prov. viii. 27, and Job xxvi. 10.—That the sacred writer distinguished the four elements in their ordinary succession (earth,

water, air, and fire), cannot be proved from our verse (comp. Cusari, iv. 25, pp. 356—358; *Maimon. Jesod. Hator.* iii. 11).—We resign with reluctance, from want of space, the very interesting task of making a systematic comparison between the Mosaic and the other ancient cosmogonies. The analogies are both surprising and instructive. At every step we meet with familiar features. But the Biblical account combines and concentrates the valuable elements which are scattered in all, whilst it is absolutely free from the perverse and often absurdly phantastical traits which disfigure the rest. It has a

unity of principle prevailing the whole, which we elsewhere seek in vain; and that principle, too, is at once simple, sublime, and eternal. The materials for such comparison are spread in numerous ancient works (see, for instance, *Diod. Sic.* i. 7, 11; *Euseb. Præp. Evang.* i. 10; the *Zend-avesta*; the *Vedas*; the *Laws of Manu*; *Hesiod. Theogon.*; *Ovid. Metam.* i.; *Plato. Timæus*; *Justin.* ii. 1). We have, however, in the notes on the first chapters, tried to point out the similarity or divergence, wherever this was feasible in a brief compass.

### THE ORDER AND DIVISION OF THE SIX DAYS OF CREATION.

WE abhor artificial interpretations; we disdain the glittering display of spurious ingenuity; we shun, above all, the mysterious play upon the hidden meaning of the numbers. But it is yet our duty to be vigilant in discovering every distant allusion, every spiritualising tendency of the Biblical text; for we have manifest proofs of its frequent allegories and its profound symbols. Now we cannot deny that paramount importance and holiness are attributed to the numbers three and seven; that the former represents the concrete and perfect unity, especially of the Deity; and the latter signifies holiness and religious sanctification (see our *Com. on Exod.*, pp. 448—450, and 495); and we cannot, therefore, be surprised to find these two numbers employed as the foundation of the Mosaic cosmogony. The whole cycle of creations is completed in seven days; the seventh is the day of rest to the Lord, forming the germ and prototype of the earthly Sabbath. But the remaining six days admit of an unforced division into two parallel parts; the latter three days have an evident connection with the three first days; the Creation is thus divided into two significant sections, each forming a perfect whole, and both together constituting a surprising climax, in the following manner:—

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. FIRST DAY: Light.                       | = FOURTH DAY: The celestial orbs, the sources of light.  |
| 2. SECOND DAY: Water and heaven.           | = FIFTH DAY: The fishes and birds which people the water and the air.  |
| 3. THIRD DAY: The dry land and vegetation. | = SIXTH DAY: The animals and man, the inhabitants of the dry land; or those for whose food or use vegetable life was chiefly intended. |

It is impossible not to acknowledge the manifest correspondence; each triad exhibits an obviously ascending progress, although both receive their full light only from their mutual relation; and a few remarks will suffice to remove all possible objections.

1. If we consider the productions of the six days as representing one regular climax, the work of the third day evidently interrupts the continuity; there is no connection between dry land and the celestial orbs, nor is there an advance between the latter compared with fishes and birds.

2. It is inadmissible, in order to effect the due gradation, to place the fourth day before the third, so that the following reasonable order of organic productions might result: plants, fishes and birds, animals and man. This proceeding is not only arti-

3. And God said, Light be: and light was. 4. And God saw the light, that *it was* good: and God divided

trary, but it would not even be efficient; for the third day consists of two creations, the first of which, dry land and sea, cannot be severed from the second day, the separation of the waters above the firmament from those beneath it. Thus this transposition would destroy, on the one side, that harmony which it is intended to effect on the other.

3. It is entirely objectionable to attribute to the Bible the view of some Greek philosophers, that the celestial orbs are animated, rational beings (*ζῶα λογικά, νοερά*), and by this assumption to secure the progress between the third and fourth day; the stars can neither be classed among the organic nor among the living creatures (see p. 24).

4. It is, in fact, impossible to find any plausible connection between the vegetation of the third day and the sidereal bodies of the fourth; all attempts at discovering it have proved entirely strained; whereas the correspondence between the first and fourth, and the third and sixth days, is as perfect as that between the second and fifth.

5. And thus only it may be explained why the third day has, as well as the sixth, a double creation, the dry land and the vegetable kingdom; the former follows in the natural sequence after the second day; it further points to the sixth; and, combined with the productions of the fifth day, completes admirably the whole system of organic creations.

#### FIRST DAY. LIGHT. VER. 3—5.

The dreary, shapeless matter of the earth was sufficiently prepared for assuming order and organisation; God's loving care had begun to spiritualise the inert mass by bringing its elements into motion. But as long as it was enclosed in darkness, it had, practically, no existence; in order to call it positively and virtually into being, it was necessary to make it visible — and, therefore, the first Divine act was the creation of LIGHT; or rather its separation from the obscurer elements in which it had been enveloped (ver. 4). It will not be necessary to enter deeply into the long-disputed question, how light was possible before the formation of the celestial bodies from which it emanates (ver. 14—19). It will suffice to remind the reader, that ancient, and even more recent philosophers suppose, beyond the sphere of the most distant stars, a region entirely luminous, an empyrean heaven; and they believe, that the nebulae are this bright region seen through an opening. Anaxagoras maintained, that the upper or ethereal world is filled with fire. Seneca observed, that, occasionally, apertures are formed in

the heavens through which we perceive the flame occupying the background. Huygens, in his description of the nebulae of Orion, remarks: "One would say, that the celestial vault, being rent in that part, allows us to see the more luminous regions beyond"; and Halley writes, with regard to the nebulae of Orion and Andromeda: "In reality, these spots are nothing else than the light coming from the regions of the ether filled with a diffuse and inherently luminous matter"; and the same astronomer, by no means orthodox in his theological views, remarks, with reference to our question: "These nebulae reply fully to the difficulty which has been raised against the Mosaic description of creation, in asserting that light could be generated without the sun. Nebulae manifestly prove the contrary; several, in effect, offer no trace of a star at their centre" (see p. 16; comp. *Arago*, *Astron.* i. 331, 332). Whether the Hebrew writer, in supposing that light existed independently of the sun, intended to convey a similar idea, it is difficult to decide; he nowhere makes a distinct allusion to this theory; he seems, more probably, to hold, that on the first day the

between the light and between the darkness. 5. And God called the light Day, and the darkness He called

luminous *matter* was created, spreading through infinite space in its rarified state; but that, on the fourth day, it was *condensed* into the light-giving bodies for the benefit and advantage of the earth. For it is incorrect to explain, that sun and moon were indeed created on the first day, but that they were, by the mists, made invisible till the fourth day; or, that our text denotes the ordinary daily phenomenon of the appearance of light before the rise of the sun (Herder, Vater, etc.; comp. Job xxxviii. 19); or, that "light" here signifies "caloric or latent heat" (Clarke).—Thus, we have another instance of the two chief acts of Divine creation; first, the production of matter, and then its arrangement and organization; it was necessary to point out, that light did not exist before the world; that man does not owe it to the sun or the moon, which it is, therefore, a criminal folly to worship; that it was not the primary matter of the universe, as Heraclitus and Empedocles maintained; but that it sprang into being by God's will and command. That, indeed, according to modern theories, luminous nebulae are the first materials of the world, if we go back to the origin of all things; that the sun is in itself no bright orb, but that its brilliancy is emitted from a highly luminous atmosphere which surrounds it, and which does not prevent the body itself from being inhabited; that the appearance of the zodiacal light or the aurora borealis seems to prove the existence of luminous matter besides the sun; and that light, like heat, exists in a latent or concealed state in every object of nature:—these suppositions affect in no manner the Biblical narrative, neither where they are in harmony, nor where they are in antagonism with it; they concern us as little as the ludicrous query, whether God had, before the creation of light, been in darkness; or the still more absurd question, how God passed His time before the Creation; and we leave these improprieties to the well-known severe and ironical

strictures of St. Augustin and Luther. But this "light" is certainly not identical with the "fire" which geology teaches us to have partly assisted in producing the different strata; this *light* was not instrumental in forming the granite, the gneiss, and the other crystalline rocks of the globe, as has been very curiously maintained (Tayler, Geology, p. 241); nor does the creation of light include that of oxygen, air and carbon, as others have as strangely asserted (*H. Reinsch*, Schöpfung, p. 29). We might compare the results of our scientific researches with the notions of antiquity; this is a task both important and interesting; but we must not expect to find the former identical with the latter; we cannot wish, that the human mind should have made no progress in the lapse of three millenniums: we cannot desire, that so much intense mental labour, so much earnest perseverance, should be wholly unrewarded. The human race is not, as heathen poets sang in gloomy despondency, doomed to the fruitless efforts of the Danaids, incessantly toiling, and never advancing; mankind *has* made progress in the *knowledge* of God; their *intellects* have penetrated deeper into the mysteries of His works;—let us hope, that their *hearts* have equally progressed in love and purity; that the increased light was attended by an increased warmth.

With striking sublimity the first Divine creation is introduced: "And God said, Light be, and Light was" (הָיָה אֹרֶךְ וַיְהִי אֹרֶךְ). "God speaks, and it exists, He commands, and it stands there" (Ps. xxxiii. 9; comp. ver. 6, and cxlviii. 5); the words of God imply behests; they are, as Luther remarks, not mere sounds; they are things, they are essential objects; even heathen philosophers quoted our verse as an example of sublime diction (*Longin. περὶ ὑψ.*, ix. 9; *Libanius*); and the Hebrew language is peculiarly adapted for brief, pithy, and majestic exclamation; it is as lofty as it is concise; it is the language of religion, and the fit garment of those ideas, which were de-

Night. And it was evening, and it was morning; one day.

tined to humanize the world. The majesty and omnipotence, which this first command of God involves, forbid us to consider the trivial idea, that God, like an earthly artist, required light before He could proceed with His work.

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—Although **אמר** signifies frequently, to *think* (i. e., to speak with oneself; see note on Exod. ii. 14; comp. 2 Sam. xxi. 16), or, to wish (1 Sam. xx. 4); and although the Hindoo cosmogony represents the world as the emanation of the mere thought of the deity (see on ver. 2): we take that verb, which introduces all six creations, more appropriately in its usual meaning; we cannot, without the most prejudiced arbitrariness, argue away all human expressions used in the Bible with reference to God; the Scriptures accommodate themselves to the language of men; in the history of creation God is said to hover (ver. 2); to speak (vers. 3, 6, etc.); to see and examine (vers. 4, 18, etc.); to give names (vers. 5, 8, etc.); to approve of His works (vers. 4, 12, etc.); to deliberate with Himself (ver. 26); to rest, and to repose Himself (ii. 2, 3); and even to make garments for the first pair (iii. 21). By these anthropomorphistic phrases, the Biblical text loses nothing of its grandeur, and gains immeasurably in distinctness and perspicuity; it describes Divine manifestations for human beings and in a human medium. And language especially cannot be deemed unworthy of the Deity; it is the most spiritual, and, at the same time, the most perfect embodiment of the ideal; it is the least corporeal or material expression of thoughts and sentiments; and, hence, the art of speaking and writing is more distinct and more perfect than all plastic arts.—The Persians, also, believed, that Ormuzd called the pure worlds into existence by pronouncing the holy word (*honover*).—The construction **וירא אל** (instead of **כִּי וירא אל**) is parallel to the similar usage not unfrequent in Greek, and occurring

in Latin also; comp. vi. 2; xlix. 15; Acts xv. 36, etc.; *Terent. Eun.* V. viii. 5: *scin' me in quibus sim gaudiis*. The verb **ראה** is here, to *see*, not, to *reflect*, as Ebn Ezra proposes, after the analogy of Eccles. ii. 13; God saw with love and delight, that His work was good, that it was in harmony with His will; that it corresponded with the proposed end (Isai. xlv. 18). Light and darkness were mixed in the chaos; both are now separated, to form the distinction between day and night (**ויברל**; comp. ver. 7). But the darkness of night is widely different from the darkness of chaos (ver. 2); the former stands under the influence of universal light; the latter prevailed before the separation of the elements, an impenetrable gloom. The Persians counted, therefore, the night among the beneficial and celestial things, though no religion attached such holiness to light as that of Zoroaster, and though Ahriman, the evil principle, was the prince of darkness, who had even maliciously attempted to corrupt the pure and brilliant light of Ormuzd, but was by this god hurled back into his abodes of darkness.—How the words, “God divided between the light and between the darkness,” imply the idea, that He imparted to the earth the rotatory motion, we are unable to comprehend.—We need not urge, that the astronomical or sidereal day was impossible before the existence of the sun; the expression, “evening and morning, one day,” denotes merely the space of time equivalent to our twenty-four hours, the civil or calendar day, the *νυχθημερον* of the Greeks (2 Cor. xi. 25), for which the Hebrew language has no proper term, but which has later been expressed by a similar compound (**ערב בקר**; Dan. viii. 14). Other cosmogonies, also, introduce light before the sun; the Great Spirit of the Hindoos dispelled the gloom even before the creation of the water; Ormuzd dwelt from the beginning on a throne of light; Indra, the god of light, was born before all other immortal deities; and the root

6. And God said, Let there be an expanse in the midst of the waters, and let it be a division between the waters

which in many of the Indo-Germanic languages signifies god (*deva*, *divus*, *deus*, *θεός*, etc.), denotes the brilliant or light-spreading Being. The gods of light and fire, of the air and the morning-dawn are in the system of the Vedas among the earliest gods (*Lassen*, *Ind. Alterth.*, i. 756—764). We require, therefore, no artificial explanation of the seeming difficulties.—That the Israelites, and many other ancient nations, counted their days from evening to evening is universally known, and has been more fully explained in our note on *Exod.* xiv. 24 (see *Ps.* lv. 18; compare, however, the phrase *וַיְהִי עֶרְבָא וַיְהִי קֶדֶם*, *Ps.* i. 2, etc.). The words, “and it was evening, and it was morning,” describe, therefore, not the time from morning to morning (*Nachmanides* and *Rashbam*), nor do they contain any allusion to the contrast of day and night in the antipodes. Some tribes numbered the time ordinarily after nights; as, for instance, the *Salii*; and the English expressions, *sennight* (seven-night), *fortnight* (fourteen-night), etc., remind us of the same usage. But the origin of this custom is scarcely to be traced back to the reminiscence of the first day of creation, when a night of chaotic darkness was followed by a day of light; but it is to be referred to the *lunar* months and *lunar* years which formed the basis of chronology among many nations. In fact, in other countries the days were differently computed; the Indians and the later Ba-

bylonians reckoned them from one sunrise to the next (*ἡμερονέκτιστον*); the Umbrians from noon to noon; the Roman priests, and the civil authorities of the Egyptians, and others, like ourselves, from midnight to midnight (see *Pliny*, ii. 79; *Caesar*, *Bell. Gall.*, vi. 18; *Ideler*, *Chronol.*, i. 18, *et seq.*; *Lepsius*, *Chron.*, p. 130 *et seq.*).—In *יום אחד*, the ordinal number is used instead of the cardinal *אֶחָד*, as is frequently the case both in Hebrew (for instance, *בַּתְשַׁעָה לַחֹדֶשׁ*, *יום אחד לחודש*, etc.), and other languages (in *Arab.*, *Syr.*, *Æthiop.*, *Greek*: *ἐν μίᾳ τῶν σαββάτων*, *Matt.* xxviii. 1; comp. *Hom.* *Iliad.* xvi. 173; *Latin*: *uno et octogesimo anno*, *Cicer.*, *Senect.* v.; *French*: *Louis quinze*); and, especially, in enumerations when ordinals follow, as in our instance, and in ii. 11, *et seq.* (*שֵׁשׁ הַיָּמִים*; comp. *Exod.* xxviii. 17; *Job* xlii. 14); thus, in *Greek*, *μία, δευτέρα* (*Revel.* vi. 1, *et seq.*); and so, here, the *Sept.* *ἡμέρα μία*; and, in *Latin*, *unus, alter, tertius* (*Sueton.* *Octav.* 101; comp. *Gesen.* *Lehrg.*, p. 701; *Ewald*, *Hebr. Gr.*, § 449; *Gram. Arab.* i., p. 235). It is, therefore, futile to assign to this use of *אֶחָד* any mysterious or hidden reason, as *Josephus*, *Philo*, *Abarbanel*, and others insinuate, or to understand it as a *peculiar* day, a day *sui generis*, or a period of indefinite duration (*Macdonald*, *Creation and Fall*, p. 99).—The word *דִּי* is, in *ver.* 5, used both in its stricter meaning as day opposed to night, and in its wider sense of *νυχθήμερον*.

SECOND DAY. HEAVEN. *VER.* 6—8.

The original matter called into existence by Divine omnipotence (*ver.* 1) partly consisted of, and partly was covered by, water (*ver.* 2); this chaotic mixture, at first involved in darkness, had been surrounded with light (*vers.* 3—5); but it formed still one undivided mass, without shape or proportion; it was, therefore, the next act of the celestial will to separate it into two well-balanced parts, which might individually be made the basis of further creations. The firmament, or

expanse of heaven (*רָקִיעַ*), was framed. The clear blue sky became visible. It consists of the condensed clouds, and assumes thus the appearance of a firm and solid substance. Thus the waters were partly congregated above this firmament, partly beneath it: the conglomerated matter was divided into heaven and earth, and the firmament marks the separation. The waters above it are reserved as the stores of rain; those beneath it form partly the vapours of the air, and partly



and the waters. 7. And God made the expanse, and divided between the waters which *were* under the expanse, and between the waters which *were* above the expanse: and it was so. 8. And God called the expanse Heaven. And it was evening, and it was morning; a second day.

the seas, streams, and fountains of the earth. The former are, therefore, not the material of the stars, nor are the latter the substance of the continents; which opinions have been defended with much zeal; for the celestial orbs are nowhere in the Bible regarded as consisting of watery elements (vers. 14—19); and the dry land existed simultaneously with the water, for it was not created, but only made visible, on the third day (ver. 9). The circumstance that the matter of the planet Jupiter is only of the same density as water, and that of Saturn scarcely of half its density, are insufficient to prove that these stars were formed of that element, especially as this opinion in no way harmonises with the probable formation of the planetary system (see p. 13).—God calls the firmament heaven (ver. 8); it is, therefore, perfectly appropriate, if the regions above the firmament are designated as “heaven of heavens” (שמי השמים) Deut. x. 14; 1 Kings viii. 27; comp. 2 Cor. xii. 2), or if the birds, which soar up towards that upper region, are called “the birds of heaven” (vers. 26, 28; Ps. civ. 12).

About the further notions of the Hebrews concerning the firmament and heaven, see pp. 20, 21.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—רָקִיעַ (from רָקַע, to beat, to spread out by beating, Exod. xxxix. 3), the *expanse*, or רָקִיעַ השמים, vers. 14, 15, the *expanse of heaven*; comp. Job xxxvii. 18; Ps. xix. 2. Sept., *στερέωμα*; Vulg., *firmamentum*; Luther, *Veste*. But this signification of רָקִיעַ does not justify us in supposing, with some ancient interpreters, that, in the first verse the creation of heaven is described, but that it was a liquid mass; whereas our verse represents its transformation into a solid vault. Not a change, but the *separation* of the original

matter is the object of the second day. In the first verse, merely the production of matter out of nothing is stated; and this is, in the following parts of our chapter, regarded and acted upon as the substratum of heaven and earth. The opinion of Abarbanel, therefore, that the one huge heavenly sphere, to which he finds an allusion in the first verse, was, on the second day, surrounded by other spheres or circles, is one of those bold and brilliant conjectures which that ingenious and fertile interpreter was unable to render plausible, in spite of a prodigious display of learning and sagacity.—בתוך המים, *within the water*, not exactly *in the midst* of the water, although Onkelos translates במצינות מים, and Sept. ἐν ὕδατι; see Commentary on Exod., p. 249.—מבריל, part. Hiph. (not substantive), combined with יהי, expresses the *permanent* separation between the waters (see Ewald, Gram. §. 485).—בין . . . בין (ver. 6), instead of ובין . . . בין (vers. 4, 7), as in Lev. xx. 25, Deut. xvii. 8, Ezek. xxii. 26; or לבין . . . לבין, as in Isa. lix. 2. The Septuagint adds, at the end of the sixth verse, ויהי כן, which words it omits in ver. 7, but adds again, in the eighth verse, “And God saw that it was good.” The circumstance that similar terms of approbation are used in connection with all the other days of creation, has induced the Greek interpreters to this insertion, which no other ancient version warrants. The reason that these words are here omitted, because the arrangement of the waters is only completed on the third day, is of no weight, as the heaven or the firmament is an independent creation, distinct and separate from the liquid stores; the water above the firmament was separated from that beneath it; this is a complete act in itself; and on the third day the water of the earth was made the exclusive object

9. And God said, Let the waters under the heaven be gathered to one place, and let the dry *land* appear: and it was so. 10. And God called the dry *land* Earth; and the gathering of the waters He called Seas: and God saw that *it was* good.—11. And God said, Let the earth bring

of the Divine operation. But absolutely erroneous is Ebn Ezra's opinion, that indeed the work of the second day concludes only with ver. 10, and that the verbs of verses 9 and 10 are to be taken as pluperfects. His arguments are perfectly fallacious.—It may be stated that

the formula, "And God saw that it was good," occurs *seven* times in the history of creation; and that the words "And it was so," are introduced in the same significant manner, provided we take "And light was," in ver. 2, as equivalent to that phrase.

THIRD DAY. DRY LAND AND SEAS; VEGETATION. VER. 9—13.

The earth, illumined by all-pervading light, was freed from the encumbering mass of water; an adequate portion was congregated in immeasurable distance above it, beyond a solid expanse intended to mark this eternal division between heaven and earth. But still the terrestrial body was, on its entire surface, covered with the fluid element; still the earth offered the appearance of one vast dreary water-desert, without variety, without life, without beauty. God had not employed His omnipotence to no purpose; another act of His wisdom and power was necessary, to render the creations of the preceding days effective and useful. Variety was produced in the monotony of the chaotic waters by collecting them on certain places, and by making, on others, the dry land visible; and life and beauty were called forth by clothing the dry land with verdure—with the endless forms of the vegetable world. This was the work of the third day. It will, therefore, not appear an irregularity, but an admirable economy in the history of creation, that those two acts were combined on the same day. By the mere division of the dry land from the water, our cosmogony would practically have made no material advance; instead of the lifeless and uniform waters, there would have existed a lifeless and unprofitable alternation of water and land; the aspect of our globe would have undergone a change, but no essential improvement. But from another

point of view, also, this double act was necessary on the third day. We have observed, that the third day corresponds with the sixth, on which animals and man were produced; it was, therefore, necessary to create for them not only abodes, but also food—not only the dry land, but also vegetation. Such is the beautiful symmetry of the Mosaic cosmogony. We have, therefore, no right to ask how vegetation could exist and thrive before the creation of the sun; according to the Biblical statement, the world and its endless contents were miraculously formed by the will of God; they are not the result of mere natural laws; and that order of the days seems just designed and intended to teach that the vegetation was called forth by the omnipotence of God, and not by the influence of the solar rays. The same Power which had filled the womb of the earth with the seeds of vegetable life, made them appear and spread above its surface.—The formation of the continents, as described in our text, agrees but very remotely with that made probable by the geological researches. For whilst the latter teach us, that the same part of the globe was many times alternately water and dry land, and that volcanic eruptions were one of the chief agencies of these changes (see pp. 17, 18), our text declares, that at the beginning of time the will of God made, once for all, the permanent division between seas and continents; there was no

forth vegetation, the herb yielding seed, *and* the fruit tree yielding fruit after its kind, whose seed is in itself, upon the earth: and it was so. 12. And the earth brought forth vegetation, the herb yielding seed after its kind, and the tree yielding fruit, whose seed is in itself, after its

upheaving of the land, but only a concentration of the floods to certain parts: not even the doctrines of the Neptunists are here expressed. Nor does the poetical and more copious paraphrase of our text in Ps. civ. 6—9, imply a greater harmony with the modern results; the retreat of the waters reveals the unevenness of the earth's surface; mountains and valleys appear; and the floods are enclosed within strict boundaries. This does not explain the formation of the strata, nor of the fossil remains of vegetables and animals—which, according to the Bible, did not yet exist in the interior of the earth—nor any of the wonders which make geology one of the most interesting and absorbing sciences. But we have willingly renounced the attempt to discover that harmony; and both science and Biblical exposition will gain by this candid understanding.—The *seas* (יםים) imply all gatherings of water, as the lakes, streams, and rivers, which, however, are so insignificant, compared with the majestic oceans, that the latter are alone mentioned in opposition to the dry land (see Exod. vii. 19, and our note thereon; comp. Josh. iii. 16; Jer. li. 36; Ezek. xxxii. 2). Whether this division of the waters was, as in Exod. xiv. 21, effected by means of a strong wind (as ancient expositors believe), is not alluded to in the text; it can, at least, not be inferred from ver. 2, where “the spirit of God” is His power, not the “blast of His nostrils”; and it is more grand to imagine all these creations effected by the mere word of God, without external medium or agency.—The vegetation which covers the earth, and which is regarded as its product, is, in our opinion, divided into two classes—1. *herbs* (עש), comprising every kind of grass, and all plants which “yield seeds”: and 2. *trees* (פרץ), including, naturally, all shrubs and ar-

boreous plants which have their seeds enclosed in their fruit (13), whether this fruit be eatable by man or not. We take, therefore, the first part of the eleventh verse as the general command, which is succeeded by a specified enumeration.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—Our reasons are—1. The verb נש, to germinate (Joel ii. 22), is a generic term, applicable to all sorts of vegetable growth, and it is, therefore, here used, like נציץ in ver. 12, and צמח in ii. 5, 9, not only with reference to נש, but also to עש and פרץ. 2. Whilst the two other classes are explicitly described in our text, and the fruit-trees, even, with an abundant copiousness, the term נש is qualified with no word, although it would have required explanation most, since it is sometimes used almost synonymously with עש; for instance, Dent. xxxii. 2; Ps. xxxvii. 2, compared with Gen. i. 30; 2 Kings xix. 36. (Rashi finds between נש and נש the same distinction which is in the French words *herbe* and *herbage*, and Abarbanel believes נש to be the grass which grows spontaneously without the care of man, and עש all vegetables and grain which must be planted or sown.) 3. In vers. 29 and 30, where the whole vegetable creation is assigned as food to man and animals, only herbs (עש) and fruits (פרץ) are mentioned, but not נש. That נש signifies the small perennial herbs, which, according to the belief of the ancients, grow spontaneously (*abrogearoi*) without seed, cannot be concluded from Prov. xxvii. 25, where it is merely stated, that after the יציץ or full-grown grass has disappeared, נש and עש sprout forth, that is, new verdure or new herbs (Gr. *χλόν*) appear. In fact, נש is quite generally the vegetation which adorns the fields (Ps. xxiii. 2; 2 Sam. xiii. 4), and serves as food for animals,

kind: and God saw that *it was good*. 13. And it was evening, and it was morning; a third day.

14. And God said, Let there be luminaries in the expanse of the heaven, to divide between the day and between the night; and let them be for signs and for

(Job vi. 5); but it sometimes includes the notion of brightness and bloom (Ps. xxiii. 2; Isa. lxvi. 14; comp. Joel ii. 22). The words *בצמח ובעֵץ*, correctly separated by the Masorites, must, therefore, not be combined, as has been done by the Septuagint (*βοτάνην χόρτον*), the Vulgate (*herbam virentem*), and others; and has been advocated by Rosenmueller, who adduces, in support, several other pleonastic expressions, as *לְעֵץ וְעֵץ*, Exod. x. 22; *זֶמַח וְפֵרִי*, Zech. x. 1, etc.—The seed and the fruit are “after their kind”; they follow the unchangeable laws of production implanted in them by the Creator to the end of time.—The words “upon the earth,” in ver. 11, do not describe the high and far-spreading trees (Bohlen), for they refer to the herbs also; but they imply that the germs, which were hidden in the earth, shall sprout forth through its surface, and that thus the plants stand on the earth.—“The earth brought forth” vegetation is nothing else but “God made it grow from the earth” (see on ver. 1); it

has no affinity whatever with Pa. xc. 2. —It is an old problem, whether the plants existed first, and then the seed as their most perfect stage, or, reversely, whether the seed first produced the plants? Naturalists have decided for the latter alternative, after the common principle, *omnia ex ovo*. In our passage, this question is not considered, and the priority is simply given to the plants which produce the seed for the future vegetation. But the opinion, that the *seeds* only were produced on the third day, and that they were developed into plants on the fourth, after the creation of the sun, has been advanced, without any Scriptural foundation, to evade both that difficulty and another one, to which we have adverted in a preceding part.—The Septuagint has in these verses, also, some superfluous additions, or, rather, repetitions, by no means elucidating the sense, but mainly dictated by the desire of congruity.

About the abundance of fossil vegetation, see pp. 9, 10.

#### FOURTH DAY. THE CELESTIAL ORBS. VER. 14—19.

The first part of the creation is finished; the framework of the universe is made, it only remains to be completed; the outlines are drawn, they need only to be filled up; the design is manifested, the execution follows of necessity. The works of the three first days point to those which await the creating power of God on the three following days; the labour of the fourth day has not so much reference to that of the third or fifth, but to that of the first day; the *luminaries* which are now called into existence, point to the *light*, which was the first of the Divine works; they are not considered as animated bodies, occupying an intermediate place between the vegetable and animal kingdoms; their motions involve no free activity; they follow

the laws of a prescribed necessity; they are held in their unchangeable orbits. These luminaries are divided into three classes, the sun, the moon, and the stars; and their service is threefold: to mark the difference between day and night, to note the various seasons of the year, and to illumine the earth. They were, therefore, necessary even after the creation of light; the latter could not indicate the various changes in the aspect and condition of the earth; it was unable to guide and to direct the labours of man. But the use of the luminaries is entirely limited to the planet which we inhabit; the earth is the centre of the universe, and the hosts of heaven are intended for its service; they are the only infallible measure of time, for which

seasons, and for days and years: 15. And let them be for luminaries in the expanse of the heaven, to give light upon the earth: and it was so. 16. And God made the two great luminaries—the greater luminary to rule the day, and the lesser luminary to rule the night—and the stars. 17. And God placed them in the expanse of the heaven to give light upon the earth, 18. And to rule over the day and over the night, and to divide between

man can devise but imperfect substitutes; both the sun and the moon were necessary for the computation of time; the months were determined by the latter, but the seasons and years were regulated by the former.—They are fixed in the expanse which was created on the second day; they are, originally, no part of it; they are the visible wonders of the heaven: and, as the earth depends on them for light and warmth, for cheerfulness and the blessings of vegetation, they are described as having dominion over the earth; the sun during the day, and the moon during the night; but, since the moon is not always visible, since she is not, as she might have been expected to be, as constant a companion of the night as the sun is of the day, the starry host has been added to cheer the unfriendly gloom. Thus, Biblical astronomy is derived from mere optical appearance; the eye alone is the judge; the moon is represented as the second of the great heavenly orbs, and as a luminous body; the stars are nothing else but her companions; and their only end is to shed their chaste lustre on our small planet. See the further remarks on p. 23, and on ver. 3—5.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS. — About *זֶה* *מֵאֵרֶת*, the verb in the singular impersonally preceding the plural noun, see note on Exod. xiii. 7; comp. v. 23; Job xlii. 15; Mich. ii. 6; *Gesen.* Lehrs. p. 720; but in the second part follows regularly *וְהָיוּ*; comp. Ezek. xiv. 1.—*מֵאֵרֶת* are the bodies from which *אֹר* emanates, or in

which it is concentrated.—The two principal orbs are sufficiently designated by the terms, “the greater light and the lesser light”; therefore, their names, sun and moon, are not mentioned in our text (comp. Pa. cxxxvi. 7—9). — Pliny, also, (*Hist. Nat.* ii. 4) calls the sun “*coeli rector*,” and Cicero (*Tusc. Quæst.* i. 58), “*omnium moderatorem ac ducem*.”—The luminaries are intended “for signs (*לְאֹתֹת*), and for seasons (*וּלְמִוְעָדִים*), and for days and years.” These words have received very various explanations; their probable connection is, that the sun and the moon are destined to be “the signs of the seasons, days, and years;” the rather obscure term “for signs,” is qualified by the more intelligible one “for seasons” (*וּלְמִוְעָדִים*, comp. Ps. civ. 19); summer and winter, seed-time and harvest (*Gen.* viii. 22): a usage very common in Hebrew (comp., especially, 1 Sam. xvii. 40: *בְּכָלִי הָרָעִים .. וּבִלְקֹטֹת* *וּלְמִוְעָדִים* does not exactly form a hendiadys with *לְאֹתֹת* (*Gesen.* Lehrs., p. 854), but is its apposition; and the words, “for days and years,” are a further specification of *לְמִוְעָדִים*; the word *לְאֹתֹת* does, therefore, not signify the mysterious astrological signs (*Jer.* x. 2; *Luke* xxi. 25); nor the eclipses and meteors; nor the meteorological phenomena; nor the miracles which God intended to perform with the heavenly bodies (comp. *Isai.* xxxviii. 8); nor the mere symbols of time (comp. xvii. 11; *Exod.* xiii. 9; xxxi. 13); nor is *מִוְעָדִים* the “appointed seasons or festivals.”

#### FIFTH DAY. FISHES AND BIRDS. VER. 20—23.

The earth had been adorned with the gay and variegated luxuriance of vegeta-

tion; but the water and the air were still empty and dreary; and breathing life was

the light and between the darkness: and God saw that *it was good*. 19. And it was evening, and it was morning; a fourth day.

20. And God said, Let the waters teem with abundant creatures that have life; and fowl may fly above the earth towards the expanse of heaven. 21. And God created the great monsters, and every living creature that moveth, with which the waters teem, after their kind, and every

wanting throughout the globe. In the same order in which the different parts of the earth had been created or organized, they were now peopled with living creatures, not by spontaneous production, but by the behest of God; first the two moveable elements, water and air, and then the continents; and thus, the fifth day corresponds accurately with the second, and the sixth with the third. It is, therefore, of little importance to enquire whether, according to the Biblical account, the living beings were created in a steady gradation from the less to the more perfect; the great monsters of the sea are, perhaps, as fully organized as the birds of heaven; the works of the three last days do not succeed each other after an independent principle; they follow the arrangement of the three first days; they are their necessary complement. The fishes and the birds, therefore, are not coupled on the same day, because both are oviparous, or because both are furnished with peculiar organs fitting them to move in their respective elements; these are accidental analogies, not determining the order of the created beings, but showing still more powerfully their harmony and symmetry. But it is to be admitted, that, *on the whole*, a gradual progress is observed; first were produced the cosmical elements; then the vegetable; then the animal kingdom; and, at last, man.—The water was filled with huge fishes (דגים), which are mentioned as the majestic representatives of all greater inhabitants of the sea; and with the living creatures which abound in that element, and which comprise all its other tenants. For, it seems to have been usual to divide the fishes into two chief classes according

to their size (Pa. civ. 25; comp. calviii. 7). But it is doubtful whether here the mammiferous fishes are distinguished from the other aquatic animals; although the former are, in many important points, markedly different from the latter; "they respire by means of lungs, and are, therefore, obliged from time to time, to ascend to the surface of the water to inhale the atmospheric air; their blood is warm, and their ears open outwards, though by small orifices; *and they suckle their young*." This distinction, however remarkable, is nowhere alluded to; and the Hebrew term (דגים) denotes both mammifers and non-mammifers.—When the air, also, had been peopled with living beings, to which, however, the earth was not entirely denied (ver. 22); God blessed all these creatures; He granted them fruitfulness and increase; for they have not, like the plants, the innate power of spontaneous propagation. But they were incapable of receiving a higher blessing; this was reserved to those more exalted beings whose animal nature was ennobled and elevated by the spark of Divine Reason. And even the blessing of the fishes and birds redounds on man; for, under his dominion the whole animal creation was given (ver. 26, 28); even if he used them for his food, they would still exist in abundance.—Several ancient commentators have laboured to prove, that the birds, also, were created from the water; the Targumim already entertained this notion; and even Luther and English Version translate: "let the water bring forth abundantly the moving creature... and fowl *that may fly*," etc. But we have not the remotest proof, that the Hebrews, like some modern naturalists, believed the birds

winged fowl after its kind: and God saw that *it was* good. 22. And God blessed them, saying, Be fruitful, and multiply, and fill the waters in the seas, and the fowl may multiply on the earth. 23. And it was evening, and it was morning; a fifth day.

24. And God said, Let the earth bring forth living

and the fishes to belong properly to the same order of beings; that translation adds unnecessarily the relative *that*; and, in ii. 19, the birds are clearly represented as produced from the *earth*; and are there combined with the beasts of the field in one act of creation.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—*וַיַּשְׂבֵּן* being a verb denoting *fulness*, is construed with the accusative of the object (*וַיַּשְׂבֵּן*); it is an intransitive verb; the version of the Septuagint (*ἐξαιαγέρω*), and others is, therefore, inaccurate; it involves only the notion of a *teeming* or *crowded* multitude; but is not exclusively used with reference to animals; it is as often employed with regard to men (ix. 7; Exod. i. 7; comp. Lev. xi. 10).—*וַיַּשְׂבֵּן חַיָּה*, in opposition to *וַיַּשְׂבֵּן*, expresses the meaning of the latter, with not much greater distinctness; it is also a generic term; *וַיַּשְׂבֵּן* is merely the principle of life, the vital element; and only in ver. 21 the *species* of “living creatures” are described (comp. on ii. 7; ix. 2).—*וַיַּשְׂבֵּן* is a collective noun; fowl, *birds*.—They fly *וַיַּשְׂבֵּן* *וַיַּשְׂבֵּן*, that is, *towards*, or *before*, the surface of the expanse, which forms the heaven; in which manner *וַיַּשְׂבֵּן* is also used in xix. 28 (Sept. *κατὰ τὸ στερέωμα*).—*וַיַּשְׂבֵּן* (from the root *וַיַּשְׂבֵּן* to extend, stretch out; see Tuch, *ad locum*; and Gesen. Thes., p. 1511) is a general term for great, monstrous animals (Sept. *σῆν*); serpents (Exod. vii. 9); dragons (Jer. li. 34); crocodiles (Isai. xxvii. 1; comp. Ezek. xxxii. 2); and may, therefore, here chiefly denote the order *cetacea*; whence Targum Jonathan, following the Talmud, explains it by *לִיָּוִת* (comp. Pa. civ. 25, 26).—*וַיַּשְׂבֵּן* is nearly synonymous with *וַיַּשְׂבֵּן*, and signifies, therefore, also, *to move abundantly* (comp. Pa. lix. 35); Onkelos translates both verbs with *וַיַּשְׂבֵּן*, but he renders *וַיַּשְׂבֵּן* (in ix. 7) with the general word *וַיַּשְׂבֵּן*; and the *substantive* (*וַיַּשְׂבֵּן*) seems to be more used for *creeping* animals, reptiles, serpents, etc. (ver. 25, 26).—The paronomasia *וַיַּשְׂבֵּן וַיַּשְׂבֵּן* appears to have been a usual form of blessing; and is repeated in ver. 28 and ix. 7, where it is addressed to human beings (comp. xxiv. 60).

#### SIXTH DAY. THE ANIMALS OF THE EARTH AND MAN. VER. 24—31.

Still was the richest and most beautiful part of the globe without its inhabitants; the ocean was filled with an endless variety of beings; the air re-echoed with the happy sounds of the winged tribes; but the luxurious vegetation bloomed in vain; and in vain shed the king of the day his cheerful beams on the lifeless plains and hills. The earth demanded its tenants; and they were brought forth on the sixth day. They were animated beings (*וַיַּשְׂבֵּן חַיָּה*); they lent life to the calm and solitude of nature; they were created in three great classes: the grass-eating larger quadrupeds, including the beasts of burden, and the cattle (*וַיַּשְׂבֵּן*); the carni-

vorous beasts of the forest (*וַיַּשְׂבֵּן חַיָּה*); and the worms and reptiles (*וַיַּשְׂבֵּן*).—And now was the whole earth peopled with life; all its habitable parts had their proper occupants, all perfect in their kind; but there was no unity among them, no connecting link; each passed an isolated existence, without relation to the rest;—should the creative energy of God pause here? Had He called the earth and all the heavenly hosts into existence, merely to adorn the former, and to leave it as an abode or a prey to the brute creation? God, who had produced the world from the abundance of His love, required other beings whom He might make the lords of

creatures after their kind, cattle, and reptiles, and beasts of the earth, after their kind: and it was so. 25. And God made the beasts of the earth after their kind, and the cattle after their kind, and all the reptiles of the earth after their kind: and God saw that *it was good*.

26. And God said, Let Us make man in Our image,

that wondrous structure; beings more capable of comprehending and enjoying it; of embracing and understanding it as a whole; "the uniting tie of all creatures" (*σύνδεσμος πάντων*, *Theodoret*); approaching nearer to His own spiritual nature; and stamping the creation more visibly as the work of the Infinite Mind. He decided, after solemn self-deliberation, — and Man was created. He was endowed with divine faculties; he received a part of eternal Reason; he was formed in the image and likeness of God, which propagated itself through all generations (v.3); and he was ordained to rule over the beasts of the field, and the fishes of the ocean. Even physically, man seems to concentrate within himself the characteristic qualities of all other animated beings; he is the type of all types of the animal kingdom, and its indisputable head; and he is organised to live in almost every part of the globe.

But which are those Divine faculties of man? how was he armed to maintain his superiority over the brute creation? His intellect penetrates, beyond the sensual perception, to unseen regions; his imagination carries him, beyond time and space, from the real to the ideal, from the finite to the infinite; his reason explores the mainspring and hidden connection of external things; his mind is almost boundless in device; it makes wonderful discoveries and inventions, either by a flash of genius, or the patient labours of experience and induction; he embodies sublime ideas in the form of art, and beauty becomes the hand-maid of truth; memory stores up the treasures of the past, and hands them over to reason to argue and to draw conclusions; he searches the mutual relation between cause and effect, till

he ascends to the First Cause, the Creator and Governor of the world; he can trace back the past history of the planet which he inhabits through many successive revolutions, and he anticipates other stages of its existence, which silently prepare themselves in accordance with laws which his sagacity has discovered; he has been permitted to find, by mere computation, the existence and motion of distant planets; he is capable of communicating, by the medium of language, his deepest thoughts, and his innermost feelings; he may thus either instruct or delight, he may offer sympathy or implore it; the pliant voice assumes the tender tone of approbation, or the sterner accent of rebuke; a radiating smile playing on the lips betrays the motions of the soul; and a sympathetic tear pearly from the eye bears testimony to the living fountain of love flowing within the heart; his actions are regulated after the prudent calculation of means and end, of direction and aim; he distinguishes between the eternal ideas and their transitory embodiment in the material world; he practises virtue without a selfish object; not from fear, but from love; not from motives of egotism or pleasure, but from a profound sense of his dignity; he forgets his own advantage, and strives nobly for the welfare of his fellow-men; his heart is kindled for the great objects of mankind; they are his own, his dearest interests; he considers it no sacrifice to seal a life of struggle and devotion with a death of martyrdom, if he but promotes the cause of humanity; he is determined to perish rather than to suffer ignominy, and he sacrifices his existence for glory and fame; his heart is open to the lessons of faith; he lives in his religious convictions, and knows how to



after Our likeness: and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of heaven, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over all the reptiles which creep upon the earth. 27. And God created man

combat for them; he feels gratitude to his benefactors, and he forgives the injuries of his enemies; he delights in the sociable exchange of thoughts and sentiments; and feels himself a member of a political community formed to advance his highest aims and objects; he is privileged to admire the moral order of the world; he is the instrument of God Himself, of whose majesty he gives witness; his erect form looks up to heaven; and he feels, that *there* is the true home of his soul; he alone enjoys liberty and free will, whilst the vast sideral bodies, and even all the other organic beings, are subject to an immutable necessity; he is not the slave of a blind instinct, he reflects on himself, and examines his resolutions and his deeds; he conquers, by the strength of his mind, temptation and baseness; his moral energy masters passion and seduction; conscience, his monitor and his guide, cheers him with its applause, and torments him with its sting; he considers himself responsible for his deeds before the higher tribunal of his soul and of his Creator: he might, at least, *strive* after all this excellence; but if he yet totters and falls, he feels, that contrition and repentance will restore him to mercy; and if he is oppressed by misery and sin, if he is seized by despondency and despair, he looks with joyous confidence to a redemption beyond the grave, and is uplifted by the glorious hope of immortality. All these priceless privileges have been allotted to man exclusively; they constitute his resemblance to God, and lead him from earth to heaven; no animal, however powerfully or perfectly organized, possesses any of them; it might surpass man in strength, in size, in endurance, or in courage: man is destined to rule over it by his reason, by the power of the mind; he has, therefore, to *conquer* that dominion (כבש) which is not granted him without the exertions of his

higher faculties (comp. Antiphon: *τίχην παροῦμεν ὡν φύσει νικώμεθα*; comp. *Sir.* xvii. 3, *et seq.*). And this wonderful greatness and depth of human nature is our surest proof of an eternal and omnipotent Creator; it is a surer proof than even that derived from the contemplation of His marvellous works; for, it comes not from without; it is an intuitive conviction of the mind, that it is a part of a kindred, though infinitely more perfect Spirit. It is, at the same time, an irresistible argument for the doctrine, that man is different from the animals not simply in degree, but specifically; that he is not merely a more perfect animal, but forms another, a higher order of beings. We do not deny, that animals are gifted with an instinct often bordering upon mind; that their ingenuity and skill sometimes demand our highest admiration; that they are susceptible of feelings and impressions, capable of love and hatred, and, *sometimes*, of acting according to the principle of means and end; but all these facts imply only another proof of the truth, that there exists a *continuous chain* in the whole organic creation; they are the points of transition from the lower to the higher order: but man possesses, in a great degree of development, powers which are entirely denied to animals; and which just constitute his principal characteristics. His physical nature chiefly connects him with the animal creation; but that is not his dominant, it is not even his stronger part; it is subordinated to, and controlled by, his moral and intellectual powers; if man neglects his reason, he resembles the beast, he descends from the higher to the lower class (Pa. xlix. 21); the spiritual part is his guiding principle. This is the Biblical conception with regard to the position of man; the Scriptures attribute to him a dignity "but little inferior to God Himself" (comp. iii. 22); we are not seriously concerned if

in His image, in the image of God created He him; male and female created He them. 28. And God blessed them, and God said to them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and fill the earth, and subdue it: and have dominion over the

some natural philosophers make him the lineal descendant of the monkey or the Batrachian.—It is true, man is physically weak, and frail, and transitory; he is, at his birth, and in his infancy, more helpless than any other creature; and the great number of his wants render him often the slave rather than the ruler of nature; he is beset with infirmity and disease; his life is frequently a series of sorrows and sufferings; his divine nature is seldom developed, and passion or malice destroy his own happiness and that of others; the Scriptures allude to these infirmities and defects a thousand times in touching and pathetic terms; but they are never without hope and consolation; they do not abandon man to despair; they leave the solution of this superhuman mystery to God, and teach man how to bear for a while these miseries not only with fortitude, but with cheerfulness, and how to prepare the soul, by a life of love and usefulness, for a more perfect existence. If the scepticism of the Ecclesiastes, in some features, resembles the gloomy views of Pliny (vii. 1), or Lucretius (i. 223), it is, in the final results, directly opposed to them; it points to the ever-watchful eye of God, and to His love, which will dissolve all that apparent discord into endless harmonies.

Even heathens, not unfrequently, acknowledged with astonishment the wonderful power of man; they considered extraordinary accomplishments as the immediate gifts of the gods, and worshipped the deity in such distinguished mortals; they erected to them temples, and assigned to them a place among the immortal gods. We remind our readers of that magnificent song in the *Antigone* of Sophocles, which commences: "Many things are mighty, but nought is mightier than man" (Πολλὰ τὰ θεῖα, κτλ.); which describes his dominion over the foaming ocean, the patient earth, and the wild

beasts of the forests (comp. James iii. 7); it then extols the "language and lofty wisdom of man"; he has but one unconquerable enemy, death; but him even he can, if not baffle, at least retard by his skill of healing (*Antig.* 332—375); Virgil describes men as the masters of the lands and seas (*Æn.* i. 240); and Ovid finishes his cosmogony with those remarkable verses, which possess a striking resemblance to the Hebrew words:—

"A creature of a more exalted kind  
Was wanting yet, and then was Man  
design'd:  
Conscious of thought, of more capacious  
breast,  
For empire form'd, and fit to rule the  
rest:....  
Thus, while the whole creation down-  
ward bend  
Their sight, and to their earthly mother  
tend,  
Man looks aloft; and, with erected eyes,  
Beholds his own hereditary skies."  
(*Ovid*, *Met.* i. 76—86.)

And he alludes to the divine origin of man with corresponding terms of admiration: "Whether the framer of the world formed him from divine elements; or whether the young earth, but lately divided from the lofty æther, still retained some seeds of its kindred heaven." Thus Xenophon observes: "The soul of man, and other human qualities, partake of the nature of the Deity" (*Memor.*, IV. iii. 14); Lucretius exclaims: "We all are born from heavenly origin" (ii. 990); and Hipparchus called our souls "a part of heaven" (*Plin.*, *Hist. Nat.*, ii. 24; comp. *Horat.*, *Satyr.*, II. ii. 79; *Juven.*, *Satyr.*, xv. 144 *et seq.*). With still greater precision, the divine nature of man has been represented by eastern nations; the Babylonians maintained, that a drop of the blood of Baal is enclosed in, and animates, the body of man; the Persians were of opinion, that Ormuzd formed the first man out of the four elements, to which he

fish of the sea, and over the fowl of heaven, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth. 29. And God said, Behold, I have given to you every herb bearing

added an immortal soul; it was a favourite myth of the Greeks, that Prometheus shaped a human form out of clay, and took from heaven the animating spark; and in the Koran (ii. 28), man is called the representative of God on earth. In the Hindoo books, man is also designated "the guardian of the world"; but his creation is most curiously related. The great Spirit drew from the waters a bodily being; he converted, by contemplation, its eye into the sun, its breast into the moon, its nostrils into air, its skin into herbs, and so forth; and then introduced all these objects into the human form (comp. *Colebrooke*, *Essays*, i. 48, 49). Nowhere has the godlikeness of man been conceived with such purity and sublimity as in the Scriptures; the affinity between God and man is a purely spiritual one; no natural element is mixed with it; God has no corporeality; He is only to be conceived with the mind; every image of God is severely interdicted; it would, indeed, be impossible to represent Him to the external eye; and if sometimes bodily terms are used with regard to Him, it is in the same manner as when the Bible speaks of the eyes and wings of the sun, or of the pinions and eye-lids of the morning dawn; if man, therefore, has a resemblance to God, it can only be that of the internal faculties, of reason, of imagination, of love; it is only by these higher gifts that he conquers nature, and sways over the brute creation; the expressions, "in our image, after our likeness," presuppose no visible form of the Deity; they are no remnants of heathen notions among the Hebrews; they do not deserve the hostile attacks of many modern critics. It is nothing less than a destruction of the very foundation of Biblical theology to attribute to God any quality of corporeity. God governs the world by His infinite reason; is it astonishing that those who were, in some degree,

destined to be the rulers of the earth, should resemble Him in that power by which alone they can uphold their superiority? And this idea of the god-like nature of man remained no empty theory; it was made the basis of almost all practical duties, of all obligations of man towards man; murder was a violation of the image of God; charity was a loan made to Him; and the whole system of social life was pervaded by that elevating, sanctifying principle (see *Commentary on Exod.*, p. 434).

The lifeless creation was produced for the living beings; vegetation was destined for men and animals; no being "with a living soul" was originally intended as the food for another living creature; man was assigned to eat the seed-giving plants, and grain, and the fruit of trees; to the animals were left the grass and the herbs (vers. 29, 30). Although man was permitted the dominion over the beasts of the field, the fishes of the water, and the birds of the air, he was not allowed to extend that dominion to the destruction of life; he was the master, not the tyrant, of the animal kingdom—he might use, but not annihilate it;—

"Heaven's attribute was universal care,  
And man's prerogative to rule, but spare."  
(*Pope*.)

Every living being has a right to exist, and to enjoy its existence; God had blessed the animals with fruitfulness; man was not allowed to counteract that blessing by killing them for his sport or his appetite. God created the world for peace and concord, no being should rage against another; the sin of man brought warfare among the living creatures; the cries of agony rent the air; man and beast raged among themselves, and against each other; the state of innocence was succeeded by the age of passion and violence; and it was only after the

seed, which is upon the face of all the earth, and every tree, in which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed; to you it shall be for food; 30. And to every beast of the earth,

fall of man that animal food was permitted to him (ix. 3). But in the time of the Messiah, when sin will again disappear from the world, and innocence will be restored to all living creatures, vegetation alone will furnish the food of the animal creation; and "the wolf and the lamb will feed together, and the lion will eat straw like the bullock, and dust shall be the serpent's food" (Isa. xi. 7, lxxv. 25).—Almost all nations have had a golden age; and it is invariably a principal trait of that happy time that men abstained from killing animals, that—

"Content with food which Nature freely  
bred,  
On wildings and on strawberries they  
fed;  
Cornels and bramble-berries gave the  
rest,  
And falling acorns furnished out a  
feast."  
(*Ovid, Metam. i. 103—106.*)

It is known that Pythagoras and his followers considered it a hideous crime to kill animals for human food; they believed that the earth produced in abundance vegetable provisions, that man might avoid the guilt of murdering harmless creatures, and that he is only entitled to defend himself against wild beasts which would be dangerous to his safety. The exposition of these Pythagorean doctrines is, perhaps, one of the most masterly efforts of the genius of Ovid (*Metam. xv. 75—142*); we wish our space permitted us to introduce it here; for it is a subject of absorbing interest, which will, at no distant period, command the attention of civilised societies: the arguments have recently been again surveyed; and new combats have been fought. It cannot, indeed, be our intention to enter into the question of vegetarianism; we shall not stop to enquire to which side the organisation of the human body points; our object is distinctly to im-

press that, according to the Bible, man, in the state of innocence, was commanded to content himself with vegetable food, and that it is the aim of mankind to return to that state. That question, therefore, may be decided on perfectly free ground, and on its own merits; it is in no way prejudiced by Scriptural doctrines; and we add the remark, that Greek poets represent the enmity of the noxious beasts against man as a consequence of man's sanguinary persecution of the animals. It is the retaliation of revenge. It was only in the age of corruption that "the beasts were caught in snares, or deceived with bird-lime; that the spacious lawns were encompassed with hounds, and the broad rivers were lashed with nets" (*Virg. Georg. i. 139; comp. Eclog. iv.*). The books of Manu rigorously interdict the Brahmins from the killing of animals, except for sacrifices; but as these were often used as a pretext for an unlawful appetite, they were entirely forbidden. The original offerings of the Hindoos consisted of the juice of a certain plant (*soma*), mixed and prepared in a peculiar manner, or of melted butter. It is one of the five great laws of the Buddhists to destroy no living creature; and several other Eastern sects pronounced the same principle (*comp. Greek Antholog. vii. 37, ed. Jacobs; Manu, v. 23—24; Lassen, Ind. Alt. i. 788—793; Jerome, Contr. Jovian. ii.; Porphyrius, Περὶ ἀποχῆς; Plutarch, Περὶ σαπρωγίας*; see also the beautiful lines in *Pope's Essay on Man, iii. 152—168*; and our notes on ix. 3).

God had created the world, adorned and peopled the earth, and placed upon it as ruler a being cognate with His own nature; He saw His works, and He approved of them in their totality; each individual part contributed to enhance the harmony of the whole; "He rejoiced at His works" (*Ps. civ. 31*); they were a worthy

and to every fowl of heaven, and to every thing that creepeth upon the earth, wherein *there is* life, *I have given* every green herb for food: and it was so. 31. And God

emanation of His mind and His will.— But we can scarcely find, in those approving words, an allusion to the “*best world*” which had been produced, or to the doctrine that there exists in the world no evil; that what appears to be such is a blessing, compared with the whole; that “all partial evil is universal good”: this idea is too metaphysical for the simplicity of those words, which refer to the physical rather than to the moral world, and conclude a system of cosmogony, not of philosophy.

The words, “Let the earth bring forth living creatures” (ver. 24), signify merely that they should commence to exist on the earth; they do not exactly imply, that the creatures were formed out of the clay of the earth (as in ii. 7). Similar expressions are not only used with regard to the plants (ver. 11), but also the fishes, with which the water was made to teem (ver. 20). The plural, “Let us make” (נַעֲשֶׂה, ver. 26), has been the cause of many pious and many sceptical conjectures; it has been used as a support for belief and disbelief; but it suffices to observe in this place, that that plural neither implies the co-operation of angels, nor of personified Wisdom, which existed before the world (Prov. viii. 22—31), nor the trinity, nor notions of polytheism, nor is it exactly the pluralis majestaticus to show the superhuman dignity of God; but it is the plural usually, though not necessarily, employed in deliberations and self-exhortations (xi. 7; comp. ii. 18). It describes here the profound interest which the Creator takes in the formation of His last work, which was to crown His exalted designs; the history of man’s origin is narrated with peculiar emphasis, and with greater copiousness; the first person itself, which is used only with regard to the creation of man, shows the *personal* interest of God, His love, and His solicitude (comp. Seneca, De Benef. vi. 23). The

singular and the plural changes sometimes in the same verse (2 Sam. xxiv. 14, etc.).

Man and woman are introduced with equal rights; they share the government of the earth; they bear both the same image of God; they are ennobled with the same soul, although it may, in women, dwell in a weaker frame; both may claim the same prerogatives; and if there is a difference, it is in the beautiful comparison of Luther, that “man is like the sun of heaven, woman like the moon; whilst the animals are the stars, over which sun and moon rule.” The idea that our text implies, that the first man, in his uncorrupted state, had no sexual distinction; that he was neither man nor woman, or that he was both together; and that herein his resemblance with God is chiefly to be sought: this idea, in former times extensively maintained, and probably borrowed from an extravagant passage in Plato (Synpos. 16—19), requires, at present, no refutation; it is as absurd as it is ungrounded; it is not only worthless, but almost profane; and the text says distinctly, “male and female created He *THEM*.” But in the time of the resurrection, when men will be “equal to the angels” (ἰσάγγελοι), they will “neither marry, nor be given in marriage” (Luke xx. 35). It is, in general, to be observed, that the Bible attributes to Adam no higher intellectual perfection; he is the type of human beings; he had the ordinary human faculties; he did not possess the gift of penetrating into the mysteries of nature, or the secrets of the Divine council; he had reason, but it was to be cultivated; it was an act of disobedience to aspire, without exertion, to the wisdom of God (iii. 12). He possessed not even moral perfection; he was capable of sin and disobedience, and he succumbed to the first temptation (see notes on ii. 4—iii. 24).

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—The ter-

saw every thing that He had made, and, behold, *it was* very good. And it was evening, and it was morning; the sixth day.

mination) in חֵית is a poetical form of the status constructus (for instance מַעֲיֵנו בְּנוֹ, fountain of water, Ps. cxiv. 8; בְּנוֹ בְּעוֹר, son of Beor, Num. xxiv. 3, 15), as more frequently the ending י (see notes on Exod. p. 265); but the form changes in the following verse (25) with the regular one חֵית, because, according to Gesenius, here the solemn command of God returns to the simple and calm narrative (Lehrg. p. 548, note g).

צֶלֶם is the *general type*: it denotes here the spiritual powers in opposition to the animal nature; and this internal character constitutes the *resemblance* (דְּמוּת) to God; the two words are, therefore, correlatives; they are not essentially different; and hence sometimes one, sometimes the other, is used alone; צֶלֶם in ver. 27, ix. 6, and דְּמוּת in v. 1; and one word alone is sufficient to express the whole notion. This one circumstance is a conclusive proof that we must not seek wide distinctions between them; that, for instance, צֶלֶם implies that even the body of man is spiritualised, and reveals an expression of divine origin, whilst דְּמוּת refers to his godlike mind; or that the former denotes the divine *faculties* of man, the latter his active exertion for virtue. Symmachus, in order to avoid corporeal notions of God, renders freely, "He formed man erect"; whilst others interpret, that He formed Him in the likeness of the angels (אֱלֹהִים); or that God pervades and rules the world, like the soul the body; or that God governs in heaven, and man on earth (Ps. cxv. 16). But all this is as unfounded as it is unnecessary;

the resemblance is an internal one; the dignity of man is thereby exalted, whilst that of God remains in undiminished greatness. Nor must we urge the difference of ב and כ in כְּדִמוּתוֹ נֹנוּ, since in v. 3 these prefixes are changed: כְּדִמוּתוֹ בְּצִלְמוֹ (comp. Col. iii. 10; *Livy* v. 18).—דְּנִי הֵם is collective, instead of הֵם דְּנִי in Ps. viii. 9.—"And over the whole earth" (וּבְכָל הָאָרֶץ) refers, perhaps, as the Syriac version renders, to the beasts of the forests (like חֵית הָאָרֶץ, ver. 25).—It seems artificial to find, in the enumeration of the twenty-sixth verse, the successive occupations of men, as fishermen, cattle-breeding nomads, and agriculturists.—The affinity of man with God—this most important idea—is emphatically expressed by a significant repetition (ver. 27).

God gave to man one part, to the animals another part, of the vegetable productions (vers. 29, 30). To the one, the fruit-trees and the seed-bearing plants were destined; to the other, the grass and the herbs (יֵרֶק עֵשֶׂב; comp. יֵרֶק רִשָּׁא; Ps. xxxvii. 2, and civ. 14). From this clear and symmetrical statement of the text it is, therefore, impossible to infer that the animal as well as the vegetable kingdom were assigned to man for food; and alterations of the text, intended to produce that sense (וְאֵת כָּל יֵרֶק), are obvious corruptions. The verb נָתַתִּי (ver. 29) belongs, therefore, to the following verse also.

The article stands before the adjective alone, whilst the substantive is left indefinite; therefore הַיּוֹם הַשֵּׁשִׁי, and in ii. 3 יוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי (comp. Joel ii. 25, Neh. iii. 6).

## CHAPTER II.

### 1. Thus the heavens and the earth were finished, and

1—3. The design of God is executed; the world is framed, organised, and peopled; He has placed upon the earth a being

which mirrors, in some degree, His own Divine nature, which was henceforward to work and to create on the earth. Man is

all their host. 2. And on the seventh day God had finished His work which He made; and He rested on the seventh day from all His work which He made. 3. And

the culminating point to which the energy of God had tended; and as he resembles God in his nature, he should imitate Him in his activity; the work of God should be the example and the type of the work of man. The Scriptures teach man the attributes of God, only in order to show him his own ideal aims; and thus they relate, that God rested after the six days of creation, to impress upon man that the end of all work is rest; that contemplation is the fruit of exertion; that spiritual life is both the aim and the reward of material life. The Sabbath of God is the type of the Sabbath of man; it is here introduced to enforce its paramount holiness, its Divine character, and seems designedly stated with a certain copiousness and abundance of diction. God did not require rest: He "is never fatigued nor weary" (Isa. xl. 28); He creates by His mere will, by His thought; He commands, and it exists; He is always spiritual, pure, sublime; He is free from all lower propensities. But in man, the spiritual and physical elements are in perpetual warfare; the victory is often uncertain; it is not always on the better side; he has to make great exertions for small results; the power is limited; the obstacles are many, while the aim is distant and the time brief. Does he not require seasons for reflection, when the soul takes breath in the wild race of daily toil? when the mind surveys the way, comparing that which has been traversed with what remains to be performed? when the conflict is silent, and the equipoise is restored? when man approaches again to that state of internal harmony which is the centre of his resemblance to God? The Sabbath is, then, a *necessary* institution; it is indispensable for a *religious* life; and that Book which is intended as the fountain of religion, places the origin of the Sabbath at the beginning of its pages; it makes the Sabbath the corner-stone of the *moral*

world; and, therefore, leads its first cause back to the creation of the *physical* world. It is impossible to mistake this connection; it is implied in the whole tenour of this section; it is clearly pronounced in the most solemn part of the Biblical doctrines, the Ten Commandments (Exod. xx. 11): the Books of Moses are throughout pervaded by the same principles; they aim, in all parts, at the sanctification of man, after the prototype of Divine perfection.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—The "*host* of heaven and earth" is all that which they contain, the infinite number of sidereal bodies and of creatures; although the word "*host*" (צבא) is usually applied only with regard to the former, it is not inappropriate to use it with reference to the latter also; the parallel passage, Nehem. ix. 6: "Thou hast made the heavens with all their host, the earth and all that is therein," is obviously adapted to the ordinary usage; it is easier, and can in no case be adduced to prove the identical reading in our text. — On the seventh day God ended "*His work*" (עֲמָלוֹ); that is, on that day the cessation from labour ensued; the *sense* of the verb is, therefore, a pluperfect: "God had ended," although modern grammarians assert the non-existence of that tense in Hebrew; but there are undisputed instances of it (see Exod. xi. 1). A perfectly analogous case is Exod. xii. 15: בַּיּוֹם הָרִאשׁוֹן תִּשְׁבִּיתוּ שַׁעַר בְּיֹתֵיכֶם: "on the first day you shall have removed the heaven out of your houses" (comp. also, 2 Chron. xxix. 17). It is, therefore, unnecessary and objectionable to read with the Septuagint, the Samaritan, and the Syriac versions: "And God ended on the *sixth* day"; or to suppose an inaccuracy in the phrase (Bohlen); or to recur to any artificial translation of the verb (for instance: "and He declared His work finished"). — God rested (וַיִּשְׁכָּח); this means merely

God blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it: for on it He rested from all His work which God created and produced.

a *cessation* from work; in later passages, two other, perhaps still more human-like, words are used with regard to God: *יָנַח* (Exod. xx. 11), and *יָנַשׁ* (Exod. xxxi. 17); the sacred text is not timid in applying such terms; it speaks vigorously and intelligibly to human beings, and uses a language which moves and convinces.—God *blessed* the seventh day; He sanctified its salutary influence on the true welfare of man; the blessing consists in its *holiness* (*וַיְקַדְּשׁ*); it is not included in the curse pronounced on the *work-days* after the fall (iii. 17; comp. Job iii. 1); it remained blessed even after sin had entered the world; it reminds always of innocence and paradise.—*בָּרָא לַעֲשׂוֹת* "He created producing"; the infinitive

being, as a complement, added after the finite verb, as in the very usual phrase, *וַיֵּאמֶר לַאֲמֹר* (comp. Eccles. ii. 11, *עָמַלְתִּי, וַיֵּאמֶר לַאֲמֹר*; Joel ii. 20). The Sept., inaccurately, *ἡγάρο ποιῆσαι*. Gesenius takes these words, less appropriately, after the analogy of *הוֹדִיל לַעֲשׂוֹת*, and translates: "He made producing new creatures."—The Persians, also, believed that Ormuzd, after having finished the creation, celebrated with his angels the festivals (*gahanbars*); and that he appointed throughout the year six such holy seasons, the first of which is the "feast of creation," still solemnized among the Persians on the first day of every year (see *Kleuker*, *Zend-avesta*, i. 24; ii. 150).

## II.—PARADISE AND THE FALL.

### CHAPTERS II. 4, TO III. 24.

#### I. GENERAL VIEW.

THE Creation was finished. We might imagine we see the blooming meadows, the finny tribes of the sea, and the numberless beasts of the field; and in the midst of all this beauty and life, man with his help-mate, as princes and sovereigns. But more; the Creation was not only finished, it had been approved of in all its parts; and, as a symbol of the perfect completion of His task, God was represented to rest, and to bless that day which marked the conclusion of His labours. But now the narration seems not only to pause, but to go back; the grand and powerful climax seems at once broken off, and a languid repetition appears to follow; another cosmogony is introduced, which, to complete the perplexity, is, in many important features, in direct contradiction with the first.

It would be dishonesty to conceal these difficulties; it would be weak-mindedness and cowardice; it would be flight instead of combat; it would be an ignoble retreat instead of victory;—we confess, there is an apparent dissonance. In the first cosmogony, vegetation is immediately produced by the will of God;<sup>1</sup> in the second its existence is made dependent on rain and mists, and the agricultural labours:<sup>2</sup> in the first, the earth emerges from the waters, and is, therefore, saturated with moisture; in the second, it appears dry, sterile, and sandy: in the first, man and his wife are created together;<sup>3</sup> in the second, the wife is formed later, and from a part of man:<sup>4</sup> in the former, man bears the image of God, and is made the ruler of the whole earth;<sup>5</sup> in the latter, his earth-formed body is only animated by the breath of life, and he is placed in Eden to

<sup>1</sup> i. 11, 12.

<sup>2</sup> ii. 5, 6.

<sup>3</sup> i. 27.

<sup>4</sup> ii. 21—23.

<sup>5</sup> i. 26, 27.



cultivate and to guard it:<sup>1</sup> in the former, the birds and beasts are created before man;<sup>2</sup> in the latter, man before birds and beasts.<sup>3</sup>

Now, it has been tried to reconcile all these differences; many have, by specious reasons, argued away their existence altogether; sophistry has attempted bolder feats; those who dreaded the responsibility, have leaned themselves on some great authority; they have taken refuge under the wings of some revered name; others have covered the weakness of their arguments by copious declamations, or violent remonstrances; while others have transferred the whole difficulty upon dogmatic ground; they have made it a question of faith; they have assumed a triumphant air of sanctimony, and silenced their opponents by branding their names with the epithets of sceptic and infidel. An abundant number of books has been written on this subject; much sagacity, and still more learning have been wasted; but it was forgotten, that the Scriptures speak in the ordinary language of man; that they are profound, but not mysterious; that they are given to assist, not to obscure, the human intellect. We shall, therefore, not attempt an artificial solution; those differences are too obvious to be overlooked or denied; we have examined the question with the minuteness and anxiety due to its importance; we admit freely, that the second account contains some features not in accordance with the first; and that it is manifestly composed in a different style. We admit this; but we admit no more. We deny the conclusions which might be drawn from this concession. The second account is no abrupt fragment; it is not unconnected with the first; it is no superfluous repetition; it leads, on the contrary, the Biblical ideas a most important step onward: it introduces new elements of the highest moment for the history of the whole human race. It is, *essentially, a continuation* of the first chapter.

It is not difficult to prove this position. Impartiality will lead with safety through this apparent maze; let us follow its guidance.—The second account contains by no means a complete cosmogony; it is far from offering a systematic view of the origin of the world; it is limited to a few particular outlines; namely, the production of vegetation, the planting and nature of Eden, and the creation of man and beasts. Why does it not mention the expanse of heaven and the seas, light and the celestial luminaries? why not even the fishes? If these omissions are arbitrary, and if it could be proved, that the former objects are aimlessly introduced, it would certainly follow, that the second account is a fragment superfluously inserted; that the history of creation is devoid of unity and design; and that the commentator must expound each section as a separate portion, unconnected with the rest. But this is not the case. Arbitrariness has nowhere presided in the narrative of the creation. A distinct plan is manifest both in what is omitted, and in what is introduced. The second section (which comprises the second and third chapter) describes, not the creation of the world, but exclusively the *fall of man* through disobedience. It embodies, therefore, such traits only as are indispensable for this episode; it systematically excludes all other subjects. The fall of man took place in the garden in Eden; therefore, paradise is described. It was the consequence of the eating of a forbidden fruit; hence, the creation of the vegetable kingdom is delineated. It was caused by the temptation of the serpent; and this made the creation of the beasts necessary. Eve, lastly, took a principal part in the transaction; therefore, the creation of woman is introduced. So much was necessary for the clear understanding of the momentous event, and not more; and just so much had been repeated, and not one single feature more; all the others are summarily comprized in the few introductory words—"on the day when the Lord God made the earth and the heavens" (ver. 4). This is, indeed, plan and design; this is economy and deliberation; this is not accidental, nor in the manner of abrupt fragments. The second account has, then, been composed with clear consciousness after,

<sup>1</sup> ii. 7, 15.

<sup>2</sup> i. 20, 24, 26.

<sup>3</sup> ii. 7, 19.

and with reference to, the first; the author of the Pentateuch added to an ancient document on the creation, the history of man's disobedience, and its consequences; and hence, we can account for the discrepancies above pointed out; it is, in fact, at present acknowledged by the greater part of even orthodox theologians, that he often consulted and inserted more ancient materials; like the other Biblical writers, *he sometimes mentions even his sources and authorities*; he did not reject indiscriminately all former historical documents; but he arranged, revised, or completed them. And this was the case in our instance. The first account was, therefore, composed independently of the second; but the second is a distinct and deliberate continuation of the first; it is intended as a progress in the narrative; it is not merely a detailed and specified repetition of the preceding chapter; it does not recapitulate, but it introduces new facts, and a new train of thoughts. The end of this section was different; therefore, the treatment is necessarily different.

We shall briefly sketch these new ideas.

In the first account, man is *created* in the image of God; he is *born* with the stamp and seal of the deity; in the second, he *acquires* this high prerogative only by the agency of his own will; it was only *after* the fall, that God exclaimed: "Behold, man is become as one of us to know good and evil."<sup>4</sup> We have here, then, the two eternal stages in the development of the human mind. First it lives in unconscious innocence; it moves in the prescribed sphere, because it has neither power nor desire to abandon it; it enjoys perfect freedom, because, as yet, the voice of an internal tyrant is not heard; it beats in peace, which no strife of discordant passions disturbs; it knows no desires but those which the playful hour at once excites and satisfies; it is troubled by no care, harassed by no anxiety; it views the world as an abode of happiness; it enjoys the pleasure which the fleeting moment furnishes, careless and unconscious of the changeful morrow. But it is not only at peace with itself, but with the whole creation, with man and beast; it feels no enmity, and knows no enemy. This is the period of the human paradise. But, alas! it cannot last long. There slumber in man two mortal enemies, his *physical* and *moral* nature; both are weak in his infancy; their character is so little marked, that they scarcely seem to obey different laws, or to pursue opposite directions;—but the war begins the very moment when both are strong enough to take up arms: then sensuality commences its fierce struggle against duty; and then morality stands arrayed in brilliant armour against sensuality; but the former is the bolder of the two opponents; it takes the offensive; the latter, woven of less hardy substance, is satisfied with the defensive; it offers a resolute resistance; but the weapons

<sup>4</sup> The following works are quoted in the Old Testament: 1. The Book of the Wars of the Lord (ספר מלחמות יי); Num. xxi. 14; comp. Exod. xvii. 14). 2. The Book of the Righteous (ספר הישר); Josh. x. 13; 2 Sam. i. 18). 3. The Book of Samuel (דברי שמואל); 1 Chron. xxix. 29). 4. The Book of Nathan the prophet (דברי נתן); Ibid. and 2 Chr. ix. 29). 5. The Book of Gad the prophet (דברי גר); 1 Chr. xxix. 29). 6. The Book of the Acts of Solomon (ספר דברי שלמה); 1 Kings xi. 41). 7. The Prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite (נבואת אחיה השילוני); 2 Chr. ix. 29). 8. The Visions of Iddo the seer (חזות עדד); Ibid. and xii. 15). 9. The Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel (ספר דברי הימים למלכי ישראל); 1 Kings xiv. 19;

xv. 31; xvi. 5, etc.). 10. The Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah (ספר דברי ימים למלכי יהודה); 1 Kings xiv. 29; xv. 7, 23; xxii. 45, etc.). 11. The Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah (ספר מלכי ישראל ויהודה); 1 Chron. ix. 1; 2 Chr. xxxii. 32). 12. The Book of Shemaiah the prophet (דברי שמעיה); 2 Chron. xii. 15). 13. The Book of Jehu the son of Hanani (דברי יהוא בן חנני); 2 Chr. xx. 34; comp. xxvi. 22; xxxii. 32). 14. The Book of Hosai (דברי חוסי); 2 Chr. xxxiii. 19).—All these writings, together with many others, to which the Bible alludes in different places, are at present lost; comp. 1 Kings v. 12, 13; Eccl. xii. 12, etc.

<sup>5</sup> iii. 22.

are unequal; reckless cruelty combats against meek humanity; the latter is already on the point of a fatal flight or an ignominious surrender; then, in the decisive moment, appears a powerful ally, the *intellectual* power of man; it had been silently reared and strengthened for this august mission; it sides with the moral faculties; it takes the office and rank of commander; and both united subdue the tyrannical enemy; and, though unable to exterminate him entirely, they may, by concordant co-operation, defeat his malice, and frustrate his rebellion. This is the second period in man's life—his proper task on earth, the end of his pilgrimage, and of his trials. And this is the kernel of the Biblical narrative, which here engages our attention.

The innocence of childhood ceases; the warfare of youth follows; but manhood restores the peace by a higher unity. Man has lost the unconscious happiness which attended the years of his ignorance; he must gain, in its stead, that higher intellectual felicity which his developed reason prepares for him, and which his knowledge teaches him to appreciate. The path of life is no more one, and undivided; it separates in numberless directions; and the pensive wanderer is compelled to choose, and to decide. Error is no more impossible; the guidance of an unpretending instinct is insufficient; and reason, often dazzled by its own rays, and still more frequently obscured by the mists of passion, is liable to go astray. Man is no more a harmless child of nature; he begins to feel, that the spirit is *above* the matter, that the soul is the lord of the body—and *he is ashamed*. But with this consciousness begins his greatness. He has achieved the boldest deed of his life. He becomes a being endowed with freedom of will. He rises above the common animal kingdom, and becomes a *moral* creature. He exchanges the paradise, in which the benign hand of Nature had placed him, for another paradise, which he owes to his own moral exertions; he can no longer endure a life of passive indolence; he refuses to receive all his wants from the hands of a benevolent father; his energies are aroused, and he feels a delight in exercising them; all enjoyments are henceforth the fruits of his own efforts; pleasure even assumes a higher dignity, since he indulges in it as the self-chosen reward of useful activity. He is no more like the stars of heaven, which move in majestic but compulsory orbits; he walks on the road of virtue not by necessity, but by free choice; he is not the slave and automaton of blind and irrational mechanism; he follows no influence but his own; he takes the impulses for all his actions from his own mind; he renders himself responsible to no tribunal but that of his own conscience; he may, in a word, convert his original passive "image of God" into an active likeness with Him, "to know good and evil." This is the progress in the two first sections of Genesis.

But this change in man is a *fall* as well as an *elevation*. The conflict includes the possibility of defeat; the wild combat of life may overwhelm the still feeble power of the intellect; the path of moral liberty is steep, and beset with dangers; the way is long and unknown; if actions assume the importance of *duties*, sin may be committed by their neglect; the acquaintance with the evil is a great step nearer transgression; if man becomes conscious of his double nature, his better part no more bears undivided sway; the moral evil is possible, although by this means only the moral good can be worked; the struggle against passion absorbs a vast proportion of his strength and his attention: but another warfare has also commenced, that against the beasts of the earth, and often, alas! against his own fellow-men; hatred lurks in the bosom and blood stains the hand; the eye flashes with rage, and the features breathe malice and destruction;—he has to encounter the serpent of the field; and often fears still more the serpent in his neighbour's heart. His enhanced ingenuity may delight him; it may secure to him dominion over the stronger denizens of the desert and the forest; but his skill may tempt him, and make him a sanguinary persecutor of his own race. He may cultivate and develop his intellectual powers, but he has to exert all his energy to maintain his moral purity; he may "know," and yet not *act*; he may

reflect sublimely, but feel basely. "He who increases knowledge increases sorrow"; this elegiac doctrine of the later Hebrew sage<sup>1</sup> is foreshadowed in the beginning of universal history. Guilt has succeeded innocence. Inseparable from the greatest blessing of man is his greatest evil. The dawn of intellect concludes the paradise of his childhood. Labour, and care, and sorrow commence. The struggle ends only with the last breath.<sup>2</sup>

Such are the principal ideas embodied in the Mosaic narrative. The *ideas* are exclusively those of the Hebrew writer; but the *form* coincides in many respects with cosmogonies of other Eastern nations. It would be impossible to deny the resemblance; but it is far from diminishing our just admiration for the profound philosophy of the Hebrew author. Those coincidences affect the originality of the Hebrew writings as little as the frequent resemblance of Mosaic and heathen laws; old and familiar forms were judiciously chosen to fill them with perfectly new contents; and the dry bones of the old materials have been animated by the infusion of an exalted spirit. But those analogies are neither accidental nor unimportant. They teach us, that all such narratives have a common source; that they are reminiscences of primeval traditions, modified by the different nations in accordance with their individual culture. But, what is more important, they teach us to separate, in the Mosaic narrative, what is essential from what is accessory, the substance from the garment; and, thus, to avoid many dangerous rocks, which threaten the interpretation of this important section. We shall, therefore, briefly introduce some of these analogous tales.

We begin with the most remarkable of all, that of the Persians, as related in their sacred books.

The first couple, the parents of the human race (*Mesha* and *Meshiane*), lived originally in purity and innocence. Perpetual happiness was promised to them by Ormuzd, the creator of every good gift, if they persevered in their virtue. But an evil demon (*Dev*) was sent to them by Ahriman, the representative of everything noxious and sinful; he appeared unexpectedly in the form of a serpent; he gave them the fruit of a wonderful tree, *Hôm*, which imparted immortality, and had the power of restoring the dead to life. Thus, evil inclinations entered their hearts; all their moral excellence was destroyed; Ahriman appeared himself under the form of the same reptile, and completed the work of seduction; they acknowledged him, instead of Ormuzd, as the creator of everything good; and the consequence was, that they forfeited, for ever, the internal happiness for which they were destined. They killed beasts, and clothed themselves in their skins; they built houses, but paid not their debt of gratitude to the Deity. The evil demons thus obtained still more perfect power over their minds, and called forth envy, hatred, discord, and rebellion, which raged in the bosom of the families.<sup>3</sup>

It is unnecessary to point out the parallel features of this legend with the Mosaic narrative; it contains almost all materials of the latter; the remarkable tree, the serpent, the degradation, and fall of man. It is, then, evident, that all these traits are not specifically Mosaic; they belonged to the common traditionary lore of the Asiatic nations; they cannot, therefore, be *essential* in the system of *Mosaic* theology; they serve to represent the ideas, but are not indispensable for them; they are the vehicle used to convey certain truths, but these truths might have been expressed in thousand other shapes; the truths are unchangeable and necessary, the form is indifferent and accidental. Thus, we exclude at once many irrational explanations, and numerous absurdities with which expositors have disgraced this profound and beautiful tale. We need not to enquire, how the serpent could speak (comp. *Homer*, *Iliad*, xix. 404); or

<sup>1</sup> Eccles. i. 18.

<sup>2</sup> iii. 19; comp. *Schiller*, x. 387.

<sup>3</sup> See *Zend-avesta*, ed. *Kleuker*, ii. 217, 280; iii. 62, 84, 85.

whether the faculty of language was, in Paradise, extended to all animals (*Josephus*, *Antiq.*, I. i. 4); how many feet this creature originally possessed; and whether "sin disfigured the body as well as the soul"; we need not to ascertain whether the forbidden fruit was a grape, or a fig, or an apple.<sup>1</sup> We find similar features in all traditions, from the Ganges to the Nile. But, in conceding that analogy, we emphatically deny an identity. The resemblance touches merely the *form*; the *spirit* of the two narratives is as different as light and darkness, as Mosaism and paganism. In Genesis, the serpent is a real "beast of the field";<sup>2</sup> in the Persian myth it is the incarnation of an evil spirit, or of the evil principle itself; in our narrative, therefore, the serpent stands under the dominion of God, and is unable to avert the curse; in the Zend-avesta, Ahriman is a powerful opponent of Ormuzd; he tries to seduce man, who is the creation of the latter, and he prevails. In Genesis, the combat between good and evil is fought exclusively in the heart of man, whereas God governs in undisturbed majesty and unaltered goodness: in the Persian legend, the conflict existed *before* the creation of man, and it rages in the Deity itself; for, Ahriman is inimical to man because he is the adversary of Ormuzd: man has to resist the incessant attacks of an all-powerful spirit of malice, who fights with the dire weapons of disease, and poverty, and disaster; who clouds man's reason, ensnares his foot, and becomes invincible after the first triumphs. But, in the Bible, man is permitted full liberty to choose between good and evil; he has no enemy among spirits or demons; the only resistance rises in his own breast; he is sufficiently armed for victory; and, if he sins, if he forgets his Creator in the din and turmoil of life, no heavenly being exults at his fall, and uses it as a welcome instrument of his destruction; but a merciful God accepts the contrition of his heart as an efficient atonement, and receives him again into grace. And, lastly, the eating of the forbidden fruit causes, in the Persian myth, all the evils which infest the peace of man, and destroy his happiness, without one blessing to compensate for this curse. But in our narrative, man forfeits, indeed, the easy life of Paradise; he is doomed, henceforth, to work with laborious exertion; but this physical evil disappears before the spiritual glory which he has gained; he has risen above the earth; he has become like God, to distinguish, by his reason, between good and evil.—It will, we hope, be admitted, that the difference between the Mosaic and Persian narratives is greater than their resemblance; both are constructed from the same materials; but in the hands of the Hebrew author they were spiritualized, and made subservient to a sublime idea. We need, then, not to be afraid to acknowledge in the Pentateuch certain analogies with other ancient accounts. The Bible, whilst apparently accommodating itself to prevalent notions, creates new and momentous truths.

It will now suffice briefly to allude to some other similar traditions on the fall of man. The Tibetans and Mongolians believed, that the earliest human beings, though mortal, resembled the perfection of the gods; but they began soon to become covetous of property; the earth, therefore, produced a certain sweet herb; they tasted it, and all the lower appetites were aroused in them; spiritual nourishment was no longer sufficient for them; to satisfy their hunger, they were compelled to cultivate the earth; by these wearisome occupations they lost their former ethereal appearance; the brilliancy of their faces vanished; they were deprived of their wings; the years of their lives were shortened to their present limited number, and their brief existence was filled with deeds of iniquity and violence (*Hodgson*, *Buddhism*, p. 63). Very similar is the tradition of the Cingalese: insatiable and unlawful desire of property was among them also the origin of degradation, of the forfeiture of that immortality for which they were destined, and of the partly incorporeal existence which they at first enjoyed (see *Asiat. Res.*, vi. 246; vii. 438).

The Hindoos distinguish four ages of the world. In the first, *justice*, in the form

<sup>1</sup> Compare Talmud Sanhedr., 38.

<sup>2</sup> See notes on iii. 1, 4.

of a bull, kept herself firm on her four feet; virtue reigned; no good which the mortals possessed was mixed with baseness; and man, free from diseases, saw all his wishes accomplished, and attained an age of four hundred years. But in the following epochs, and in consequence of an unlimited acquisition of wealth and knowledge, justice successively lost one foot; all the honest qualities, repressed and replaced by theft, falsehood and fraud, gradually vanished by one fourth; and the duration of life was at last reduced to one hundred years. It is interesting to add, that, in their opinion, each age has its peculiar or predominant virtue; in the first reigned austerity; in the second, the divine science; in the third, the offering of sacrifices; and in the fourth, liberality alone is left on earth.<sup>3</sup>

The later literature of the Indians retained but few traits of these legends, but introduced other familiar elements. Krishna, who is the incarnation of Vishnu, is represented now as treading on the bruised head of a conquered serpent, and now as entwined by it, and stung in the heel.<sup>4</sup>

The Chinese, also, have their age of virtue, when nature furnished abundant food to the happy men, who lived peacefully surrounded by the beasts, exercised virtue without the assistance of science, and did not yet know what it meant to do good or evil. The physical desires were perfectly subordinate to the divine spirit in man, who had all heavenly, and no earthly dispositions; disease and death never approached him; but partly an undue thirst for knowledge, partly increasing sensuality, and the seduction of women, were his perdition; all moderation was lost, passion and lust ruled in the human mind; the war with the animals began; and all nature stood inimically arrayed against him.<sup>5</sup>

We conclude with the Greek myth of Pandora, calculated to serve as a suitable transition to a very important Biblical feature, which has found no place in the preceding remarks.

The first men passed sunny days in undisturbed happiness. No labour, no care weighed upon them; their welfare was not interrupted by weakness or disease. But they could not long remain in a state of inactivity. They felt an internal impulse to search for occupation. Then Prometheus shaped a human form out of clay; in order to animate it, he stole the fire from heaven; this audacity excited the severe anger of Jupiter; he wished to punish him, and ordered Vulcan to make the first woman out of earth, who should, by her charms as well as by her faults, inflict wretchedness upon man. Thus, Pandora was produced. All the gods and goddesses adorned her with fatal gifts to ensnare the hearts of man. She received also a box, containing all imaginable evils which might make man miserable. She presented it to Epimetheus, the brother of Prometheus, who had forgotten to warn him. He opened the box; the evils were scattered all over the earth, and have ever since tormented the wretched generations of mankind. Thus, the anger of Jupiter was appeased. The god was revenged.<sup>6</sup> And in this sense, Pandora is sometimes described as a horrible, infernal divinity, and classed together with Hecate and the Erinnyes.<sup>7</sup>

It is evident, that this myth intends, like the Mosaic narrative, to explain the origin of misery among mankind, the loss of their paradise, and the beginning of exhausting labour. The resemblance goes one step further; that, in both instances, the aspiration for divine gifts is the cause of their misery; for, fire is the symbol of wisdom and knowledge.<sup>8</sup> But here the analogy ceases, and the two relations diverge as totally as the similarity of materials possibly admits.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Manu, i. 81—86.

<sup>4</sup> *Maurice*, Hist. of Hind., ii. 290.

<sup>5</sup> *De Guignes*, Chou-king, Dis. Prél., pp. 75, 93; Mémoir. Chin., i. 107.

<sup>6</sup> See *Hesiod.*, Theog., 571, *et seq.*; *Op. et Dies*, 50, *et seq.*; *Stobæus*, Sermon. 1.

<sup>7</sup> *Orph.*, Argon., 974.

<sup>8</sup> *Hesiod.*, Theog., 929; *Æsch.*, Prom. Deam., 443, 444.

Adam had been placed in the happiest spot on earth; surrounded by every blessing, he seemed only created for enjoyment; nothing appeared to have been forgotten to secure his felicity; his enchanted senses revelled in unbroken delights. But in the midst of all this abundance his heart felt an inexplicable void; the beauty of Paradise seemed a monotonous solitude; he searched in vain after sympathetic beings; the cold majesty of nature and her objects excited his astonishment, his admiration; but when his bosom was elevated with the grandeur of the azure vault of heaven, and the magnificent orb which travels through it in lordly calmness: his eyes strayed in vain around for creatures capable of understanding, and reciprocating his delight. He saw the animals which God had created; his nature felt interested in them; they possessed life and feeling like himself; they also seemed to enjoy the refreshing and fragrant breeze of the zephyr after the burning rays of the day. He gathered them closer round himself; he called them by name; their lively play enhanced his own happiness: but the longing of his heart remained unsatisfied; he found "no help for himself." A certain indescribable feeling lingered at the innermost depths of his heart; a power which he could not control fettered the energies of his soul; he felt that there existed a spell which might silence that turbulent craving. He was in this state of mind when God brought Eve before him. At once he had found what he had long sought; he felt his pulse beat quicker; and in an unknown transport of happiness he exclaimed: "This time it is bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh: she shall be called Woman, because she was taken out of Man." And as a further consequence, the thoughtful author adds: "Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and cling to his wife; and they shall be one flesh."<sup>1</sup>

This, then, is the place which the Mosaic records assign to the first woman. She was produced to complete the happiness of man; without her, even Paradise was a dungeon and a desert.

But what was Pandora? She was inflicted upon man as a punishment; her charms do not soothe the heart of man, but torment it, fury-like; the affection which she excites is not his happiness, but his ruin; physically, she resembles man; she is, like him, formed of clay; but her qualities are widely different from his own, they have only been chosen to infatuate and to dement men. She is not the longed-for partner of life: Jupiter did not send her of his own free determination; she was the chastisement for the daring boldness of man. She did not come to share the happiness of the other sex, but to destroy it at once, and to bring upon earth, in its stead, misery, and grief, and vexation unknown before. Love was thus impossible; the two sexes remained separated and in antagonism; they could not coalesce to "one flesh."

Does, then, the Hebrew narrative resemble the Greek myth? It knows nothing of the revenge of God; it introduces a far higher object as the result of man's aspiration, namely, moral liberty and discerning intelligence; if Eve seems to be the immediate cause of the fall, her fault is, in reality, not materially greater than that of Adam; for the prohibition was enjoined on the latter,<sup>2</sup> which signifies, as we have explained above, that the conflict had already arisen in him; he had passed beyond the period of child-like virtue. That Eve was first tempted by the serpent, expresses merely the truth, that woman is more accessible to persuasion than man; that she is more credulous, because, in her, sentiment prevails over reflection, and confiding kindness over rigid discrimination. Eve is not the *cause*, but the *share* of the sin; she bears not merely the "indirect image of God"; she participates in man's weakness as in his greatness; she is in all respects his absolute equal. So infinitely are even the profoundest heathen allegories inferior to the Biblical views.—According to the principle above laid down, we must not urge how Eve could be created out of a rib; nor is it of any interest to know, with Targum Jonathan, that it was "the thirteenth rib of the

<sup>1</sup> ii. 18—25.

<sup>2</sup> iii. 16, 17.

right side"; or, with a modern theologian, that it was the lowest rib, since in this part of the body "the principal organs of the life of the *soul* are situated";<sup>2</sup> or that, perhaps, the great distance between the last rib and the thigh-bone gave rise to our narrative. Similar notions are found in other oriental tales. The Hindoo law-giver teaches, that Brahman created the founders of the four principal castes from his mouth, his arms, his thigh, and his foot:<sup>3</sup> but, even in this analogy, the Hebrew narrative maintains its superiority; for it is from the body of the *man* that Eve was formed, whilst, in the Hindoo legend, the persons are parts of the body of the *god*. The Greenlanders believed that the first woman was fashioned out of the thumb of man.<sup>4</sup> It is, therefore, absurd to urge, that the delicate body of woman was not formed out of the dust of the earth, but of organic matter already purified; or that the rib points to the heart of man, and his love. The Hebrew historian intended to convey his idea of the intimate relationship between man and woman, and of the sacredness and indissolubility of conjugal life; and he expressed this idea in a form which was familiar to his contemporaries, and which will, at all times, be acknowledged as a beautiful and affecting mode of enforcing a moral truth of the highest social importance.

With glowing colours, Greek and Roman poets describe the boundless felicity of the first and uncorrupted state of mankind; when they attempt to depict the golden age, their imagination takes the highest flight, their hearts seem warmed, and their pathos is the deeper, the greater the contrasts which the misery of their own time furnishes; their descriptions are the echoes of the past, but they also herald the future; they point *backwards*, but they intend to lead *forward*. They teach what man ought to be, by showing him what he once has been. Every body walked in god-like virtue; laws were unnecessary; man stood under the immediate dominion of the gods; no tribunal nor punishment threatened; crimes were unknown; the towns had neither walls nor mounds; the sound of arms was not heard, and never did war interrupt the universal peace; all enjoyed health and vigour, and sickness paled no cheek; all were happy in their native abodes, and nobody was tempted to trust himself to the treacherous waves in search of a distant home; an eternal spring matured incessantly fragrant flowers on blooming meadows; the earth yielded spontaneously abundant fruits; the labours of agriculture were not required, nor was man compelled or disposed to shed the blood of animals, either for his food or his safety; the simple produce of vegetation, and the pure floods of springs, sufficed for their sustenance; they were unacquainted with effeminating dainties; inventions were yet unnecessary; fire, and houses, and garments, were not known; the earth was the common property of all, and it was not yet marked out with the strict boundaries of individual possession. But this beatitude was lost by contumacy and wantonness; the races degenerated; the gods withdrew to their celestial abodes, and left man to his struggles, his violence, and his wretchedness.<sup>5</sup> Thus the heathen myths abandon him, as an abject being, to the severity of fate. But the Hebrew writer, in destroying his external Eden, arms him with a power to create a new paradise in his heart; and although dooming him to the toil of a slave, he adorns him with the faculties of a God.

The heathen writers place the golden age exclusively in the remote *past*; its happiness is for ever forfeited, for ever irrecoverable; the world grows worse and worse; the sons constantly surpass their fathers in wickedness; till at last the excess of depravity will cause the unavoidable destruction of the race. But the Bible, though acknowledging the evil propensities of man, affords him the hope of regaining virtue and internal peace, by obedience to the precepts which it enjoins; it has furnished the means by

<sup>2</sup> *Delitzsch*, *Biblische Psychologie*, p. 75, 76.

<sup>3</sup> *Manu*, i. 81.

<sup>4</sup> *Cranz*, *Groenl.*, i. 262.

<sup>5</sup> *Comp. Hesiod*, *Works and Days*, 90

*et seq.*; *Virg.*, *Georg.*, i. 125 *et seq.*; *Ovid*, *Metam.*, i. 89 *et seq.*; see, however, *Lucret.*, v. 923 *et seq.*; *Varro*, *De Re Rustic.*, i. 2; *Diod. Sic.*, i.; *Plato*, *Polit.*



which each succeeding generation may excel the former in piety and goodness; till, in the Messianic time, in a happy *future*, the reign of unceasing bliss will unite all mankind, freed at once from the drudgery of labour and the degradation of sin.

## II. THE SITE OF PARADISE.

### II. 10—14.

SCARCELY any part of the habitable globe has remained without the honour of being regarded the happy abode of our first parents. Let us briefly examine the Biblical statements.

Eastward in Eden was a garden, in which man was placed (ver. 8). This garden was watered by a river which came forth from Eden, and which parted itself, in the garden, in four arms (עֲרֵב): the Pison, the Gihon, the Hiddekel, and the Euphrates. We shall try to ascertain the identity of these streams. But in order to gain a basis for this investigation, we commence with those parts of the description about which no uncertainty exists.

1. The third river is the HIDDEKEL (חֲדָקַל), the position of which is described in connection with Assyria (אַשּׁוּר). Now there is no reasonable ground to doubt that Hiddekel is the *Tigris*. This river has nearly the same name in the Aramaean languages and in Arabic, with the omission only of the first letter, or of the hiatus;<sup>1</sup> and the Samaritan version has likewise this abbreviated form with the article (הַחֲדָקַל). But the root דָּקַל signifies, in the Persian language, *arrow*, which name was given to the river on account of its swiftness;<sup>2</sup> and in the present language of the Persians the *Tigris* is designated by the word *ttr*, signifying arrow;<sup>3</sup> so that the Hebrew חֲדָקַל is evidently a compound word, contracted from חָדַר and דָּקַל, a *sharp* or *swift arrow*.<sup>4</sup> This is no pleonasm,<sup>5</sup> since דָּקַל in the course of time lost its original meaning of sharpness and swiftness, and became the usual word for arrow.

2. The fourth river is simply called EUPHRATES (פֶּרַת).<sup>6</sup> It required no further description; it was universally known to the Hebrews. It was called the "great river,"<sup>7</sup> or "the river" *par excellence*.<sup>8</sup>

3. The PISON (פִּישׁוֹן).<sup>9</sup> It is described with greater copiousness than the three other rivers; it was evidently supposed to be as little familiar to the readers as the Euphrates was well known to them; we can, therefore, not be astonished at the variety of conjectures proposed with regard to it. Some were guided by the mere resemblance of sound, and identified it with the Phasis;<sup>10</sup> and Rabbinical writers take it to be the Nile;<sup>11</sup> Ephraim Syrus decides for the Danube; Michaelis<sup>12</sup> for the Araxes; and others for the Ganges. The four former opinions are out of the question; the Phasis and Araxes are too much to the north, the Nile too far to the south, and the Danube too much westward. The Ganges has certainly the testimony of tradition in its favour. It is

<sup>1</sup> حِلَّة, דְּחִלָּה

<sup>2</sup> *Strab.* xi. p. 527; *Plin.* Hist. Nat. vi. 27 (31); *Curtius*, iv. 36. Compare *Horat.*, Carm. IV. xiv. 46; *Dionysius Periegeta*, ver. 913.

<sup>3</sup> Sanscr. *tigra*, hence *tigris*; or, with a frequent change of *t* into *d*, and *r* into *l*, *dehel*.

<sup>4</sup> Not as Josephus (*Antiq.* I. i. 3) explains, μετὰ στενόμενος ὁ δὲξ; or Rashi derives חֲדָקַל.

<sup>5</sup> Like מִלֵּךְ שֶׁמֶךְ, etc.

<sup>6</sup> Which word, if of Shemitic derivation, must be traced to פֶּרֶת, the *fructifying* river.

<sup>7</sup> הַנָּהָר הַגָּדוֹל; Deut. i. 7; compare Daniel x. 4.

<sup>8</sup> הַנָּהָר, Isai. vii. 20, etc.

<sup>9</sup> According to Josephus, signifying "abundance," or, more probably, derivable from פִּישׁ, to disperse, applied to overflowing of rapid streams; compare Nah. iii. 18.

<sup>10</sup> Roland, Jahn, Rosenmüller, Winer, Link.

<sup>11</sup> That is, the river of מִשְׁתֵּיִם, flax; Isai. xix.; or a stream which flows gently (בְּשׂוֹפֵי); Bereah. Rabb., Rashi, and others.

<sup>12</sup> Suppl. 686.

declared to be the Pison by Josephus,<sup>13</sup> by some of the Fathers of the Church,<sup>14</sup> and several Byzantine writers.<sup>15</sup> But the river Pison is further described as encompassing the whole land of Havilah (הַחִיִּלָּה). This country is mentioned as bordering in the east, towards Assyria, both on the territories of the Ishmaelites,<sup>16</sup> and of the Amalekites.<sup>17</sup> It is enumerated both among the countries of the Cushites, together with provinces on the Arabian Gulf,<sup>18</sup> and among the countries of the Shemitic Joktanites, together with tracts adjoining the Persian Gulf.<sup>19</sup> But in the former statement, nations inhabiting the regions of the Persian, and in the latter, those occupying the provinces near the Arabian Gulf, are intermixed. It follows, therefore, that, in both instances, Havilah designates the same country, extending, at least, from the Persian to the Arabian Gulf, and, on account of its vast extent, easily divided into two distinct parts.<sup>20</sup> Where these two centres of the people of Havilah were, it is, at present, impossible to decide; we have no means of ascertaining whether they were in the land of the Chaulotaei,<sup>21</sup> near the Nabataei on the Persian Gulf, or in the territory of the Avalitae,<sup>22</sup> on the African coast, near the Bab-el-Mandeb,<sup>23</sup> the present Zeyla.<sup>24</sup>

The Pison is, therefore, a river which encircles the territory between the Persian and Arabian Gulf. But there exists no river which takes such remarkably circuitous course. It is, therefore, natural that many expositors should have resorted to the expedient of taking the word "river" (נָחַל) here in a more general signification as *sea*, or more particularly, *the sea-coast*, and to explain Pison as all the floods which wash the shores of the whole of Arabia, from the Persian to the Arabian Gulf. If this interpretation really met the difficulty, it might be readily embraced as sufficiently satisfactory, especially as, on the other hand, the word "sea" (יָם) is, in Hebrew, not limited to oceans.<sup>25</sup> But it is far from settling the question. For the river Pison must join its floods with those of the Euphrates and Tigris in the garden of Eden itself; it is one of the four arms proceeding from the common great stream; and this cannot be said of the two gulfs encompassing Arabia. We are compelled to insist upon this point; for the author evidently contemplated to furnish an exact geographical description of Eden; he nowhere shows the intention to conceal its real site; he mentions two rivers which were universally known, and whose course could easily be traced; he describes the two others more circumstantially, and alludes to Ashur and Cush, two well-known countries; he gives no partial and national, but a truthful, historical account; he does not, like most of the other ancient writers, proudly place the origin of nations in his own land, but in a far distant eastern region, which, indeed, all repeated researches confirm to have been the birthplace of mankind. We cannot, therefore, be satisfied with some indistinct conception regarding Pison; we are obliged to take it, also, as a river, or an arm of the great stream: this was evidently the meaning of the Hebrew writer. Hence we can well understand that many thoughtful scholars attempted to fix this arm; that, for instance, Calvin, Grotius, and Hottinger took the Pison for the Pasitigris (the

<sup>13</sup> Antiq. I. i. 3.

<sup>14</sup> As Eusebius, Augustin, and Jerome.

<sup>15</sup> *Constantini Manassis Compendium Chron.* v. 214.

<sup>16</sup> Gen. xxv. 18; 1 Chron. i. 23.

<sup>17</sup> 1 Sam. xv. 7.

<sup>18</sup> Gen. x. 7. <sup>19</sup> x. 29.

<sup>20</sup> Compare the concluding remarks on the tenth chapter.

<sup>21</sup> *Χαυλοταῖοι*, *Strab.* XVI. p. 767.

<sup>22</sup> *Αβαλίται*. <sup>23</sup> *Ptol.* iv. 7.

<sup>24</sup> Thus Saadias renders Havilah three times in Genesis; comp. *Gesenius*, *Theas.* p. 452; *Forster*, *Arabia*, i. 41. The similarity of names is insufficient to substan-

tiate geographical conjectures. It is, therefore, enough merely to mention the supposition of Michaelis, that Havilah is the land of the *Chalisci*, on the Caspian Sea, the present Russian name of which is "Chwalinskoje More;" or of Rosenmüller, that it is *Colchis*; or of Lassen, who fixes on the province of *Kampila*, in the north-western part of India. Calvin was compelled to identify Havilah with a part of Persia, on account of his hypothesis with regard to Pison, which we shall presently notice.

<sup>25</sup> See p. 27.

present Karun); whilst Huetius, Bochart, and Morinus singled out the western mouth of the Shat-al-Arab.<sup>1</sup> But we delay to decide for one particular river till we have considered the fourth stream flowing through Eden, namely —

4. The Gihon (גִּיחוֹן).<sup>2</sup> It is described "as compassing the whole land of Cush" (כּוּשׁ). There can be little doubt with regard to this statement. Cush includes<sup>3</sup> the southern countries which came within the geographical knowledge of the Hebrews; it embraces all provinces between Arabia and the Nile, and the desert tracts beyond it, and between the Mediterranean and the most southern regions of Africa, to the farthest border of the earth. The only river which can be said to embrace this whole territorial extent is the Nile. We believe, therefore, that it is impossible to question the identity of the Gihon and the great river of Egypt. And the support which tradition gives to this opinion establishes it almost as a certainty. The Septuagint renders *Shichor* (שִׁיחֹר), which is the Nile, in Jerem. ii. 18, with Γήωρ, that is *Gihon* (גִּיחוֹן).<sup>4</sup> Josephus<sup>5</sup> observes distinctly that the Gihon flows through Egypt, and is that river which the Greeks call Nile. The Fathers of the Church have, almost without exception, adopted this view; and some of them make the very plausible distinction, that the river is called Gihon as long as it flows through Ethiopia, but that it assumes the name נַאֲרוֹ or נַאֲרוֹשׁ, when it reaches Egypt.<sup>6</sup> Similar opinions have been advanced by modern critics. Schulthess<sup>7</sup> believes the Gihon to be the Astaboras, or the eastern arm of the Ethiopian Nile; and Gesenius<sup>8</sup> extends that name to the middle arm of the Nile, the Astapus, which might very properly be said to encircle Ethiopia. The Arabians also include the Nile among the rivers of Eden, and the Ethiopians call it *Gejón*, or *Gewón*.<sup>9</sup>—It is, therefore, unnecessary to refute the opinion, that the Gihon is the Araxes,<sup>10</sup> or the Oxus, because the Arabian writers, after *Mohammed*, call this river so;<sup>11</sup> since the original and proper name of Oxus was Amu, or Amuje, and Gihon is an appellative noun, signifying the *quickly flowing* river; and the Oxus is, indeed, called by the Persians simply "the water" (Ab), or "the stream" (nahr).<sup>12</sup> The conjectures that the Gihon is the eastern mouth of the Tigris,<sup>13</sup> or the western arm of the Euphrates,<sup>14</sup> or the Chaboras,<sup>15</sup> or the Nahar Sura,<sup>16</sup> or the Orontes,<sup>17</sup> impose the necessity of assigning to the land of Cush a position which is never given to it in any part of the Bible, either in *Chusistan*, in Persia, or in the territory of the *Susii* (Κισσιοί), or in northern Arabia, or in Syria.

But it will be asked, How is it possible to consider the Nile as an arm of the same river which sends forth the Euphrates and the Tigris? They flow in opposite directions, and are separated by seas and mountains. However, here we must again refer to a principle urged in a former part of this volume, namely, that the Israelites did not surpass the other Eastern nations in secular knowledge; they participated in their progress as they shared their errors; they were not more advanced in geography than the extent of their travels, conquests, and researches permitted them to be. If, therefore, it can be proved that these notions, however strange they may appear to us, and however far they are from truth, were entertained by other ancient nations, we must cease to wonder if we should find them among the Hebrews also. Now it is undoubted, that they were popular even among nations far more zealous in scientific pursuits than the Hebrews, and even in much later times.

<sup>1</sup> That is, the Euphrates and Tigris after their confluence.

<sup>2</sup> From גִּיחוֹן, to break forth.

<sup>3</sup> According to x. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. Sir. xxiv. 37.

<sup>5</sup> Antiq. l. i. 3.

<sup>6</sup> So, for instance, *Theophil.* ad Autolyc. li. 24.

<sup>7</sup> *Paradies*, p. 70.

<sup>8</sup> *Thes.* p. 282.

<sup>9</sup> *Ludolf*, Hist. Aeth. i. 8; comp. *Cham-pollion*, L'Egypte, i. p. 137.

<sup>10</sup> So *Reland*, *Calmet*.

<sup>11</sup> *Michaelis* and others.

<sup>12</sup> See *Quatremère*, *Collection Orientale*, i. 140.

<sup>13</sup> *Huetius*, *Bochart*, *Morinus*.

<sup>14</sup> *Calvin*.

<sup>15</sup> *Grotius*.

<sup>16</sup> *Hottinger*.

<sup>17</sup> *Clericus*.

It was generally believed that Arabia, India, and the eastern part of Africa, were connected by a continent in such a manner that the great ocean bordering on these countries formed one unbroken plain of waves. It was through that continent that the Indus was thought to take its way to Africa, and to appear there as the Nile. The circumnavigation of Africa under Pharaoh Necho (about B.C. 600), had, indeed, acquainted the Egyptians with the true extent of Africa;<sup>18</sup> and even Strabo, although doubting this statement of Herodotus, regarded the circumnavigation of Africa as not impossible.<sup>19</sup> But this expedition failed to eradicate a popular belief which seems to have taken too deep a root. The Chaldee translators sometimes render Cush by India,<sup>20</sup> and both countries are frequently confounded.<sup>21</sup> — Claudius Ptolemæus (vii. 5) maintained that an "unknown land" unites the eastern parts of Asia and of Africa. — Hipparchus and Marinus Tyrius believed that the Indian Ocean was, by the same continent, divided into several extensive seas, or was converted into an internal sea. — In the map of Marino Sanuto (in the fourteenth century), the eastern extremity of Africa is separated from the south-eastern coast of Asia only by a narrow arm of the ocean; so that the sea appears here almost as an internal one, enclosed by the continents of Asia and Africa. Similar views are exhibited in the map of Bianco (in the fifteenth century), who seems to have followed the Arabian geographer Edrisi (of the twelfth century). It was only by the discoveries of the Portuguese that these notions concerning a large extension of the African continent to the east were rectified.<sup>22</sup> — When Alexander the Great saw crocodiles in the Indus, and Egyptian peas on the banks of the overflowing river Acesinus, "he thought he had found the origin of the Nile, which he believed to rise in this part of India, and after flowing through vast deserted regions, to lose the name of Indus; for when it reaches again inhabited land, the Ethiopians and Egyptians call it Nile, and thus it falls at last into the Mediterranean Sea."<sup>23</sup> Others maintained, in nearly the same manner, the identity of the Euphrates and the Nile.<sup>24</sup> Ephrem Syrus held, that the four rivers, after leaving their common high-lying source, disappear first beneath the bottom of the sea, where they are received as in cuniculi, till they break forth again as the Danube, Nile, Euphrates, and Tigris. However curious this opinion of the ancient writers is, it is not much at variance with the assumptions of the Greek authors.<sup>25</sup> The Ionian philosophers believed the earth to be a disc, encircled by the ocean, and bending down towards the south, on account of the weight of the tropical vegetation. The geographical notions prevalent even so late as the fourteenth century of the present era, were so crude, that we find it difficult now to enter into them. On one of the maps published by Vicomte de Santarem,<sup>26</sup> and dating from that time (1870), are represented from north to south successively Media, Troy, Antiochia, Damascus, and Babylonia. The monk Cosmas, the geographer of the church, represented the earth as a plain, in the form of a parallelogram, twice longer than broad, indented with the inland seas, — the Mediterranean, the Caspian, the Red Sea, and the Persian Gulf, — and encompassed by a rectangular trench occupied by the oceans; the heavens are represented as a semi-circular tent, supported by perpendicular walls; beyond the great sea rose a high mountain, behind which the sun was believed to be hidden during the night, and from which it was supposed to emerge again in the morning. And so late as 1486, the clerical council, assembled at Salamanca, denounced the views of

<sup>18</sup> *Herod.* iv. 2.

<sup>19</sup> *I.* p. 5.

<sup>20</sup> *Isai.* xi. 11.

<sup>21</sup> *Comp. Spanheim, Præstant. numism.*, p. 188.

<sup>22</sup> *Comp. Humboldt, Kosmos* ii. 407; *Exam. crit. de l'hist. de la Géogr.* i. 139 — 142, 145, 161; ii. 370; *Malte-Brun*,

*Histoire de la Géogr.* pp. 219, 220, 358; *Bertheau, Beschreibung des Paradieses*, pp. 39—42.

<sup>23</sup> *Arrian, Exped. Alex.* vi. 1; *comp. Strabo*, xv. p. 696.

<sup>24</sup> *Pausan.* ii. 5.

<sup>25</sup> *Comp. Theodor. Quæst. in Genes.* 29

<sup>26</sup> *Paris*, 1842.

Columbus as grossly heterodox; they declared it to be perverse heresy, opposed not only to the doctrines of the Fathers of the Church, but to Scripture itself, to believe that by sailing westwards the eastern parts of the earth could be reached; or that the earth was round, and not flat; or that there were antipodes.

We shall, therefore, not hesitate to ascribe to the Hebrews similar notions. It is true that we, with our modern geographical knowledge, must find them very strange; and some scholars, determined at any price to find in the Bible geographical truth also, have known no other remedy than to assert, that the verses describing the four rivers,<sup>1</sup> are a spurious interpretation; that they obviously bear the character "of the surcharge of the gloss or note of a later age, founded upon the fanciful traditions then prevailing with respect to the situation of the ancient Paradise."<sup>2</sup> But it is obvious that such a device, dictated merely by embarrassment and perplexity, is unwarranted as it is objectionable in principle. Even Josephus mentions the Ganges and Nile as arms of the same river; we are indeed compelled, by the explicit statements of our text, to adopt this suggestion; this seems the only method of obtaining the four converging rivers of Eden. It is a mere categorical assertion to say, that these views are of much later date. We consider, therefore, the Pison as the *Indus*, and the Gihon as the *Nile*. This opinion regarding the Pison is supported by several ancient authorities.<sup>3</sup> The Indus might, indeed, be said to border the land of Havilah in the east; and if the author describes it as "compassing" this country, he seems to have believed that it bends considerably westward, so as to come within the region of the Euphrates and the Tigris. In a similar manner the Gihon "compasses" Ethiopia; it embraces a large portion of it, and forms one of its most remarkable features.<sup>4</sup>

And now we may hope to gain a clear and intelligible view of the four rivers of Eden. This favoured abode is evidently represented as the centre of that part of the earth which was destined for the habitation of man. The rivers are everywhere considered as the veins of the land. A country without a river is a dreary and uninhabitable desert. Now Eden, as the centre, sends forth four arms to the *four principal parts of the globe*,—the Indus to the east, the Nile to the south, the Tigris to the north, and the Euphrates to the west. Thus in the Chinese traditions four rivers flow from the mountain Kuen-lun to the four quarters of the world; and in the sacred book of the Persians, the fountain Anduisur, which rises in the holy mountain Alborz, is said to diffuse its waters over the whole earth by many canals.<sup>5</sup> The very countries with which the rivers of Paradise have been connected in the Biblical description, represent distinctly the different regions of the earth; for Havilah is, in the Old Testament, regarded as comprising the remotest lands in the east, Cush in the south, and Assyria is constantly the northern land.<sup>6</sup> Thus Eden remains no isolated spot; it sends forth its fertilising floods to all parts of the earth; it is the very heart of the globe, and spreads refreshing life over its surface.

But Eden is also described as the cradle of *mankind*, as the birthplace of the human families. Here the first men enjoyed their happy, though brief, existence of childlike innocence. They were expelled eastward. But we find the first patriarch of the

<sup>1</sup> ii. 11—14.

<sup>2</sup> *Granville Penn*, Comparative Estimate of the Mineral and Mosaic Geologies.

<sup>3</sup> See *Montfaucon*, Collect. nov. patr., ii. 149.

<sup>4</sup> But it is impossible to understand עֵדֶן here as describing a complete circle; we cannot take the word in its rigorous sense; we are, therefore, permitted to interpret it as nearly synonymous with עֵדֶן, in ver. 14 (comp. Cant. ii. 3); and it may signify that the rivers

traverse those countries, so that their course seems to comprehend or to circumscribe their territory. The Greeks, also, had a very indistinct knowledge of Ethiopia (see *Voelker*, Geogr. des Homer, pp. 87—90).

<sup>5</sup> Comp. *Priault*, Quest. Mos. p. 72.

<sup>6</sup> The enumeration of the rivers proceeds almost regularly from east to west; it is entirely so, if the hypothesis of the supposed connection or identity of the Indus and Nile is correct.

Hebrews again in the land between the Euphrates and Tigris. From here he emigrates into the land of Canaan; and when his descendants recall to their memory the history of their pious ancestor, the founder of their enlightened faith, they find it connected with the same rivers which form an essential feature in the scenery of the primary abodes of man.

Eden comprised that tract of land where the Euphrates and Tigris separate; from that spot the "garden in Eden" cannot be distant. Let it suffice that we know its general position; but we are not permitted to penetrate within, as if the angel with the flaming sword forbade the access.

The Paradise is no exclusive feature of the earliest history of the Hebrews; most of the ancient nations have similar narratives about a happy abode, which care does not approach, and which re-echoes with the sounds of the purest bliss. The Greeks believed, that at an immense distance, beyond the pillars of Hercules, on the borders of the earth, were the islands of the Blessed, the Elysium, abounding in every charm of life, and the garden of the Hesperides, with their golden apples, guarded by an ever-watchful serpent (Ladon).<sup>7</sup> But still more analogous is the legend of the Hindoos, that in the sacred mountain Meru, which is perpetually clothed in the golden rays of the sun, and whose lofty summit reaches into heaven, no sinful man can exist; that it is guarded by dreadful dragons; that it is adorned with many celestial plants and trees, and is watered by four rivers, which thence separate, and flow to the four chief directions.<sup>8</sup> Equally striking is the resemblance to the belief of the Persians, who suppose, that a region of bliss and delight, the town Eriene Vadscho or *Heden*, more beautiful than the whole rest of the world, traversed by a mighty river, was the original abode of the first men before they were tempted by Ahriman, in the shape of a serpent, to partake of the wonderful fruit of the forbidden tree Hom.<sup>9</sup> And the books of the Chinese describe a garden near the gate of heaven where a perpetual zephir breathes; it is irrigated by abundant springs, the noblest of which is the "fountain of life"; and abounds in delightful trees, one of which bears fruits which have the power of preserving life.<sup>10</sup>

These and other analogies warn us not to lay too much stress upon the external detail of the Biblical description of Eden, nor to reduce it to a mere "hieroglyphic," copied from, or composed after, an Egyptian picture;<sup>11</sup> it is to be regarded as the form for the embodiment of momentous ideas: let us try to imbibe their refreshing spirit; but let us not cavil about "the letter that killeth."

We shall now briefly examine the principal remaining opinions proposed about the site of Paradise. Many of these conjectures deserve scarcely a serious consideration, since their authors deemed it sufficient to point out four rivers tolerably near each other, without the remotest regard to the countries which the Biblical text describes them to traverse.

The opinion at present most generally prevalent is, that Eden is some part of the high-lands of Armenia, near the sources of the Euphrates and Tigris. But it is clear,<sup>12</sup> that the rivers branched off from one common stream within Eden, if not within the garden.<sup>13</sup> A great number of conjectures lose their foundation by this one objection. The

<sup>7</sup> *Hes.*, Theog., 215, 275, 518; *Lucret.* v. 33—35; *Ovid*, *Met.*, xi. 114; *Virg.*, *Æn.* iv. 485, 486; *Cic.*, *Nat. Deor.*, iii. 17; *Strabo*, i. 2, 3; iii. 150; iv. 183; *Apoll. Rhod.*, Arg., iv. 1396, *et seq.*

<sup>8</sup> *Comp. Wilford*, *Asiat. Res.*, iii. 200; vi. 488; *Bohlen*, *Alt. Ind.*, ii. 210.

<sup>9</sup> *Kleuker*, *Zend-Av.*, ii. 298; see p. 87.

<sup>10</sup> *Mémoir. Chin.*, i. 106; *Priault*, *Quæst. Mos.*, p. 73.

<sup>11</sup> See *Gabler*, *Urgeschichte*, II. i. 288. *et seq.*

<sup>12</sup> From ii. 10.

<sup>13</sup> The passage *Ezek.* xxxvi. 35 is too indistinct, and affords no argument. Even if "the mountain of God" (see p. 21) were mentioned together with the Paradise, it would prove nothing for Armenia; for the former was supposed to be at the extreme northern border of the earth.

four "heads" (רִאשִׁית) are not *sources*; Eden is, therefore, not necessarily to be sought in a mountainous tract from which many streams arise; the river of Eden is *one stream* which divides, at the same or at different points, into *four arms*, two of which are the Euphrates and Tigris. This fact is the only safe starting-point for our enquiry; and it must be especially attended to.

Two other localities bearing the name of Eden occur in the Old Testament. It is but natural, that both have been assumed to be the site of Paradise, the more so, as the one in Syria, near Damascus,<sup>1</sup> is also the locality of one of the four Paradises of the Arabians, who show even in the valley of Ghusa, in the vicinity of that town, the grave of the murdered Abel;<sup>2</sup> and the other in Iran,<sup>3</sup> near Rhagae, to the south of the Caspian Sea, is the place of the changing Paradise of the Persians. But without urging, that these two towns have, in Hebrew, a different orthography from our Eden,<sup>4</sup> they have not the position with reference to the Euphrates and Tigris which the text demands; and the latter conjecture, especially, is based on several very uncertain premises.<sup>5</sup>

The most convenient way of meeting the difficulty is to assert, that the position of the rivers has totally changed in the course of time, especially since, and by, the deluge!<sup>6</sup> But our text describes the rivers as still existing in the present tense: "A stream goeth out" (צֵדָה); the Pison "encompasseth" (סָבַב), and so forth. Perhaps, to avoid this objection, Dr. Pye Smith maintained our passage to be "an antediluvian fragment of topography"; and Morren<sup>7</sup> called it "an inspired antediluvian document"; so that it is at present impossible to determine the situation of the rivers. But if the Euphrates and Tigris are still extant, why should not the Pison and Gihon be discoverable, which were considered to be arms of the same stream? It is evident, that this theory closes all gates to historical research on the subject.

*Ewald* has here, also, an extraordinary expedient; namely, that in the subsequent migrations of the Hebrews the names of two of the four rivers had been forgotten, and that, therefore, the well-known streams, Euphrates and Tigris, were substituted for two other Indian rivers, in addition to the Pison and Gihon, which he takes for the Ganges and Indus.<sup>8</sup> The entirely conjectural character of this opinion is too clear to require comment. Where is the shadow of an evidence? Which are the two rivers thus lost to tradition? Almost the only undisputed statements in the Biblical description of Eden are the Euphrates and Tigris; and shall just these names be fictitious?

*Redslob* believed, that, as the Israelites considered the earth as a disc, surrounded by sea, they must have imagined, that all rivers flow from the direction of the centre to the lower circumference; the greater, therefore, the rivers are, the nearer is their source to the centre; the four *greatest* rivers have, consequently, their common source exactly in the centre of the earth; the description intends nothing more, than to intimate, that Eden was situated in the midst of the earth, which is in Armenia; the centre is the common source, or "the stream," which divides afterwards into many rivers, of which the four principal are, the Indus, the Nile, the Tigris, and the Euphrates.<sup>9</sup> But this theory, also, is an offspring of fancy. The chief ideas on which it rests are, that the rivers of the earth were believed to flow from the centre to the circumference; and that the earth was thought to be *higher* in the centre. The author has attempted no proof of the existence of such notions among the ancients, which are, indeed, so sin-

<sup>1</sup> Amos i. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Jerome*, on Ezek. xxvii.; *Pococke*, Orient, ii. 168.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Kings xix. 12; Ezek. xxvii. 23.

<sup>4</sup> Namely צֵדָה instead of סָבַב.

<sup>5</sup> See *Tuch*, Genesis, p. 72.

<sup>6</sup> So Clericus, Reland, Baumgarten,

Schröder, and even Kitto (Scripture Lands, p. 7); compare, also, Calvin, on ii. 10.

<sup>7</sup> Translation of Rosenmueller's Bibl. Geogr. of Central Asia, i. 92.

<sup>8</sup> Israel. Gesch., i. 331.

<sup>9</sup> Der Schöpfung-Apolog, p. 113—116.

gular, that no geographer seems to have entertained them. Moreover, four rivers which issue from one point as their common *source*, are not four *arms* of one river.

*Bertheaux* has devised the following conjecture.<sup>10</sup> Eden is at the northern border of the earth; the great stream is the Caspian Sea, and flows from west to east, or from east to west; the four rivers are, the Ganges, the Nile, the Tigris, and the Euphrates, which issue from the Caspian Sea at four different points; for some distance they flow in almost parallel directions from north to south; then the Pison makes a long circuit eastward, sufficient to encircle the whole land of Havilah, and then turns northward to discharge itself into the sea; and the Gihon, in order to encompass the land of Cush (which comprises the Persian gulf, a large part of Arabia, the Red Sea, and Africa), takes the direction westward through Asia, and then northward, through Ethiopia and Egypt, into the Mediterranean. This opinion proceeds from the supposition, that the holy region was the *north*, and that, therefore, the northern border of the earth is the locality of Eden. But no conclusive proof can be adduced for this assertion. Or shall we take it as an argument, that certain sacrifices were offered at the north side of the altar;<sup>11</sup> or that the shew-bread table occupied a position in that part of the Tabernacle? Or are obscure passages, in which the word "northern" occurs, proofs for the sanctity of this region?<sup>12</sup> Further, the Caspian Sea is no *river*; no ancient account warrants us to suppose, that the Israelites considered it as such; Herodotus<sup>13</sup> describes it with perfect accuracy; and even Strabo<sup>14</sup> represents it as a sea similar in extent to the Persian and Arabian gulfs.

Equally unfounded is the opinion of those who place the Paradise in the extreme *western* border of the earth,<sup>15</sup> in the Canary Islands, or the Islands of the Blessed, from whence doves bring, daily, ambrosia to the gods of Olympus. These notions are entirely those of the Greeks, not of the Hebrews. The latter never considered the West, the region of the setting sun, as holy. If they attributed to one part a greater sanctity than to the other, it was the *East*, the region of the *rising* sun, the source of light and cheerfulness. On the eastern side was the entrance to the Tabernacle;<sup>16</sup> and our text observes expressly, that God "planted a garden in Eden, *eastward*."<sup>17</sup>

The Swede, Rudbeck, asserts, that the Paradise was in Scandinavia; some Russian writers supposed it to have been in Siberia; and the German writers, Hasse and Schulz, on the coast of Prussia. The eastern traditions place it in Ceylon (the island of Serendib), and regard as the region to which Adam was banished, the mountain of Rahoun, later called by the Portuguese "the mountain of Adam" (Pico di Adamo); under which, they say, the first man was buried, after a penitent life of 130 years.—That all these opinions are vague assumptions, mostly founded on caprice or prejudice, requires no proof. The views broached on the nature and site of Paradise form an interesting chapter in the history of interpretation.

The boldest, or rather the most desperate, step, has been taken by those who assert simply, that the verses which contain the description of the Paradise (ii. 11—14) are a later interpolation. But even if this assumption be granted, is an interpolation a confused and incoherent aggregate of words, without sense and meaning? Do later additions admit of no interpretation?

Others, to crown the critical extravagance, have placed the Paradise beyond the earth, at the other side of the ocean which encircles it, and which is asserted to be "the river"; they say, that here another earth exists, which reaches to the end of the world; that the four rivers flow beneath the ocean till they re-appear on our earth as Indus or

<sup>10</sup> Beschreibung des Paradieses, p. 39—53.

<sup>11</sup> Lev. i. 11; vi. 18.

<sup>12</sup> For instance, Ezek. i. 4; Ps. xlviii. 3; comp. Isai. xiv. 13.

<sup>13</sup> i. 202, 203.

<sup>14</sup> xi. 491, *et seq.*

<sup>15</sup> For instance, Credner.

<sup>16</sup> Comp. *Joseph.*, Antiq., III. vi. 8.

<sup>17</sup> ii. 8.



Ganges, Nile, Tigris, and Euphrates; and that from thence Noah was conveyed to our planet by the deluge.<sup>10</sup>

And others still—we add this for the edification of our readers—have not been satisfied with modest terrestrial regions; but (*relata refero*) “some place the Paradise in the third heaven, others in the fourth; some within the orbit of the moon, others in the moon itself; some in the middle of the regions of the air, or beyond the earth’s attraction; some under the earth, and others within the earth.” *Fides apud auctores erit.*

The following table, embodying the principal opinions proposed regarding the site of Paradise, may facilitate the study of the subject.

TABULAR VIEW.

Authors.	Eden.	Stream (712).	Pison.	Havilah.	Gihon.	Cush.
I. 1. CALVIN (Comm. on Gen.)		.....		Persis	Western arm of the Eu- phrates.	Arabia.
2. GROTIUS		.....	Pasitigris	.....	Nahar Malca, or Chaboras.	Chusis- tan, in Persia.
3. HOTTIN- GER (Enneas Dissertt.)	Near Korna, at the con- fluence of the Euphra- tes & Tigris (31° 0' 28'' N.L.)	.....		.....	Nahar Sura	Susiana.
4. HUET (De Sit. Par.terr.)		.....		Arabia Felix		Chusis- tan, or Susiana.
5. BOCHART (Opp. ii. 29, et s.)		.....	Western arm of Shat-al- Arab	.....	Eastern arm of Shat-al- Arab.	
6. MORINUS (Ugolin. Thes.vii.)				.....		
7. HOPKIN- SON (Descr. Par.)	Near Baby- lon	.....	Nahar Malca	Susiana	Maar- sares	Arabia.
8. ERASMUS RASK (Illgen's Zeitschr. VL ii. 94)	Between Korna and Basra, at the western side of the Tigris.	Shat-al- Arab	Pasitigris	The land on the coast be- yond the Shat-al- Arab	Gyndes (between Armenia and Ma- tiana)	Chusis- tan.
9. REDSLOB (Schoepf. Apol.)	Central Asia	The common source of the four rivers in the centre of the earth's surface	Indus	.....	Upper Nile.	

<sup>10</sup> So Ephrem Syrus; *Cosmas Indicopleustes*, Collect. Nova Patr., ii. 161; Schulthess.

<i>Authors.</i>	<i>Eden.</i>	<i>Stream</i> ( <i>נָחַל</i> ).	<i>Pison.</i>	<i>Havilah.</i>	<i>Gihon.</i>	<i>Euphr.</i>
II. 10. <b>RELAND</b> (Diss. Misc. i.)	Armenia	.....	Phasis	Colchis	Araxes	Cossæi (south- west of the Casp. Sea).
11. <b>CALMET</b>		.....		.....	Gyndes	
12. <b>VER- BRUGGE</b> (Orat. de Sit. Par.)		.....	Araxes	Land of the Chwa- lisci, in the west of the Casp. Sea	Oxus (Amu- Daria)	Cath, on the Oxus (Balkh).
13. <b>MICHAELIS</b> (Suppl. i. 297)		.....				
14. <b>JAHN</b> (Arch. I. 127)		.....	Phasis	.....	Oxus	Bactria.
15. <b>WAHL</b> (Asien, p. 855)	Armenia or Grusinia	.....	Phasis, Khur, and Araxes united.	.....	Oxus	Khousti (between the Casp. Sea, and Persian Gulf). Around the Cau- casus.
16. <b>LINK</b> (Urwelt, i. 307)		.....	Phasis	.....	Kur (Cyrus)	All southern countries including India and Ethiopia.
17. <b>ROSEN- MÜLLER</b> (Alterth., I. i. 172)		.....	Phasis	Colchis	Araxes	
18. <b>SICKLER</b> (Angust, Monats- Schr.)	Country near the Caspian Sea	Caspian Sea	A sea en- circling the whole earth from the eastern border to the Nile	.....	Atlantic, Mediterran., and Black Sea encircling the earth from the western border to the Nile.	
III. 19. <b>SCHULT- HESS</b> (Das Pa- radies)	Beyond the ocean which surrounds the earth	The ocean which surrounds the earth	Indus	.....	Asta- boras (Ta- caszo).	
20. <b>RAUMER</b> (Hertha, 1829)	An island formed by the Irtish, Petshora, Dwina, and Volga.					
21. <b>KITTO</b> (Scripture Lands)		.....	Halys	The country within the Halys	Araxes	The country border- ing on the Araxes.
IV. 22. <b>HARDUIN</b> (De Sit. Par.)	In Galilee	Jordan	Flumen Achanum in Arabia	.....	Flumen Salsum.	

<i>Authors.</i>	<i>Eden.</i>	<i>Stream</i> (נה).	<i>Pison.</i>	<i>Havilah.</i>	<i>Gihon.</i>	<i>Cush.</i>
23. CLERICUS (Com. on Gen.)	In Syria (near $\pi\pi$ , Am. i. 5)	.....	Chrysor- rhoas	In Arabia	Orontes	Cassiotia, in Syria.
24. LAKE- MACHER (Obs. Phil. v.)	In Syria	.....	Jordan			
V. 25. HASSE (Ent- deckun- gen)	On the coast of Prussia	.....	Phasis	Hylia, in the ex- treme north.	Nile.	
26. EPHREM SYRUS (On Gen. ii.)	In the dis- tant north	.....	Danube	.....		
27. BER- THEAU (Para- dies)	At the northern border of the earth	Caspian Sea	Ganges	The eastern countries	Nile	Persia, Arabia, and Ethiopia.
VI. 28. JOSEPHUS (Antiq., I. i. 3)	.....	A river which runs round the earth	Ganges	India	Nile	Egypt.
29. BUTT- MANN (Aelt. Urk.)	India	.....	Besynge, in India	Ava	Ganges	The countries of the South.
30. HAMMER (Wien. Jahrb., 1820)	Bactria	.....	Jaxartes or Sihon	Chworas- mia	Oxus	Hindoo- coosh.
31. HART- MANN (Aufkl., I. 249)	In the valley of Cashmere in northern India.	.....	Phasis	Colchis	Oxus	Bactria.
32. WILFORD (As. Res., vi. 455)	In the mountains of India	.....	Nilab or Lesser Sind	Cabul	The Hirmend	Cusha.

## CHAPTER II. 4 TO III. 24.

**SUMMARY.**—Some features of another cosmogony are inserted: a mist watered and fructified the surface of the earth (ver. 6); God formed a man from the dust of the ground, and animated him by the breath of life (ver. 7); He placed Ilim in a beautiful garden in Eden, which was traversed by a stream branching into four arms; which abounded in every delightful fruit and herb; and in the midst of which stood two wonderful trees, the tree of knowledge and the tree of life (vers. 8—15). All the vegetable productions of this paradise were allowed to man; the tree of knowledge alone was interdicted to him; and the transgression of this command was threatened with man's forfeiture of a deathless existence, for which he was originally destined (vers. 16, 17). God then created all the animals, and brought them before the man, who gave appropriate names to all (vers. 19, 20). From one of his ribs a woman was formed, whom he accepted as his spouse and help-meet; whence man and wife are united by an inseparable

bond (vers. 18, 21—24). Both lived in child-like, unconscious Innocence (ver. 25); but the serpent tempted the woman to eat of the forbidden fruit, assuring her that she would thereby attain the intellect and reason of God. She was persuaded, and gave her husband also of the fruit (iii. 1—6). They became at once aware of the state of nature in which they lived; they knew that they were naked; and when they heard the approach of God, they hid themselves in shame (vers. 7, 8). After interrogating them upon the reason of their concealment (vers. 9—13), God pronounced a severe curse against the serpent (vers. 14, 15), the woman (ver. 16), and the man (vers. 17—19), decreeing perpetual enmity between that animal and the human race, degradation of the former, and pain and toil of the latter.—The woman received the significant name of Eve (חַוָּה, ver. 20). God Himself provided clothes for the human couple (ver. 21). But lest they should eat of the tree of life also, they were expelled from the garden of Eden; and cherubs, with flaming swords, were placed at its entrance, to guard the access to that marvellous tree (vers. 22—24).

4. These *are* the generations of the heaven and of the earth when they were created. In the day when the Lord God made earth and heaven: 5. No plant of the field was yet on the earth, and no herb of the field did

4—6. The end of the following narrative is the fall of man, the origin of sin and of misery; the author approaches, therefore, this subject directly, without circuitous additions: nothing is superfluous, nothing idle embellishment. The fall of man is occasioned by the fruit of the tree of knowledge. It was, therefore, necessary to premise the origin of vegetation. It is produced by a *mist* (מִטָּה), which rises from the earth, descends in the shape of rain (ver. 5), and waters the whole ground (ver. 6). This is a perfectly correct notion of the nature of rain and of the causes of fertility (comp. Job xxxvi. 27). That it was not the only, perhaps not even the popular, conception among the ancient Hebrews, has been observed above (p. 21). According to the Lamaic (a Buddhist) creed, golden clouds sent down, in primeval time, an immense quantity of water, which increased to a mighty sea; a foam appeared on it in the course of centuries, and from this foam man and all living creatures came forth; and from man came the gods (*Pallas*, Reise ii. 237). Thus the earth, and the beings that people it, existed before the gods; the universe is but the result of chance; not moral but physical laws were the creating agencies.

The name of God was, in the preceding

section, invariably *Elohim* (אֱלֹהִים); in this part it is almost as constantly *Jehovah Elohim* (יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים). In this combination *Elohim* stands in apposition to *Jehovah*; it seems to imply that *Jehovah* is the *Elohim* who created the world; that both words designate the same Being; and although they express different attributes of His nature, He is one, and the only framer of the universe. Thus the compound term *Jehovah Elohim* is far from indicating a spirit antagonistic to that of the first chapter; on the contrary, it confirms and strengthens it; it removes the possible misconception, that not *Jehovah*, as the God of Israel (Exod. vi. 3), but the universal Lord, *Elohim*, has produced the world. By the use of the name *Jehovah*, the narrative advances a very important step towards the peculiar theocratical character of the Pentateuch; but by combining it with *Elohim*, it reminds, also, of the Omnipotent Creator. The God of the Universe is the God of Israel; but the God of Israel is, at the same time, Governor of the whole world. In the first chapter, the mere external act of the creation of man was narrated; it was, therefore, sufficient to designate God as the all-powerful Being, as the God of gods, or *Elohim*; but the following section describes an internal change in the heart

yet sprout forth: for the Lord God had not caused it to rain upon the earth, nor *was there* a man to till the

of man; it delineates how sin took the place of innocence, and how misery succeeded happiness; it was, therefore, desirable to introduce God by a name, which implies holiness, which, by its mysterious signification, awes the heart, but which yet shows this Being as the Creator, and therefore *Jehovah Elohim* was employed. That this was really the idea of the Hebrew writer is evident from the striking fact that in the whole conversation with the serpent, not *Jehovah Elohim*, but simply *Elohim*, is used (iii. 1—5); it would have been a profanation to put the holy name of God in the tempter's mouth, or to pronounce it before his ears. Thus the identity of *Elohim* and *Jehovah* having once been impressed, it was not necessary to repeat this composition later, except on peculiar occasions. Wherever it is subsequently employed, it adds pathos and emphasis to the ideas; but the nature of this emphasis is always coloured by the context in which it occurs; it is not necessarily the same as that obvious in this our passage (comp. Exod. ix. 30; Josh. xxii. 22; 1 Sam. vi. 20, etc.; the greatest analogy with our instance has Jonah iv. 6, where, also, an act of creation is combined with an act of retributive justice). Thus many singular explanations lose their ground; *Jehovah Elohim* does not imply, for instance, that Jehovah was considered the highest of other though less powerful gods (*Bohles*); nor that it introduces a second cosmogony opposed to the first, in the same manner as the creation of Jupiter to that of Saturn (*Haase*).

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—This portion is introduced by a heading, which is certainly of a very general character, but intimates, with sufficient clearness, that the events date back to a time very near the creation of the world. It comprises the words: "These are the generations (*תולדות*) of the heavens and of the earth, when they were created" (ver. 4); it does not include the second part of

the same verse, for that would imply an intolerable repetition, and it would be very inappropriate to commence a new narrative with "and all" (*וכל*, ver. 5). Nor is the fourth verse, either entirely or in its first part, to be taken as a conclusion to the *preceding* section; the phrase *אלה תולדות* points, wherever it occurs, to the following part (v. 1, x. 1, etc.); and without this introduction, the succeeding narration would be abrupt. But the opinion, that the fourth verse ought to begin the Book of Genesis, and that it has been transposed by mistake (so Ilgen), is an hypothesis, which it is sufficient to mention.—The word *תולדות* is here to be taken in a more comprehensive sense than in many other passages; we cannot understand it in its first and literal meaning, "generations" (from *ילד*, xxv. 13; Exod. vi. 16); for this applies to persons rather than to things (v. 2); and the phrase, "the generations of the heaven and the earth," is necessarily figurative; it implies the development, the further progress of the world. It is a frequent Biblical metaphor to speak of the earth, the heaven, and the mountains as "born" or "brought forth by birth" (Ps. xc. 2: *תולדות השמים ו'נ*); the term, *תולדות השמים ו'נ*, means, therefore, here, the advancing stages of the world; and it includes thus naturally, though but incidentally, the history of man, as the chief object of the created universe. And this circumstance renders the use of *תולדות* the more appropriate (comp. vi. 9). The Septuagint translates *ἡ βίβλος γενέσεως* like *ספר תולדות* in v. 1 (comp. Nehem. vii. 5).—The small *ה* in *בהבראם* points to the *Kal* *בהבראם*, as in v. 1, not to the *Hophal* *בְּהִבְרָאָם*.

*In the day* (*ביום*) is a general expression: "in the time, or when" (comp. v. 1); and such terms are usually succeeded by *ו* (comp. Exod. xvi. 6: *ערב וידעתם*: "in the evening, then you shall know"); therefore here *וכל* in ver. 5 (comp. iii. 5, v. 1, xl. 9). In 2 Sam. xix. 36, *היום* means

ground. 6. And there rose a mist from the earth, and watered the whole surface of the ground. 7. And the

*at present*, not exactly *to-day*. To the instances adduced on p. 44, concerning the more extended *poetical* use of the word *day*, we may add Hebr. iii. 7—9, where the “day of temptation” is explained by “forty years” (comp. Jer. l. 31; Ps. cii. 3, etc.). — $\text{עץ}$ , which root signifies in Syriac to germinate, to put forth shoots, implies the stronger plants of the field, the shrubs and the arboreous species (Job xxx. 4); and though originally possessing a somewhat different meaning, it is here evidently parallel with “tree” ( $\text{עץ}$ ) in the preceding chapter (vers. 11, 12); whilst  $\text{כל עשב}$  comprises all the other classes of vegetation, the grass and herbs. — $\text{עש}$ , *not yet*, always construed with the future or imperfect  $\text{יהיה}$ ,  $\text{עש}$  (see Exod. ix. 30, x. 7, and our notes there).—The Sept. and Syriac render  $\text{מקור}$  incorrectly *spring*, *fountain* ( $\pi\eta\eta\acute{\eta}$ ; Aquila,  $\epsilon\pi\phi\lambda\upsilon\gamma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ ); but the

Arabic analogy ( $\text{أيل}$ ) shows that  $\text{מקור}$  means something which veils and envelopes, therefore *mist*, *vapour*.

7. The earth filled itself, by spontaneous growth, with herbs and trees; a fertilising rain supported the productive strength of the virgin soil; and the surface of the globe stood adorned by the benignant care of the Creator. But all this luxuriance of vegetation was not destined to bloom merely as a gay ornament; it was ordained to serve the purposes of a higher being; and though the animals might always find in abundance the freely-growing herbs, which sufficed for their food, their future rulers were to owe their subsistence to their own exertion; they were intended to “till the ground.” It was, then, the will of God, that His representatives on earth should learn early the dignity of work; they should imitate Him in His unceasing activity also; unlike the golden age of the heathens, the state of Paradise, even, should be exalted by the energy of labour; the Eden, even, should be guarded and cultivated by man (ver. 15): the genius of nations is mirrored

in their gods; the deities of the Olympus are “living without duty and care” ( $\rho\acute{\epsilon}\iota\alpha\ \zeta\acute{\omega}\nu\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ , Od. iv. 805); but the God of Israel “does not sleep and does not slumber” (Ps. cxxi. 3, 4). In this seal man might still resemble Him (Isa. v. 27); but God “does not weary, and is not fatigued” (Isa. xl. 28); this great privilege was forfeited by man through his fall; he was doomed thenceforth to “eat his bread in the sweat of his brow” (iii. 19).

Thus God formed man ( $\text{אדם}$ ) of the dust of the earth ( $\text{אֶרֶץ}$ ). Though bearing the seal of the Most High, he is like “a transitory shadow,” like a “vessel in the potter’s hand.” He might harbour a noble pride, but he must temper it with fear and humility; a consciousness of his Divine origin might fill him with lofty aspirations, but the recollection of his frailty must teach him lowly resignation to a higher will; he might sow for eternity, but he must be prepared to leave the harvest to other reapers. He combines earth and heaven, mind and matter, animal and Divine life, nothingness and infinity. And the great reconciler of all these conflicting antagonisms is God, who has framed the body in the darkness of the earth, but granted the soul from the spheres of eternal light (Job x. 8—11; Eccl. xii. 7; Isai. ii. 22, xix. 11; comp. *Eurip.*, Suppl. 531).—The origin of man from the earth is a notion extensively adopted; it was prevalent not only among the Greeks and Romans, but among the Peruvians, who believed that the world was peopled by four men and four women; and that whilst the soul is immortal, the body consists of clay, “because it becomes again earth;” among the Collas, the Caribbees, and the North American Indians, who maintain that man lived long in the interior of the earth, till an egress to the surface was discovered, where they were tempted to remain by the abundance of excellent game (*Heckewelder*, *Indian Nations*, 241—244). It was familiar to the ancient Egyptians, who considered man

Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man be-

to have been formed from the slime of the Nile (*Mod. Sic.* i. 10; *Aristoph. Aves* 666); to the Hindoos, who think the human body either composed of five elements, or consisting of earth alone (*Colebrooke, Essays* i. 245); to the Chinese, who believe that man was shaped from yellow clay; and to several other ancient tribes. Others derive the origin of man as confidently from the water (as the Lamas), or from a mixture of earth and blood (as the Chaldeans; *Berosus, Fragm.* p. 26, ed. Cory); whilst the Persians are convinced that a certain tree (*Reivas*), produced by the seed of the man-bull Kaiomorta, was animated by Ormuzd, and transformed into the first human pair: and few nations only avow their ignorance with regard to this mysterious question (comp. notes on i. 24—31).

In the classical writings we find many analogous passages regarding the nature of man. Euripides says: "The body returns to the earth, from whence it was framed, and the spirit ascends to the ether" (*Suppl.* 532—534); and still more distinctly Lucretius: "The earth is justly called our mother: that which first arose from the earth, returns back into the earth; and that which was sent down from the regions of the sky, the regions of the sky again receive when carried back to them" (ii. 997—1000). Similar sentiments are found in other Greek and Roman authors (*Phocyl.*, 102; *Virg. Æn.*, iii. 94, 95; *Luc.*, vii. 818; etc.).

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—אָדָם man, brought into etymological connection with אֶרֶץ, is the earth-born, frail, mortal (γηγενής, αὐτόχθων), whose body returns to the element from which it was taken (iii. 19; *Ecdl.* xii. 7; *Job* x. 9; compare the Latin *homo* and *humus*); it hardly implies, that man is the ruler of the earth, and much less, that he combines the nature of all other terrestrial creatures; the word אֶרֶץ may be referred to the root אָרָא to be red, with regard to the red soil of Palestine; it is, further, not impossible

that man was originally called אָדָם on account of the red colour of his skin (comp. *Joseph., Antiq.* I. i. 2), just as the Chinese represent man as kneaded of yellow earth, and the red Indians of red clay: but the Hebrew writer found this derivation of too external a nature; it expresses nothing of the true character or life of man; it conveys no lesson; he, therefore, added another explanation from אֶרֶץ earth, which suggests a great truth, and enjoins an important doctrine. The analogies to which we have alluded prove, moreover, that the personal appearance of the tribes, not the nature of the soil which they inhabited, determined the form of their legends regarding the origin of man.—Others derive אָדָם from אָדָם, equivalent to אָדָם (*Ezek.* xix. 10), to mark man as that being, which is created after the image of God (thus, *Einhorn, Richers*, and others). But this etymology is not happier than the derivation of אָדָם earth, from אָדָם to *run*, which the former scholar proposed in order to establish the claim of the ancient Hebrews as exact astronomers. But it may be observed, that in the Phœnician language, the very close relationship of which with the Hebrew idiom has recently received an additional confirmation from the interesting inscription of the sarcophagus of Eshmun-Ezer, king of Sidon, אָדָם was sometimes used in the sense of אָדָם blood: not only is this word so employed in that epitaph, but also in the celebrated inscription of Marseilles (comp. *Munk, Essai sur l'Inscription Phénicienne du Sarcophage D'Eshmoun-Ezer*, etc., p. 7). If this circumstance can at all be employed to ascertain the original meaning of אָדָם man, it points to the red colour of the Caucasian tribes.

צָר, being a verb of forming, is construed with the double accusative, of the material (עָפָר), and of the object (אָתָּה); see notes on *Exod.* xii. 39, and xx. 22.—Man is formed of clay; this frame receives the "breath of life" (רוּחַ); compare *Job* xxxiii. 4, or the "spirit of

came a living being.—8. And the Lord God planted a garden in Eden eastward; and there He placed the man whom

God" (רוח אלחים, Job xxvii. 3; xxxiv. 14); and becomes thus a "living being" (נפש חיה; see on i. 20). The higher intellectual capacity of man is here not indicated; it is the tendency of this section to show the progress of man from the state of instinct to that of reason; in that stage he is, in his will and activity, only a part of the general animal creation; he is, in his physical nature, merely a נפש חיה, like the other animals (vers. 19, 24, 30; i. 21); possesses, like them, נשמה (vii. 22), and is earth-born (אדמה), like them (ii. 7, 19): he has, by an internal crisis, to advance to manhood, to acquire his superiority, and to rise to a resemblance with God. The word נפש, therefore, does here not include reason or the higher rational faculties, as the Targum renders it, רוח סמללל, speaking, reasoning spirit (λογικὸν πνεῦμα); it is not the νοῦς of the Greeks, nor the *animus* of the Latins, in contradistinction to the *anima* (*Juvenal*, xv. 149), nor the soul, as Josephus adds (πνεῦμα καὶ ψυχή), nor the "breath of God" of the Hindoos, in opposition to the "breath of life." But the roots נשם, נשף, and נפש, have a close affinity, and are nearly synonymous, they all signify to breathe and breeze (compare רוּחַ); hence the phrase רוּחַ חיים נשמת is used both with reference to men and to animals (vii. 22; comp. 2 Sam. xxii. 16; Isai. xlii. 5; Job xxxiv. 14; Ps. civ. 29). The difference between נשמה and נפש, in our passage, is too clear to require a further explanation; but both words are, by the addition of חיים and חיה, sufficiently characterised as describing the *physical* life. It is quite erroneous to suppose, from our verse, that the *spirit* was breathed into the body, which was thus endowed with *life*; and that, by the amalgamation of the spirit with the body, the *soul* developed itself. The Old Testament gives no support to such opinions as that of Justin: "the body is the domicile for the soul, but the soul is the domicile for the spirit"; or of Irenæus, who enter-

tains, at least, the latter part of this view; but, after such precedents, it is not to be wondered at that modern scholars should assert: "the human soul stands in the same relation to the human spirit as the Divine doxa to the trinity in the Divine Being" (*Delitzsch*, *Bibl. Psychol.*, p. 69); or, "the difference between spirit and soul coincides entirely with that between man and woman"; that both live in a connubium; that the spirit of man is, "as it were, the husband of the soul" (*Ibid.*, p. 74, 75). However, it must be admitted, that in the later books of the Bible, the words נשמה, רוח, and נפש, seem to be employed in the higher sense of soul or Divine spirit (Isai. xxvi. 9; Ps. li. 12; Job xxvii. 3; Eccl. xii. 7; comp. iii. 21): although it is very precarious, in poetical diction, to distinguish with accuracy whether the principle of the animal or of the higher spiritual life is intended (Isai. ii. 22; lvii. 16; Jer. xxxviii. 16; Zachar. xii. 1). A clear distinction between the origin of the physical and the spiritual man is nowhere given in the Old Testament. It is, then, probable, that the words רוח, נפש, and נשמה, had originally an almost identical meaning in the Hebrew language; but that gradually, as mental culture and psychological observation advanced, they were all applied to the characteristic functions of man. The distinctions which subtle reasoners have proposed are all fictitious and hazardous; and we refer, as an instance, to *Delitzsch*, *Bibl. Psychol.*, p. 59—63.

8, 9. The first man was placed in Eden, in order to enjoy undisturbed peace and felicity. A description of this happy abode was therefore necessary. It abounded in every production which delights the senses; ornament and utility were equally provided for; but in the midst of it, and forming its very heart (בתוך הני), were two wonderful trees, bearing more precious fruit than the rest; they did not afford a merely momentary enjoyment; their effects were as lasting



He had formed. 9. And the Lord God caused to grow out of the ground every tree that is pleasant to the sight and good for food, and the tree of life in the midst of the garden, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil.

as they were miraculous; the one secured eternal life (עֵץ הַחַיִּים): the other roused the slumbering intellect; it taught reason to reflect; and enabled the judgment to distinguish between moral good and moral evil (עֵץ הַדַּעַת טוֹב וְרָע). Man was then still undiscovering, and, therefore, irresponsible and guiltless (Jonah iv. 11); he was in the state of harmless childhood (Deut. i. 32); he was not yet called upon "to reject the evil and to choose the good" (Isai. vii. 15), or to pursue, with self-conscious energy, the way of virtue and glory (comp. *Homer*, *Odys.* xviii. 227, 228; *Horat.*, *Epist.*, II. ii. 44, 45). The "knowledge of good and evil" does not, therefore, merely apply to the external senses, nor to the perception of decorum in dress and manners; it includes all the nobler faculties of man, which distinguish him, and permit him to claim relationship with the Creator Himself. And around these trees centres the interest of our narrative. The tree of life has analogies in the "king of trees," *Hom* (or Gokenen), which the Persians believed to grow at the spring Arduisur, issuing from the throne of Ormuzd; and in the tall *Kalpaurksham* (or pilpel) of the Indians, to which was also ascribed the power of securing immortality, and every other blessing. But the tree of knowledge may be compared with the well of wisdom in northern mythology, from which even the great god Odin drinks, and which gives knowledge even to the wise Mimer.

The garden was planted in the east (מִקְדָּם), in the region of light, where the sun sends his first and purest rays; in that region with which the notions of joy and splendour were naturally associated.

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—The Hebrew word עֵץ expresses sufficiently the nature of the place; it signifies (like the

Arabic غَدَن, *Kamus* ii. 786, and the

Greek ἡδονή), *delight, beautifulness* (comp. *Isai.* li. 3; *Ezek.* xxviii. 13; *xxxi.* 9, 16, 18; *Joel* ii. 3; *Koran* ix. 73; *xx.* 78); it is synonymous with *Hedenesh* or *Heden*, the birth-place of Zoroaster, meaning, "the abode of rest" (*Zend-avesta* ii. 53). The Sept. renders in ver. 15: *παράδεισος* τῆς ἡρώης; and the Vulg. in ver. 8: *paradisus voluptatis*. Eden is scarcely to be traced to the Sanscrit *Udayan*, a garden; the root is evidently Semitic; and עֵדֶן would be "a garden in a garden." But Eden is here still a proper noun, as is evident from *iv.* 16; עֵדֶן means, therefore, not "a garden in a delightful region," nor is Eden a permanent dwelling, an abode of

long life, or a *macrobia* (like عدن in Arabic); for the tree of life is, as will soon be shown, a less characteristic and important part of Eden than the tree of knowledge; but it is "a garden, in a place called Eden."

It is clear that עֵדֶן does not mean here "from the beginning," as *Aquila*, *Theodot.*, and others understand it (ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ἐν πρώτοις), explaining that the Eden was created before the world.—The Septuagint and Symmachus render the garden (ἐν) here with *Paradies* (παράδεισος), which word is probably of Persian, or perhaps Armenian, origin, signifying an enclosed park with pleasure-gardens and wild animals (compare עֵדֶן in *Nehem.* ii. 8; *Eccles.* ii. 5; *Cant.* iv. 13; *Xenophon*, *Anab.* i. 2, 4; *Cyrop.* i. 4, etc.; *Kamus*, i. 784; *Pollux*, *Onomast.* ix. 3; Arabic *firdaus*, *Koran* xxiii. 11; Sanscrit *paradeesha*; Armenian *perdez*); the proper noun *Firdusi* is derived from עֵדֶן, although the writer of that name uses always the word *behischt*. "The diminutive 'Fureidis' in Arabic is applied in Palestine to the 'Frank Mountain,' from its vicinity to Solomon's Garlens at Urtas" (*Stanley*, *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 507). Such gar-

10. And a river goeth out of Eden to water the garden; and from thence it parteth itself, and becometh to four arms.

11. The name of the first is Pison: that is it which compasseth the whole land of Havilah, where *there is* the

dens surrounded commonly the palaces of the kings and of the wealthy (2 Ki. xxv. 4; Jerem. xxxix. 4). Later, the word paradise seems to have been applied for a garden of whatever description (Sirach xxiv. 40; xl. 17, 28; Josephus, Antiq., VIII. vii. 3; Contr. Apion. i. 20), or for the blessed abode of the pious after death (Luke xxiii. 43; 2 Cor. xii. 4; Revel. ii. 7).

10—14. The Eden is geographically described in a manner which leaves no doubt, that a distinct locality was before the mind of the author, and which enables us to fix its general position with some probability. We have attempted this in our remarks, pp. 92—102. We, therefore, limit ourselves here to some brief observations. A river (נָחַל) went out of Eden to water the garden; it is by no means said to have had its source there; it branched out "from thence" (שָׁם), that is, evidently, from the garden, or, at least, from Eden, in those four streams which were chiefly important to the Israelites. In the same manner, the Persians traced the origin of all the streams of the earth to the fountain Ardehsur (compare Käster, Erläuterungen, p. 161).

This principal river divided into four heads (רָאשֵׁי), that is, *arms*; for, after the *parting* only, the stream can be said to send forth arms.

The four rivers diverge to the four parts of the earth, embellishing and fructifying the countries. Beyond this obvious sense we must not seek any hidden symbolical meaning in the number four; for instance, as typifying proportion and order; or the four cardinal virtues; or prophetically foreshadowing the four great monarchies (Daniel vii.).

The first arm, Pison, traversed the land of Havilah, which is distinguished by three productions: 1. *Gold* (זָהָב), which is described as *good*, that is, *pure* (2 Chr. iii. 4).

—2. *Bedolah* (בְּדֹלַח), of which we know only, that the manna, which was like coriander-seed and hoar-frost, resembled it (Num. xi. 7; Exod. xvii. 14). If we consider, that the pearl-fisheries of the Persian Gulf were justly celebrated, and of peculiar value, the opinion of the later Rabbinical writers (as Saadiah, Kimchi, and others), that בְּדֹלַח is *pearl*, appears inviting (comp., also, Bochart, Hieroz., ii. 674—683). But it is evident, that this opinion is merely conjectural. The greatest part of the critics, following the authority of Josephus, Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodot, have declared themselves in favour of *bdellium* (βδέλλιον). This is, according to Pliny, the gum of a tree (Amyris Agallochum) growing in Arabia, India, and Babylon, whitish, resinous, and pellucid, and nearly the colour of frankincense; when broken it appears the colour of wax, with grains like frankincense, but larger (comp. Gesen., Thes., p. 180). The only objection which has been made against this acceptation is, that this gum cannot be so precious as to be named together with gold and onyx. But it is not necessary, that all these articles should be particularly valuable; they are only introduced to characterise the land of Havilah; if the bdellium abounded there in a peculiar degree, the propriety of its being mentioned here cannot be questioned; but its importance might have been materially modified in the course of time; a memorable instance is silk, which was once so precious, that it was considered the height of extravagance in a Roman emperor to wear a dress made wholly of that material; gold and precious stones are elsewhere also mentioned together with spices and aromatics (1 Ki. x. 2, 10, etc.). It seems, indeed, more appropriate to compare the manna with the globular resinous substance exuding from trees, than with pearls. In matters of antiquity, which cannot be

gold; 12. And the gold of that land is good: there is the bdellium and the onyx stone. 13. And the name of the second river is Gihon: that is it which compasseth the whole land of Cush. 14. And the name of the third

decided by any positive proof, tradition is, perhaps, the safest guide; and in foreign products, the identity of names (בדלל and βδέλλιον) is no despicable criterion, since, generally, the one is introduced with the other (compare Comm. on Exod., pp. 487—489).—The third production was the *onyx-stone* (בדלל ויהבן), about which we refer to our Commentary on Exodus, p. 538.

It might be supposed, that the four rivers which proceeded from Eden, and then fertilized the principal parts of the whole earth, were distinguished by their extraordinary qualities; and this is, indeed, the case. The Indus was famous as the holy river of some of the mightiest and most ancient nations; the Tigris was remarkable for its uncommon swiftness; and the Nile and Euphrates for the sweetness and excellence of their water.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS. — נהר is, then, really a river or stream; it is not merely an abundance of water, or a multitude of springs; so that it does not suffice to point out any region in Asia from which a number of rivers arises (so Michaelis, Verbrugge; comp. *Jahn*, Archæol. I. i. 28). But it is still less “a number of rills and rivulets dispersed throughout the ground,” as Pye Smith labours to prove in a fanciful, though poetical, description of Eden (*Kitto*, Cyclop. ii. 471).

פְּאֵי is not *sources*, as it is frequently explained, although, in Latin, ‘caput fluminis’ is both the source and the mouth of a river (*Virg.*, Georg. iv. 368; *Horat.*, Satyr. I. x. 37), nor *channels*. Nor is פְּאֵי here a *little rivulet* (“the beginning of a stream”), which becomes later a great river (*Kæster*). In ver. 13, נהר is simply used instead of פְּאֵי.

Two other Biblical countries, besides Havilah, are mentioned as gold-lands: Ophir, which is sometimes even coupled with Havilah (x. 29; see note there), and Sheba (see notes on x. 7, 28). —

The opinions, that בְּדֵלָם is ruby (ἀνθραξ), or crystal (κρύσταλλος), or beryl, or moschus, are without any foundation (comp. *Isidor.*, Orig. xvii. 8; *Dioscor.*, i. 71; *Celsius*, Hierobot. i. 324; *Lassen*, Ind. Alterth. i. 538). — הַחַיִּילָה with the article, like גִּיחֹן and בִּישָׁן in Josh. xvii. 5; עֵינֹן, Jerem. xxv. 20, etc. — The identity of Hiddekel and Tigris being incontestably established, we can find no serious difficulty in the Biblical notice, that it flows קְרֹמֶת אֲשׁוּר, which words are generally rendered: “toward the east of Assyria.” But, as the Tigris was considered as the *western* boundary of that empire, it was generally endeavoured to remove this discrepancy by observing, that the term אֲשׁוּר includes Babylonia and Mesopotamia also; that it extended, therefore, to the Euphrates, which river is even used as a symbol of the monarchy of Babylon (*Isai*. viii. 7); and that Assyria is applied in the same comprehensive sense, and even embracing all the lands to the Mediterranean, by most of the classical writers, as Herodotus, Strabo, Arrian, and others. But this opinion seems objectionable from the following cogent reasons: 1. In Genesis, the word אֲשׁוּר designates always the proper Assyria, which is situated in the east of the Tigris, between Armenia, Susiana, and Media (*Ptolem.* vi. 1); it is clearly distinguished from Babylon (see Gen. x. 10—12, 22, and our notes there); and the usage of later Biblical books can be no proof for the application in the earlier Pentateuch. But, 2., even if we admit this unsupported extension of the word, it does not remove the difficulty; for the Tigris would still not be in the east of Assyria; it would intersect the country; the provinces in the east of the Tigris remained a part of the Assyrian empire; and it would be very strange to designate the boundaries of a country by the newly acquired territory,

river is Hiddekel: that is it which floweth before Assyria. And the fourth river, that is Euphrates. 15. And the Lord God took the man, and brought him into the garden of Eden to till it and to guard it. 16. And the

without regard to the old and more important provinces. We take, therefore, קרמט here in its primary and original signification of *before*, or in the face of, like קרם in Ps. cxxxix. 5, and Isa. ix. 11, where it is opposed to אחר. Seen from Palestine or any western country, the Tigris flows *before* the old Assyrian empire; and, thus, both the genius of the language, and ancient geography obtain their right. The Septuagint also translates קרמט אשור by κατέναντι Ἀσσυρίων; and Strabo (ii. p. 84) mentions the town Ninos, in the east of the Tigris, as the capital of Syria, that is, of Assyria (comp. Herod. vii. 63; Strab. xvi. p. 736). But to translate, "the Tigris flowed in the eastern part of Assyria," would be arbitrary.

About the exquisite taste of the waters of the Nile, we refer to our note on Exod. vii. 18; and about the Euphrates, to *Re-land*, Dissert. misc., i. 47, 48.—The name פרת is either to be derived from פרה

to be fertile, or, more probably, from פרת to be sweet. Josephus writes, that it denotes either "dispersion," or "flower." The old Persian name is *Ufrāta*; but this does not justify us in reading, with Rawlinson, הוואפרת as one word.

15. Eden was prepared for the reception of man; its locality has, by way of parenthesis, been described; the text returns now to a former statement (ver. 8), and repeats, that Paradise was assigned to man as his delightful abode; but it adds significantly, that it became the duty of man "to cultivate and to guard it"; he should not only protect it against the inroads of the animals which were to be created, but maintain, by his own labour, its primitive beauty; thus only would the fruits remain delightful to his sight, and refreshing to his taste (ver. 9). But we do not see in these words any resemblance to the Persian myth, that Ormuzd com-

manded the first man to guard the Paradise against the power of the evil genius which had penetrated into the world, especially against snow, and frost, and sterility. How could man prevent this? If Ormuzd is powerless against Ahriman, how should a mortal prevail? But no such warfare was necessary. The universe had just been finished, and declared perfect.—The Hebrew writer manifests his genius often by using and modifying the common eastern traditions,—but much more frequently by rejecting them, where they would either fail to enhance, or where they would destroy, the purity of his conceptions.

16, 17. The important command which occasions the catastrophe in the history of man is given; all the trees of Paradise are dedicated to his enjoyment; the tree of knowledge alone is forbidden; and a participation of its fruits is threatened with death. Adam was originally designed by God for perpetual life; he was destined for unceasing happiness in childlike simplicity; but he should not, like God, combine eternal life with discerning wisdom; it was so ordained, not from any motive of envy on the part of the Deity, but for his own felicity. Though he was, therefore, permitted to eat of the tree of life, he was severely forbidden to taste of the fruits of the tree of knowledge. But he was disobedient; he acquired the Divine intelligence by tasting of the former (iii. 22); and he thus called death upon himself; and, lest he should eat again of the latter, and thus counteract and frustrate the Divine punishment, he was excluded from the garden where it grew; for, after his disobedience, any *previous* participation of the tree of life, was without effect. This is evidently the train of thought delineated in the Biblical narrative. The historian was deeply engaged with the problem why death was necessary in the human race;

Lord God commanded the man, saying, Of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat: 17. But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it:

why God impresses man with His own image, if He so soon destroys him. This question was especially important to the Israelite, who so eminently valued a long life in the land which the Lord had promised. Many later writers, indeed, found death a jarring discord in the universal harmony; and if they regarded the world as perfect, they did not forget to point to death as the only great and awful evil. The Hebrew writer intended to solve this problem; and he teaches us, that this discord was not designed by God, that this evil was not intended by the benign Creator; it was man alone "by whose sin Death entered the world"; it was his disobedience which destroyed the beautiful harmony that originally pervaded the creation. But God is loving even while He chastises. Man lost a great boon by his levity, but God granted him a greater gift in its stead; He bestowed upon him that intelligence which raises him to the dignity of the self-conscious master of the earth. Man forfeited the easy material existence of Paradise; but he attained in its place a spiritual life which breaks through all earthly limits; which conquers time, and reaches with its thoughts and its deeds to the gates of eternity.—It has frequently been asserted, that the Pentateuch never alludes to the question of immortality. It treats it, in its innermost bearings, at the very beginning of Genesis.—It seems, therefore, perfectly erroneous to maintain, that man "was born mortal, and should remain mortal" (so even *Tuck*, p. 49). If this were the intention of the text, the threat of God, "when thou eatest thereof thou must surely die" (ver. 17), would have no meaning. For those words do not contain the menace of instantaneous death; nor was the punishment later "mitigated" by the Divine mercy; the first pair lived a very great number of years after the fall; they were obliged to experience long themselves the

effects of the Divine curse; they must themselves struggle with all the hardships of a laborious life; for justice demanded, that they should not suffer less than their guiltless descendants; if they were, therefore, originally mortal, it would have been idle and superfluous to threaten them that they would become so.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—It is maintained, that the first pair, though born mortal, did not, before their sin, *know* this fact; and that the punishment consisted in their becoming *conscious* of their transitory existence; but this idea has no foundation whatever in the Biblical text; the punishment would thus not have been the infliction of a real evil, but the morbid play of the imagination with an existing one; innocence would have had no positive advantage, and disobedience no tangible retribution. And how is it possible to translate מוֹת תָּמוּת "thou shalt become *conscious* of death"? The simple future has never this elliptical signification. The explanation of Symmachus, "thou shalt be mortal" (θνήσκεις) is, therefore, perfectly correct; although the sense is, in our context, sufficiently expressed by the literal translation: "when thou eatest thereof thou must die." On the day of his disobedience, man sows the germ of his death; the process of dissolution begins with his sin; and the gradual decline ends with a return to the dust (comp. Hos. xiii. 1; *Virg.*, *Æn.*, iv. 169: *Ille dies primus leti fuit*).—But this view is not identical with the opinion of some expositors, that *dying* signifies "the forfeiture of all claims to a holy and happy life"; that it therefore means, here, *spiritual* death, since morality is life, and the transgressor "dies" in the act of sinning. The destruction of man's *physical* existence alone is here alluded to; and the tree from which the first parents ate, was the tree of godlike *knowledge*, which produces *spiritual* life, and not spiritual

for when thou eatest thereof thou must surely die.—  
18. And the Lord God said, *It is not good that the man should be alone; I will make him a help meet for him.*

death. The frequent phrase *בן מות הוּא* means, likewise, only, he becomes guilty of, or liable to, capital punishment.—וְהָיָה, here construed with *על* (as in xxviii. 6), is usually followed by the accusative of the person (iii. 11, etc.).—About *אָכַל תֹּאכֵל* (ver. 16) “thou *mayest* eat,” compare *Ewald, Crit. Gram., § 265*; and about *לֹא תֹאכַל* “thou *shalt* not eat,” *ibid.*, § 573.

18—20. The writer's end is the history of man's fall; the serpent occasions, the wife shares it; it is, therefore, necessary to introduce the creation of the animals, and of woman. This is done in a manner which touches a deep chord in the nature of man, his sociable disposition; he feels the necessity of bestowing and receiving affection; his heart requires feeling beings to respond to his emotions, and his intellect demands minds by the contact with which the spark of thought may be kindled: “it is not good that man should be alone.” God determined, therefore, to furnish him “a help at his side” (*עֹזֵר כְּנֶגְדּוֹ*). He, accordingly, created first the animals, all the beasts of the field, and the birds of the air. They were, indeed, “a help” to man. They enlivened his solitude; they increased his happiness by showing their susceptibility to the bounties of nature spread around them; and as no enmity existed yet among their tribes; as they did not yet prey upon each other, and the herb of the field sufficed for their food: they did not disturb the universal peace which pervaded the creation, nor did they force man to a sanguinary self-defence. The general clemency, we may say sympathy, with which the animals are provided for in the Pentateuch, removes every surprise at the close relation which they are here made to occupy with regard to man; and this will appear the more appropriate, if we consider that the man of Paradise, with his intellect yet unawakened, and uncontrolled instinct as his safe but only guide, stood, indeed,

much nearer to the general animal kingdom; the creation of man and of the beasts is narrated in exactly the same terms; both are “formed out of earth” (ver. 7, and ver. 19); and both have “the breath of life” (vi. 7; vii. 22): though bearing the seal and image of God, man was unconscious of his superiority.

But a greater proximity between man and animals must not be sought; we must not find here a perfect equality of both; the tenour of our text is far from coinciding with the belief of the Moham-medans, that all creatures have immortal souls, and participate in the resurrection; or with that of the Hindoos, that all souls come from Brahman; or of the Buddhists, that every breath of life is indestructible (*As. Res.*, vi. 270; vii. 35); or of the Egyptians, that the soul of no animal is lost, but enters the body of another creature; or of the North American Indians, that in the other world all souls will meet, but with the same distinctions under which they existed on earth. All this is against the spirit of the Old Testament; such notions are the result of morbid speculations; and they are in the Book of Ecclesiastes passingly alluded to, only in order to be distinctly and emphatically denied (iii. 20, 21; xii. 8).

Man was certainly the superior master of nature. This is evident from the next feature which our text mentions. God brought the animals which He had created to man, to “see what he would call them”; and the names chosen by man were to remain to them for ever. This is the first act by which man exercised his sovereignty; and although his intellect was not yet roused, he was sufficiently endowed for that task; for he had been capable of understanding the Divine command and of representing to himself death. In the first cosmogony, God Himself fixed the names of the objects which He had called into existence; He determined the appellations of Day and Night, of Heaven, and Sea,

19. And the Lord God formed out of the ground every beast of the field, and every fowl of the air; and brought them to the man to see how he would call them: and whatsoever the man called every living creature, that *was* its name. 20. And the man gave names to all cattle, and to the fowl of the air, and to every beast of the field; but

and Dry Land. Here He cedes this right to man, whom He has ordained "to have dominion over all the earth." The name was, according to Hebrew and Eastern writers in general, an integral part of the object itself; it was not deemed indifferent; it was no conventional sign; it was an essential attribute. When God revealed Himself to Moses in the burning bush, the latter hastened to enquire under what name He wished to be announced to the Israelites. When a crisis in the life of an individual was imminent, or had been successfully overcome, his name was changed into another one expressive of that event. Kings, at their elevation to the throne, assumed another name (2 Ki. xxiii. 34; xxiv. 17). To "know the name of God" was identical with knowing His internal nature, and even with piously walking in His precepts (Ps. xci. 14; xx. 8; see notes on Exod. ii. 18; iii. 13). The right, therefore, of determining the names includes authority and dominion; but man did not perform this act of his own accord; he did not yet feel his exalted rank; but God, by inviting him to perform it, made him govern over the works of His hands, and placed all under his feet (Ps. viii. 7). It has been frequently observed, that our text explains the origin of language, and attributes its invention solely to man. Language is, indeed, a spontaneous emanation of the human mind; it is implanted in his nature; in furnishing man, besides his external organisation, with reason and imagination, God bestowed upon him the principal elements for communication by speech; it is as natural a function of his intellect as reflection; intelligent speech is one of the chief characteristics of man; hence the ancient Greek poets call men simply the "speech-gifted" (*μῆπορες*); the germ

was bestowed by God; man had to do no more than to cultivate it. But our author does not enter upon this abstruse question at all; it is of no practical importance for religious truth; it must have appeared superfluous to one who knows God as the Creator and Framer of all, as the Bestower of every gift, as Him who "hath made man's mouth, and who maketh dumb" (Exod. iv. 11). — Pythagoras, and other ancient philosophers, justly considered the invention of names for objects an act of the highest human wisdom (*Cicero*, *Tusc.*, i. 251); and the Chinese ascribed it to their first and most honoured sovereign Fo-hi, who performed this task so well, that "by naming the things their very nature was made known" (*Chou-king*, *Dis. Prél.*, p. 84).

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS. — The Septuagint, Vulgate, and Aquila translate *וַיִּשְׁמֶן* with the plural (*ποιήσαμεν*, *faciamus*, as in i. 26; see p. 56). — *לֹא* (ver. 19) refers to *כָּל חַי הַבָּשָׂר*, which is used as a collective masculine noun ("everything living"), which stands in apposition to *וְ*, and before which, therefore, the sign of the dative (*ל*) must be supplied: "whatever name man might give to it, namely to the living creature, that should be its name." — *בְּצִדּוֹ* (in vers. 18 and 20), literally, "at his side" (comp. *בְּצִדּוֹ לְאִשָּׁתוֹ* xxxiii. 12), meaning, evidently, *fit to form a couple with him*, not exactly "like him" (Sept., in ver. 20: *ὁμοιος αὐτῷ*; Vulg., *simile sibi*); nor "for his company." Aquila (*ὡς κατέναντι αὐτοῦ*), Symmachus (*ἀντιπρὸς αὐτοῦ*), and Septuagint (in ver. 18: *κατ' αὐτὸν*), translate the word literally, and thus do not at least exclude the correct conception. L. de Dieu, Rosenmüller, and some other modern interpreters, have proposed a disgraceful explan-

for the man he did not find a help meet for himself.—  
21. And the Lord God caused a sleep to fall upon the man, and he slept: and He took one of his ribs, and closed up the flesh in its place; 22. And the Lord God formed the rib, which He had taken from the man, into a woman, and brought her to the man. 23. And the man

ation.—Gesenius (*Theol.*, p. 847) explains: "that corresponds to him"; but he scarcely intended to convey the idea, that "the woman was created exactly with the same capacities as the man" (*Ginsburg*, *Song of Songs*, p. 13). To take לִנְיָ here in the sense of לִנְיָ "like his race" (*Ilgen*), is an attempt to evade the difficulty by an unfounded conjecture.—לִנְיָ (ver. 19) is not plu perfect.

21—24. As the names are not given at random, but are chosen with careful regard to the nature of the objects, Adam was led to examine the animals congregated around him; he felt them, indeed, in some respects kindred to himself, as "living creatures" (ver. 19); they were, in certain regards, a help to him, but not such a help as is meet for man (ver. 20), for a human soul—a help which satisfies the longing heart and calms the craving mind. And God created woman. We have above pointed out the extreme beauty of the following narrative, and have alluded to the sublime truths which it implies regarding the dignity of woman and the sacredness of matrimony. Strong and mighty indeed must that tie be, for whose sake man resigns all the fond associations of childhood; fervent must that love be which gains the ascendancy over the affection for father and mother. If the parents consider the son as the gift of God (*Pa.* cxxvii. 3), the son receives his wife as a special Divine gift (ver. 22). Many parents love their children more than all the world; the youth lavishes the whole wealth of his affections on her who sways his heart. The highest ideas of love, which are generally represented as the exclusive result of modern civilisation, are plainly expressed in the affecting narration of these two verses; they are not

obscurely or vaguely hinted at; the Hebrew writer unfolds them with an emphasis which shows his earnestness, his decision. Greek and Roman philosophers have invented many a myth, to explain the origin of conjugal life. But woman occupies in those tales generally either an invidious or a despicable position (see p. 89). There is one, however, which assigns to her a less inferior rank, but which is, on the other hand, so grotesque and extravagant, that it embodies no useful lesson, and is, practically, of very subordinate value. Aristophanes says, in the *Banquet* of Plato, that there existed originally a class of human beings, the offspring of the moon, who were at the same time male and female. These "men-women" had four hands and legs, and two faces upon a circular neck. But they were terrible in strength, and made an attempt against the gods. To weaken and to punish them, Jupiter divided them into two human beings, walking upon two legs, with the menace, that if they would still behave licentiously, he would again divide them, "so that they should go upon one leg, hopping," and "with their noses split down." Since this time, each half seeks with desire the other part of itself, and both long to grow again together; and if they see each other, they are struck with a wondrous kind of friendship, and are unwilling ever to be separated. And the cause is not sensual pleasure; "but the soul of each is evidently desirous of something else, which it is unable to tell."—We have omitted many frivolous features interspersed in this theory of Aristophanes; and its only point of contact with the Biblical narrative is the longing "to become one flesh" (compare, about similar notions, *Otho*, *Lex. Rabb.* p. 7;



said, This time *it is* bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh: SHE shall be called Woman, because SHE was taken out of Man. 24. Therefore shall a man leave his father

*Bartolucci*, Bibl. iii. 396; see *Tacit.* Germ. xix.).

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS. — תרדמה, sleep, is not always different from שנה, or תנומה (comp. Job xxxiii. 15); if *heavy* or *profound* sleep is to be expressed, "תרדמת" is used (1 Sam. xxvi. 12; see on Exod. iii. 1). Aquila aptly, *καταφορά*; Symmachus, *κάρος*; the Septuagint incorrectly, *ἔκστασις*. — תָּחַתָּהּ the same as תָּחַתֶּיהָ (comp. *Ewald*, Crit. Gr. § 466). — יָרָא אִשָּׁה, instead of תָּפָרָא, for the masculine of the verb is sometimes used, if it *precedes* the feminine substantive (*Ewald*, Crit. Gram. § 572). לָקַחָהּ instead of לָקַחָהּ, as קָדְמוֹ (in Pa. vii. 17), יִרְדָּקָהּ (*Ezek.* xxxv. 6). — In order to show, in the precise form possible, the close intimacy, almost the identity, of man and his wife, the *names* of both are brought into a close etymological connection; the woman is called אִשָּׁה, because she is taken from אִישׁ. It is of no great importance whether we trace both words to the same root אָנַשׁ, so that אִישׁ would be contracted from אָנַשׁ (equivalent to אִישׁ, and this prolonged to אִישׁ), and אִשָּׁה from אָנַשָּׁה; or whether we derive אִישׁ from a different root, and compare it with the Sanscrit *isha*, man, master. In favour of the former derivation, however, may be urged—1. the analogy of several other languages: in Sanscrit is *nara* man, *nari* woman; in Ethiopic the two words are *beesi* and *beesith*; in Latin, *vir* and *vira* (though the latter fell into disuse), or *vir* and *virgo* (*virago*). 2. Forms with dagesh forte are not seldom used promiscuously with those having a long chirek, as מְוֹרִינִים and מְוֹרִינִים, etc. (see *Gesen.* Lehrs. p. 145). 3. Our text traces evidently both words to the same origin.— However this may be, the popular belief of the Hebrews considered אִישׁ and אִשָּׁה as belonging to the same root; and this connection, here employed by the author to enjoin the inseparable unity of husband

and wife, exercised a most ennobling influence upon their notions concerning matrimony. Divorce, even, except for the crime of faithlessness, was considered a most reproachful act (*Matth.* xix. 3—9). We must, however, not forget to mention, that similar reflections are found in the holy books of the Hindoos and Persians: "the bone of woman is united with the bone of man, and her flesh with his flesh, as completely as a stream becomes one with the sea into which it flows" (*Asiat. Res.* vii. 309; *Manu*, ix. 22, 45; *Bohlen*, Alt. Ind. ii. 142). But these ideas remained a theory; they had no influence upon the real position of woman; whilst, in the Hebrew writings, they embodied the actual state of things; they were copied from reality; they were not intended to produce it.

25. One bold stroke is sufficient for a master-hand to stamp a character upon a picture. The state of childlike, unconscious innocence was to be described. It is a wide and great subject. The artistic genius of our author fully fixes it by the one remark, "that man and his wife were naked, and were not ashamed." They were still true children of nature. Sin was unknown to them; therefore they required no precaution to keep it afar. Passion did not attack their hearts; they needed, therefore, no arms to oppose and to crush it. Good and evil were notions not yet clearly defined; the strife of conflicting emotions and thoughts had not yet commenced; they inhabited the paradise, "clothed in their innocence alone." Instinct followed its own concordant laws; and shame, the daughter of nicely-discriminating conscience, slumbered in the vacant mind. Diodorus Siculus and Plato also mention nakedness as a feature of the golden age. But it is, in itself, no sign of innocence; many savage nations have retained that custom to periods when the purity of manners had long

and his mother, and shall cling to his wife: and they shall become one flesh.—25. And they were both naked, the man and his wife; and they were not ashamed.

passed away; they see no impropriety in nakedness; the maidens of Biasso and the Caribbees, the inhabitants of the coast of Guinea, and many races in the Indian Archipelago, despise clothes, as the Peruvians did before the time of Manco Capac. It is only in times when clothes have become customary that nakedness and shame are coupled.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—עָרֹם (like עֵרֹם in iii. 7), naked, whilst the same

word has, in the following verse, the signification of *shrewd*, *shy*; and is, in other passages, used in the favourable meaning of *prudent*, *intelligent* (Prov. xii. 16, 23, etc., φρόνιμος in Matth. x. 16). The word is, both in the sense of *naked* and *shrewd*, to be derived from the root עָרַם, which has these two fundamental significations; it is not, in the former sense, to be traced to עָוָר, or עָרָה, with which עֵרֹם (2 Chron. xxviii. 15) can never be connected.

## CHAPTER III.

### 1. Now the serpent was subtle, more than any beast of

1. Almost throughout the East the serpent was used as an emblem of the evil principle, of the spirit of disobedience and contumacy. A few exceptions only can be discovered. The Phenicians adored that animal as a beneficent genius; and the Chinese consider it as a symbol of superior wisdom and power, and ascribe to the kings of heaven (*tien-hoangs*) bodies of serpents. Some other nations fluctuated in their conceptions regarding the serpent. The Egyptians represented the eternal spirit Kneph, the author of all good, under the mythic form of that reptile; they understood the art of taming it, and embalmed it after death; but they applied the same symbol for the god of revenge and punishment (*Tithrambo*), and for Typhon, the author of all moral and physical evil; and in the Egyptian symbolical alphabet the serpent represents subtlety and cunning, lust and sensual pleasure. In Greek mythology, it is certainly, on the one hand, the attribute of Ceres, of Mercury, and of *Æsculapius*, in their most beneficent qualities; but it forms, on the other hand, a part of the terrible Furies or Eumenides: it appears, in the form of Python, as a fearful monster, which the arrows of a god only were able to destroy; and it is the most

hideous and most formidable part of the impious giants who despise and blaspheme the power of heaven. The Indians, like the savage tribes of Africa and America, suffer and nourish, indeed, serpents in their temples, and even in their houses; they believe that they bring happiness to the places which they inhabit; they worship them as the symbols of eternity; but they regard them also as evil genii, or as the inimical powers of nature which is gradually depraved by them, as the enemies of the gods, who either tear them to pieces, or tread their venomous head under their all-conquering feet. So contradictory is all animal worship. Its principle is, in some instances, gratitude, and in others fear; but if a noxious animal is very dangerous the fear may manifest itself in two ways, either by the resolute desire of extirpating the beast, or by the wish of averting the conflict with its superior power: thus the same fear may, on the one hand, cause fierce enmity, and, on the other, submission and worship. Further, the animals may be considered either as the creatures of the powers of nature, or as the productions of a Divine will; and those religious systems, therefore, which acknowledge a dualism, either in nature or in the Deity, or which

the field which the Lord God had made. And it said to the woman: Hath indeed God said, You shall not eat of any tree of the garden? 2. And the woman said to the

admit the antagonism between God and nature, must almost unavoidably regard the same animals now as objects of horror and now of veneration. From all these aberrations, Mosaism was preserved by its fundamental principle of the one and indivisible God, in whose hands is nature with all its hosts, and to whose wise and good purposes all creatures are subservient.

Now in the heathen religions, the demon, represented by the serpent, was universally considered to possess power independent of, and inimical to, the might of the highest god; temples were erected, and sacrifices offered, in his honour. But in the Biblical narrative the serpent is no embodiment of an evil genius; it is no more than a noxious reptile which is the *curse* of man, and upon which the execration of God seems to rest. To explain the deadly enmity between man and serpent, and to account for the wretched existence of the venomous reptile, this is an *accessory* end of this episode. The burning colours of the serpent; the cloven, vibrating tongue; the poison-swollen teeth; the horrid hissing; the stealthy and tortuous, but dart-like motions; the irascible temper; the contemptible craft; and frequently the bewitching power of the ever-watchful eyes, make this animal an object of horror and disgust (comp. *Virg.*, Georg. iii. 425—439). It was deemed necessary to show that God did not originally produce such a monstrous creature; He could not have pronounced a world perfect which was infested by such a hideous object; nor could He have appointed man the ruler of the earth, if it bred, in secret ambushes, beasts, which it was difficult for him to avoid, and almost impossible to subdue. But that tendency is clearly subordinate to the far more momentous change in the nature of man; the serpent seems, in fact, only introduced to correct the then too prevalent superstition of "an evil spirit"; the narrative teaches that

the serpent, whatever might be its pretensions, stands in the power of God, and resistlessly obeys His will; it avails itself of the very prejudice in order to eradicate it. The serpent speaks, because Ahri-man, appearing under its form, has the power of language; but yet this serpent is not Ahri-man; it is the voice of seduction in the heart of man; it has the malignant propensity of Ahri-man, but not his power; the human heart combats against its own happiness, but opposes God only in so far as it destroys the felicity for which He designed man; it acts against God by forgetfulness or by self-illusion, but it does not defy Him; it does not aspire to dispute with Him the supreme government; it considers evil deeds not as triumphs, but as a degradation full of shame and disgrace.

The serpent has thus, indeed, a double purport in our context: it appears first as the tempter, because he was generally supposed to assume that shape; but he is, in reality, only a miserable animal which God has cursed with the hatred of man. In the first characteristic, our narrative leans to the general Oriental tradition; in the second, it is the original conception of the Hebrew writer; and the point where both diverge is the absolute sovereignty with which God pronounces the malediction on the serpent (ver. 14). This animal may entertain an *external* enmity towards man (ver. 15); but it has no power over his heart, because it is nothing but the most abject of all the animals of the desert. It might venture upon war with the human families, but it cannot dare to oppose God any more than the lowest and feeblest of His creatures (see note on vers. 14, 15).

The serpent is not only malicious, but, like every tempter, astute, cunning, and bland. It addresses the woman, because she is more easily persuaded; it does not abruptly introduce the object of seduction,

serpent, We may eat of the fruit of the trees of the garden: 3. But of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden, God hath said, You shall not eat of

but approaches it by an archly devised circuit; it puts, in fact, the question so shrewdly, that the woman is the first who mentions the forbidden tree; and it is thus enabled to proceed securely with the work of mischief.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—The serpent was, indeed, considered as *πνευματικόν ζῷον πάντων τῶν ἰσχυρῶν* (*Essebius*, *Præp. Ev.* i. 10; *Bockart*, *Hieroz.* i. 27). After the preceding remarks, it cannot be surprising that the serpent is introduced *speaking*; and, moreover, the animals are, in many ancient legends, represented as gifted with speech; this is done so frequently, both in Eastern and in Northern tales, that it is unnecessary to adduce instances.—*וַיִּשְׁאֶל*, an interrogation, expressing surprise and astonishment: “has indeed God said?” (comp. *Ewald*, *Gram.* § 594). This question, then, obliges us to suppose, that, in a previous part of the conversation, Eve had informed the serpent of the Divine interdiction in such ambiguous terms, that a greater stress seemed to be laid upon the forbidden than upon the permitted fruits; and that the serpent might understand it as a general prohibition, including all the trees of the garden.

2—6. For, the seduction does not come from without; it has its first source in the human heart. A will entirely and strongly imbued with virtue, is inaccessible to the darts of temptation. The tenth commandment forbids covetousness; thus, the Decalogue concludes with seizing and destroying the sin as it arises in the desireful bosom. The evil thought is the parent of the evil deed. But the pure heart is free from sinful thoughts. This purity began to vanish from the breast of the first pair. A lurking desire to disobey the Divine command was awakened; and a conversation with the serpent commenced. An internal voice, at first gentle and timid, argued about the justice

of the prohibition;—this is the question of the serpent, throwing a significant light upon the previous coloured and partial statement of Eve. Now, the first step was done; and the following stages of the sin are more rapid, and more daring. The answer of the woman bears a certain vehement character; it is exaggerated; it contains the untruth, that God had forbidden even to touch the fruit of the tree of life;—this is the fanaticism of passion and its self-deception; it revolts against the laws and restrictions; it considers them as capricious, conventional fetters, which it is meritorious and noble to break. It is left uncertain whether this untruth was the fault of the woman, or of Adam, who may have reported it to her so incorrectly. But it certainly furnishes the serpent with the desired weapon to wield the last stroke; the unreasonable interdiction not to *touch* the wonderful fruits, makes the whimsical tyranny of the whole command manifest; the woman is not bound to bow to so arbitrary a behest; the less so as, in fact, that fruit does not bring death, but God-like knowledge and wisdom;—this is the sophistry of sin; the infatuated intellect matures the fatal plants which shoot forth from the deluded heart; the selfishness of the motives which dictated the prohibition seems evident; envy and jealousy deserve no respect. The sin is committed; and, as if afraid to bear alone its dire consequences, the sinner induces others to the same transgression: “Eve gave also to her husband with her; and he did eat.” The history of the first sin describes the nature of all human failings in every succeeding age. The simple narrative embodies truths which neither philosophy nor experience have been able to modify or to enlarge.

The text itself explains the words “your eyes will be opened” (ver. 5), by the addition: “and you will be as God, knowing good and evil”; they refer, therefore, not to a mere external sense of decorum;

it, nor shall you touch it, lest you die. 4. And the serpent said to the woman, Surely you will not die: 5. For God knoweth that when you eat thereof, then your eyes will be opened, and you will be as God, knowing good and evil. 6. And when the woman saw that the

they point to the opening of the mind's eye, to the discernment of what is morally eligible and despicable, and to the judgment which considers and argues (comp. Isai. vi. 10; see Gen. xxi. 19, where the original and the figurative sense nearly coincide; and note on Exod. iv. 11). It is, therefore, very objectionable to translate: "you will be as *the gods*, knowing good and evil." When shall we at last be spared the painful experience of seeing the plainest words distorted, and the purest truths distracted? What passages will be safe against the ignoble artifices of interpreters, if notions of the grossest paganism are forced upon portions the very purport of which is the unity and omnipotence of the Creator? Or do the terms: "Man is become as *one of us*" (כְּאֶחָד מֵאֵנָּו, ver. 22) pre-suppose the recognition of *gods*? They obviously refer to the words of the serpent in our passage; but are not quite equivalent to them; the expression "one of us" leaves us no alternative but to understand the angels, who, like man himself, share with God many exalted qualities and privileges; angels are frequently the representatives of God, and act in His name; they are introduced in this character not only in later Biblical books, but also repeatedly in the Pentateuch (see note on xxiv. 2—9); and by partaking of the fruit of knowledge, man has acquired a resemblance to God and the angels, but only in this one respect, that he is able "to know good and evil" (comp. 2 Sam. xiv. 17, 20); for, he does not possess the power of the one, nor the purity of the other; nor the immortal life of either.—The woman saw, that the forbidden tree greatly resembled, in its external appearance, all the other trees of the garden; it was, like them, beautiful and inviting to the sight, and promised to be as pleasant to the taste; it "was a de-

light to the eyes, and desirable to behold."

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—The words נִחְמַד לְהַשְׂכִּיל correspond, therefore, with נִחְמַד לְמַאֲכָל in ii. 9; נִחְמַד occurs in both passages; it is usual, that a difficult or obscure expression is, in Hebrew, explained by a more intelligible phrase (see p. 72); here, these easier terms precede, viz., "a delight to the eyes" (נִחְמַד לְעֵינַיִם): perhaps just to obviate the mistake which might be made with regard to נִחְמַד לְהַשְׂכִּיל, and which, indeed, has been made by many ancient and modern expositors: "the tree was desirable to make one wise," referring to the assurance of the serpent, which ascribed to the tree this remarkable effect (so Saad., Engl. Vers.). But שָׁכַל is, by the Chaldee translator, frequently used for הָבִים (for instance, Gen. xv. 5; Num. xii. 8, etc.); the Hiphil signifies "to look upon," in the phrase מִשְׁכִּיל עַל דָּל (Pa. xli. 2); and the Sept., Vulgate, Onkelos, the Samaritan, Syriac, and many others, render those words here: "desirable to behold." Eve could not possibly see, that the tree had the power of "making wise"; it is the external qualities by which she was allured; and it was this temptation to which she succumbed.

7. The mysterious fruit had been tasted: the Rubicon in the lives of the first pair had been passed. The time was gone when "both were naked, and were not ashamed" (ii. 25); their eyes were opened, and "they knew that they were naked." They were no more one with nature. They felt the necessity of supplying, by art, a want which they had not known before; and "they sewed fig-leaves together." A feeling of shame came over them. They avoided the presence of God at first not so much from compunction of conscience, as from a keen sense of de-

tree *was* good for food, and that it *was* pleasant to the eyes, and a tree desirable to behold, she took of its fruit, and ate, and gave also to her husband with her; and he ate.—7. And the eyes of them both were opened, and they knew that they *were* naked; and they sewed fig-

gency (ver. 10). Though they had made themselves girdles, their feeling of shame was not conquered; they still considered themselves as naked (ver. 10); they were frightened, and concealed themselves at the approach of God. Perfect garments only appeared to suffice them (ver. 21). So entirely had they at once passed from the state of nature to the state of conventionalism: and quite as suddenly, the transition from boyhood to manhood takes usually place in every individual man. But although this bashfulness happened to be the *first* result of their newly acquired judgment, it was neither its only, nor its most important manifestation. The power of distinguishing between good and evil applies to the whole moral and intellectual world; it is the faculty which, more than any other, impresses upon man the resemblance to God. Therefore, the first pair could not long remain unconscious of their disobedience; they must soon feel, that they had acted against the express will of their beneficent Creator; that they had rebelled against His authority; and had repaid ingratitude for goodness and love. Therefore, the blush of guilt soon mingled with that of bashfulness, and the worm of remorse gnawed at the precocious fruit of knowledge. The question of God (in the eleventh verse) marks the transition from mere shame to consciousness of guilt.—To appear in a state of nudity in the temple was strictly forbidden, and many measures of precaution were taken to prevent it; the construction of the altars, and the nature of the priestly garments were regulated after this consideration (see notes on ix. 22, and Exod. xx. 21—23; comp. Deut. xxiii. 13—15; xxv. 11, 12); and heathen nations observed the same customs of decency (Sueton., Tiber., 58; Val. Max., ii. 1—7, 15—31).

It has been pertinaciously asserted, that

the author of our narrative understood by the tree of knowledge one whose fruits had, *medicinally or physically*, the power of clearing and strengthening the intellect, just as the tree of life had *naturally* the property of prolonging human existence. We need not point out the folly of such opinions. It requires but ordinary attention to perceive that these two wonderful trees belong, like the instrumentality of the serpent, to the *form* of our narrative; they are used to embody the *ideas* of the Biblical writer; they were chosen because such miraculous trees were familiar to the Hebrews; they were, in fact, not chosen, but retained, from the many similar traditions of other Eastern nations (see pp. 87, 88). And so uncertain are such opinions, that others have, on the contrary, asserted that the fruit of the tree of knowledge had *poisonous* qualities, tending, by a slow process, to the dissolution of the body, which was thus converted into a corrupted organism! But in order to show again, by a clear instance, the “shoals and quick-sands” of artificial interpretation, it may not be uninteresting to sketch, in a few words, the details of this opinion. It is maintained, that God addressed to man the *warning of a physician*; death would be no *punishment*, but a natural *consequence* of his eating of the poisonous fruit; the tree of *knowledge* was, therefore, properly speaking, a tree of *death*; but as, in reality, Adam and Eve did not die after having participated of its fruits, God *represented* it only as such in order to *deceive* and to *deter* man; mean *jealousy* was his motive; and it is, therefore, clear—*sit venia verbo*—that “God spoke to man an *untruth*, and that an *intentional* one!” (*Redslob*, Schoepfungs-apolog, pp. 44—77). To such startling absurdities the mystic or sceptical interpretation of the Bible can proceed!

leaves together, and made themselves girdles.—8. And they heard the voice of the Lord God walking in the garden in the cool of the day: and Adam and his wife hid themselves from the Lord God among the trees of the garden. 9. And the Lord God called to the man, and said to him, Where *art* thou? 10. And he said, I heard Thy voice in the garden, and I was afraid, because I *am* naked; and I hid myself. 11. And He said, Who told

This exposition contains almost as many misrepresentation and errors as it utters assertions; "He commanded" (ii. 16: וַיֹּאמֶר) is never the prescription of a medical adviser, but the exhortation and order of the master or the father; it is an invention to say, that the fruit is, in itself, represented as poisonous; death is not the natural, but the moral result of the enjoyment; and the meaning is, that man, when he eats of it, will become mortal. But it is superfluous to pursue such labyrinths of sophisms, which equally defy reason and the scriptural statements. It may suffice to add, that the same author believes it to be expressed in the text, that God was *compelled* to say that untruth, in order to maintain His superiority; that He would have had no objection, if man had led an endless life of happiness; but that His envy could not allow him the much higher privilege of intelligence; that man was originally not at all intended to propagate himself; that Adam and Eve were destined as the only and eternal representatives of the human species, but that Eve bore children in consequence of the curse and of sin; that the serpent, also, was expelled from Eden because, formerly living on trees, he abused the knowledge of plants, which he had thus acquired! We have introduced these phantasms as a specimen of the many visionary interpretations to which we have constantly to submit in the progress of our researches, but which we could not, without deserved reproach, inflict upon the patience of our readers.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—The fig-tree (תְּאֵנָה; *Ficus Carica*) is aboriginal in Western Asia, especially in Persia, Syria, and Asia Minor (*Alph. de Candolle*,

*Géographie Botanique*, ii. p. 919). It is both unnecessary and incorrect to take תְּאֵנָה here as Pisang-tree (*Musa Paradisiaca*), the leaves of which certainly attain the length of twelve and the breadth of two feet (*Oken*, *Botan.*, II. i. 708), but which is nowhere designated by תְּאֵנָה (comp. *Celsius*, *Hierob.*, ii. 368, *et seq.*; *Rosenmüller*, *Alterth.*, IV. i. 292). See *Homer*, *Odys.*, vi. 128, 129.—Several manuscripts read עֵלֶי instead of the singular תְּאֵנָה; and the plural is also expressed in several translations (the Sept., Vulg., Syr.): but עֵלֶי is here used as a collective noun, "foliage"; as, for instance, in Ps. i. 3 (וַעֲלֵהוּ לֹא יִבֹּל); and a change in the received reading is unnecessary (compare עֵץ in ver. 2, etc.).

8—13. God was in familiar intercourse with man in the happy days of his innocence. He was loved like a father; fear was unknown; the severe rule, "nobody beholds God and lives," did not yet exist. As man was scarcely aware of his superiority over the animal creation, so he was hardly impressed with that awe of God which the consciousness of His grandeur inspires. His eyes were not yet opened. He knew neither pride nor humility. He walked in simplicity, careless, but sure of the right path. But now he was awakened to a sense of duty. He cannot bear the presence of God; it overwhelms his spirit. He hears His step; he hides himself; he answers timidly to the question of God; he fears His anger; he tries to avert it, by laying the fault partly upon his wife, and partly upon *God Himself*: "The woman whom thou gavest to be with me, she gave me of the tree, and I did eat"; and Eve, not less terrified,

thee that thou *art* naked? Hast thou eaten of the tree whereof I commanded thee that thou shouldest not eat? 12. And the man said, The woman whom thou gavest *to be* with me, she gave me of the tree, and I ate. 13. And the Lord God said to the woman, What is this *that* thou hast done? And the woman said, The serpent beguiled me, and I ate.—14. And the Lord God said to the serpent, Because thou hast done this, thou *shalt be*

accuses the serpent as the cause of the transgression. The voice of conscience troubled for the first time the internal peace. The harmony of the mind was disturbed.—We abstain from developing the many and important practical truths contained in this narrative; we cannot wonder that many have here abandoned themselves to the strains of the preacher; it is, indeed, tempting to pursue the inimitable and unparalleled description of the consequences of sin, the uneasiness and timidity, the cowardice, the internal wretchedness which, as a last resource, impeaches even God as the primary cause of the offence. It is sufficient for us to have indicated the general course of ideas which our section suggests, and to have pointed out the successive stages of innocence, temptation and conflict, sin, remorse, and punishment, which are represented by the Paradise, the serpent, the forbidden fruit, the concealment, and the curse.—We remark, therefore, but briefly, that “the voice of God walking in the garden” is His foot-step (as in 1 Ki. xiv. 6), not His thunder (Ps. xxix. 3—5), nor the whispering voice which indicates His presence (1 Ki. xix. 12); and that the “wind of the day” (רוח היום) is the breeze which, in the East, generally refreshes the evening air, and invites the inhabitants to the walks, or the places of public meeting (xix. 1); it describes, therefore, the hours towards the evening (ῥό δειλινόν), as “the heat of the day” (רוח היום) designates the time of noon (xviii. 1; comp. Cant. ii. 17). Those only who wish to kill the spirit by insisting upon the letter will take offence at these familiar expressions with which the Deity is here

mentioned, and will toil to spiritualise and symbolise them. This “sounding foot-step of God” reminds us, perhaps, more strongly than any other part of our narrative, that the form and contents, language and thought, must be carefully and distinctly separated.

14, 15. All expressions conspire to prove, that the serpent is the reptile, not an evil demon that had assumed its shape; it is cursed “of all the cattle, and of all the beasts of the field”; it “goes upon the belly,” “eats dust,” and “bruises the heels” of man. We have already alluded to this characteristic difference between the Mosaic and the other Eastern narratives on the fall of man (see on ver. 1). If the serpent represented Satan, it would be extremely surprising that the former only was cursed; and that the latter is not even mentioned in this chastising judgment of God. It would, indeed, be entirely at variance with the Divine justice, for ever to curse the animal whose shape it had pleased the evil one to assume. But it is most remarkable to add, that *later Hebrew* writers also speak of this serpent as the *Satan*; thus we read, in the Wisdom of Solomon (ii. 23, 24): “For God has created man for imperishable existence, and made Him after the image of His own being. But by the envy of Satan death came into the world; and it befalls all those who belong to him.” Satan is frequently called “the first serpent” (הנחש הקדמון); the Samaritan text reads here *liar* instead of *serpent* (נחש for שחש); and the same notion occurs repeatedly in the New Testament (so distinctly in John viii. 44; Revel. xii. 9; xx. 2), and in later Jewish writings. Thus,



cursed among all cattle, and among every beast of the field; upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou

while the common oriental tradition concerning the tempter was designedly abandoned in the Pentateuch, it was resumed in later times, and seems to have passed into a general belief. But this apparently strange fact offers no real difficulty, it involves no retrogressive step in the religious notions. The Satan of the later Biblical and apocryphal writers is not identical with the Ahriman of the Persians; the latter is frequently, by way of adaptation, designated by the former name; but this proves no internal identity of both. Ahriman is the enemy of a rival god, Ormuzd; Satan is only the tempter of man; the former is the *creator* of evil, the latter merely the embodiment of the evil propensities lurking in the human heart; the former is a deity, the latter only an instrument of the Divine will; from Ahriman proceed all the irregularities in nature; the hurricane, the earthquake, and the fatal comet, the blast which destroys the crops, and the terrible wind which spreads pestilence, are all his creatures; but the God of Israel rules in the hurricane as in the zephyr; He sends famine and plenty, blessing and curse, according to His wisdom; and whatever He sends is the emanation of His love; and "all discord is harmony not understood." Equally striking is the difference between Satan and the evil demons of other Eastern religions. If Satan, therefore, is represented as having caused the fall of man, this is no step towards heathen notions; but is only the embodiment of the former ideas in their natural development. This embodiment would have been dangerous in the earlier times, when the Israelites were still wavering in their faith, when the separation of monotheism from paganism was still weak and recent, and the serpent Satan might have been by many identified with the serpent Ahriman: therefore the Pentateuch did not introduce Satan. But this could not be injurious in periods when paganism had been long and completely extirpated, and

when no danger of a relapse into dualistic systems could be apprehended: therefore later writers had no reason to avoid mentioning Satan, whose perfect subordination to the omnipotent will of God was a deep and universal conviction (see Job i. 12; ii. 6).

God announces with rigour the punishment of the serpent, which, by cunning temptation, had roused and instigated man to be disobedient to God (שׁוּבָה, ver. 13). First a general malediction is pronounced: the serpent shall be cursed alone of all the beasts. While the other animals remained in the same state in which they had lived in Paradise, the serpent was doomed to suffer a degradation and wretchedness which should make it a horror and a warning to the whole creation. For three other maledictions are added: the serpent shall go upon the belly, shall eat dust, and shall live in a perpetual enmity with the seed of woman (זָרָה), whose happiness it had just wickedly destroyed. We must, therefore, suppose that our author represented to himself, previous to the curse, a time when the serpent was not affected with those debasing qualities; and the prophets declare that, in the time of the Messiah, when concord will be restored between man and beast, "the *only* food of the serpent will be dust" (Isai. lxv. 25). It was then believed, that in a remote future the nature of the reptile would again be changed, but only in so far as not to destroy the general peace in nature, and the undisturbed happiness of man; just as *even* the wolf would then no more tear the lamb, and the lion would eat straw like the ox; the beasts of prey will assume a harmless and unsanguinary disposition: but as the serpent was the cause of its own degradation, as it sinned before man, it was deemed but just that it should retain a mark of its humiliation, even after the restoration of the bliss of Paradise. We need, therefore, here not suppose an allusion to the fable of the

eat all the days of thy life: 15. And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and

infernial dragon of the ancient Persians, the impure Asmogh, which was represented with two feet; or to the winged gryph of the Indians, which was used as a sacred emblem.—The great scantiness of food on which the serpents can subsist, gave rise to the belief entertained by many Eastern nations, and referred to in several Biblical allusions, that they eat dust (comp. Mich. vii. 17; Isai. lxx. 25; *Silius Italicus*, vii. 449, "ferventi pastus arena"; see *Bochart*, *Hieroz.* i. 4; *Roberts*, *Illustrations of Scripture*, p. 7); whilst the Indians believed them to feed upon wind. In many Eastern religions the extirpation of the reptiles, and especially of the serpents, was enjoined as an important duty; among the Persians it was considered as equivalent to the war for Ormuzd, and against Ahriman; and the most sacred festival was consecrated to this "destruction of evil" (*Herod.* i. 140); the Hindoos celebrated similar great feasts for the same purpose, and in Cashmere solemn sacrifices were offered for the annihilation of the serpents (*Frank*, *Vyass*, p. 139). Thus the open "enmity between man and serpent" recurs in the whole Orient; it is everywhere impressed with a religious character; it bears a hidden symbolical meaning; it is the combat either against the tempter, or against the prince of evil. The propriety of selecting just that reptile for such purpose has been made more manifest by the scientific study of zoology. It is agreed that the organism of the serpents is one of extreme degradation; their bodies are lengthened out by the mere vegetative repetitions of the vertebrae; like the worms, they advance only by the ring-like scutes of the abdomen, without fore or hinder limbs; though they belong to the latest creatures of the animal kingdom, they represent a decided retrogression in the scale of beings (comp. *Hugh Miller*, *Testim. of the Rocks*, pp. 82—85).

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—We must take מִן כָּל in its original meaning of

separation, "different from all," or "distinguished and segregated from all," as in *Judg.* v. 24. The signification "more than all the beasts," would imply a curse against the other animals also, which our text neither mentions nor implies; and "cursed or detested by all the beasts," is forced, and would weaken the emphasis of those words.—"He (the offspring of woman) shall bruise (יִשְׁנֹךְ) thy head, and thou shalt bruise (תִּשְׁנֹךְ) his heel." The general meaning of שָׁן is certain, beyond a doubt; most of the ancient translations render it by *crushing*; the Targum Onk. and Jon. express כָּתַת, in *Deut.* ix. 21, by שָׁפַח, and לֵב נִרְכָּה (a contrite heart), in *Ps.* li. 19 by שָׁפִי לֵב; the passage (*Job* ix. 17) שָׁפַח בְּשַׁעֲרָה יִשְׁנֹפִי signifies undoubtedly: "He annihilates me in a tempest"; and the obscure phrase (*Ps.* cxxxix. 11), יִשְׁנֹךְ חֵשֶׁךְ יִשְׁנֹפִי does not justify us in taking שָׁן in the sense of שָׁחַ (or שָׁחַ), to attack, to lay an ambush (*Sept.* *τηρήσει*; *Onkel.* נָסַר); for the second part of our passage, וְאַתָּה תִּשְׁנֹךְ עָקֵי, does not compel us to suppose an indistinct meaning of שָׁן, since the serpent does not exactly *bruise* the heel of man; this verb is used in its proper sense in the first part, and is, in the second, applied in the same sense by a kind of *zeugma* (comp. *Exod.* xx. 15); and the same verb seems designedly chosen to express that the enmity is mutual, that it is equally intense and equally deadly on both sides; and that the familiarity through sin is followed by a corresponding and glowing hatred. It is, therefore, not to be approved if the Vulgate, the Syriac, Saadiah, the Persian and others, change the verb in both parts (the former using *conteret* and *insidiatur*); or if it is urged, with a particular stress, that the *head* of the serpent, but only the *heel* of man is menaced; the injury is, in both cases, considered mortal; but as the serpent is condemned to "go on its belly," it can naturally only attack that part of man which touches the ground; but from the feet the fatal

her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise its heel.—16. To the woman He said, I will indeed multiply thy pain and thy conception; in pain shalt thou bring forth children, but thy desire *shall be* to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee.—17. And to the man

poison rushes through the whole system, till it reaches the springs of life.—**אִי** is naturally followed by the *accusativus Graecus*, expressing the *part* on which the injury is inflicted (comp. xvii. 25; Ps. iii. 8, etc.).—The Targum Jonathan renders the fifteenth verse thus: "And I shall put enmity between thee and between the woman, between thy seed and her seed; and it will be, when the children of the woman observe the commandments of the Law, that they will tread thee on thy head, and when they forsake the commandments of the Law, thou wilt be able to bite them in their heels; but they will be healed, and thou wilt not be healed; and they will, in the days of the Messiah, be able to make a bruise with the heel." The Targum Jerusalem offers a similar paraphrase. In the New Testament this symbolical interpretation is repeatedly given. Christ is the "seed of woman" (Gal. iv. 4); the serpent is the devil, or the sinful works perpetrated through him (1 John iii. 8); in the fulness of time, God sends forth Christ (Gal. iv. 4), "to destroy, by his death, the devil, who had the power of death" (Heb. ii. 14), or "to bruise Satan under the feet" (Rom. xvi. 20).—Our passage is hence called the "first promise," or "prot-evangelium." The present editions of the Vulgate read "*ipsa conteret caput tuum*," the feminine referring to the Virgin Mary, which alteration, however, is not justified. Some expositors have attempted a middle course with regard to the meaning of the serpent. They observe, that Satan assumed the form of this animal; therefore the curse is not directed against itself, but is symbolically pronounced against Satan, "who should never rise from the degraded state which he had assumed to tempt man." But it is unnecessary to observe, that such explanation is in no way coun-

tenanced by the tenor of the text (see on ver. 1).

**16.** As the woman sinned before man, judgment was pronounced over her first. She also suffers a threefold curse: agonising pain in her travail, yet the continued desire to her husband; and subordination under his will and his authority. The two first imprecations, considered in connection, might indeed be called a curse. Why should the woman, after the first sad experience, so eagerly wish to renew the acute torments of parturition? Nature must have implanted in her a desire stronger than the vehemence of pain. It is this strange arrangement of nature which occupied the reflection of many ancient writers; and our text represents it as the consequence of disobedience, and as a punishment. Sensuality is the beginning of sin, and the increased violence of the passion is its chastisement.—Although, in general, childbirth is, in the East, and especially for women who work much in the open air, considerably easier than in more northern climes (see notes on Exod. i. 19), it is frequently most painful, and not seldom fatal, so that a heart-rending cry of despair and anguish is, in Biblical language, compared with the cry of a woman in travail (comp. Isai. xiii. 8, xxi. 3; Gen. xxxv. 16—19; 1 Sam. iv. 20).—The third punishment of woman is her subjection under the will of her husband, who shall be "her master" (**אָדוֹן**), and who shall "rule over her." She had before been his equal, she was a part of him; but she became the cause of his fall; she was, therefore, doomed to obey him, since she had disobeyed God. That this dependence of the woman was, among the Hebrews, never of a degrading or rigorous character, we have attempted more fully to prove in another place (see notes on Exod. pp. 370, 371). But exactly the

He said, Because thou hast hearkened to the voice of thy wife, and hast eaten of the tree of which I commanded thee, saying, Thou shalt not eat of it: cursed *be* the ground for thy sake; in pain shalt thou eat *of* it all the days of thy life; 18. And thorns and thistles shall it

same notions are theoretically enjoined in the New Testament. The wives are emphatically commanded "to submit themselves under their husbands, as to the Lord; for the husband is the head of the wife" (Ephes. v. 22, 23); the woman was created for the man (1 Corinth. xi. 9); she is commanded to be under obedience (1 Corinth. xiv. 34; comp. *Manu* ix. 3). The New Testament is, perhaps, even more rigorous than the Old; for whilst it commands the woman "to learn in silence with all subjection, but not to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence" (1 Timoth. ii. 11, 12), she was, in the Old Testament, admitted to the highest office of teaching, that of prophets, as Miriam, Deborah, and Huldah. Our text is, therefore, far from making man the tyrant of his wife, but designs him as her protector and superior adviser.

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.** — According to the explanation above given, it is not necessary to take *עצבון* וְהָרֵן as one notion (or Hendiadya, *Gesen.*, Lehrs. p. 854): "I shall multiply the *pain of thy conception*"; it is by far more emphatical to leave these words in the same distinction as in the original text, and to take the following part of the verse as an explanation: "Thy pains and thy conception shall be multiplied; *for* in pains shalt thou bring forth children, and thy desire shall be to thy husband"; so that both "the pains" and "the conception" have a corresponding explanation. *תְּשׁוּקָה* is *desire* (like iv. 7; Cant. vii. 11), not *power* or *dominion* (as the Vulgate and later interpreters render).

**17—19.** Man was from the beginning intended to work; he was placed in Paradise to keep and to cultivate it: but the toil and exhaustion of labour were the baneful consequences of man's sin; he was doomed to eat its produce with *pain*; or-

dinary attention was now no more sufficient. The great physical difficulties diminished his spiritual dignity. His time and his strength were henceforth, in a great measure, absorbed by the material cares of a toilsome life. His mind was curbed under the weight of bodily fatigue. The serene calmness of his soul was clouded by slavish hardship. He had attained the Divine faculty, but the drudgery of his life prevented him either from enjoying or from developing it. This is the *curse* of labour. And it seems to be repeated with emphasis: "thou art *dust*," not a god as thou hadst vainly hoped to become (ver. 19); the body is dissolved, though the imperishable spirit soars up to Him who has given it. Thus, our narrative explains or accounts for the difficulties of agriculture, which make life a perpetual struggle with repugnant elements: "In the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat *bread*" (*לֶחֶם*), not "*thy bread*"; for, hitherto, man had, without care and without trouble, lived on the beautiful fruits of Eden. Frequently, all the laborious exertions of the husbandman are lost; his anxiety is repaid with disappointment; he hopes that "his vineyard will bring forth grapes, and it produces wild grapes," and often even "briers and thorns" (Isai. v. 2, 6); his field bears "thistles instead of wheat, and cockle instead of barley" (Job xxxii. 40);—in a word, the curse of God rests on the earth (comp. Sirach vii. 16). Instead of eating the more nutritious produce of the corn-crops, he will often be compelled to be satisfied with "the herb of the field"; this alone will remain to him from the former blessing, as obtainable with less toil and exertion (i. 29); nor will he, expelled from the garden, find so many fruit-trees furnishing a delicious and abundant food. It was only by the proclamation of the fourth commandment that the

bring forth to thee; and thou shalt eat the herb of the field; 19. In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou returnest to the ground; for out of it wast thou

panting exertion was partially relieved; it limited labour to six days of the week; the seventh day was restored to perfect rest; it recalls the pure happiness of Paradise; it does not share the curse of the working days; it is devoted to the mind and its elevation. The Decalogue is an emanation of love as well as of wisdom; it is a harbinger both of truth and of peace.—The life of the man is one of "pain" (כאב), like that of woman (ver. 16); their punishment is equal in intensity; but it is very widely different, in character, from that of the serpent. And this leads us to the principal idea of our section, which has now been developed in almost its whole extent. The serpent was degraded, the human pair was ennobled by the glory of intelligence; the former was pressed down nearer to the earth, it was condemned to go upon the belly; the latter rose heavenwards on the youthful wings of the mind; the one eats dust, the other became capable of imbibing the dew of eternal truth. Thus, man has made a gigantic step beyond the limited sphere of his primitive existence. But, although he has not actually lost his innocence, he has ventured upon a path where it is difficult and almost impossible not to risk it. He has gained the liberty of choice, but that choice may be fatal; he has become the master of his destiny, but he may thereby become the author of his destruction. This is the punishment and the curse.

It is remarkable, that Cicero, also, treats emphatically of this double influence of reason: "we act right by the aid of reason, but we also err through it; the former is only the case with a few, and rarely; the latter frequently, and by most persons; so that it might have been better, if the immortal gods had bestowed on man no reason at all, than to grant it attended with such fatal results" (De Nat. Deor. iii. 27—30).—Virgil describes the transition from the golden age to that of heavy toil and degra-

dation with features remarkably similar to those of our text: "Jupiter infused the noxious poison into the horrid serpents; he shook the honey from the leaves, and restrained the wine which flowed everywhere in rivulets, that experience, aided by reflection, might gradually work out the various arts, and seek in furrows the blade of corn. Toilsome labour (*labor improbus*), and necessity combating with difficulties, surmounted every obstacle. Ceres first taught mortals to turn the ground with steel. But soon labour was enhanced for the production of corn, when noxious mildew consumed the stalks, and the unprofitable thistle infested the fields. The crops of corn die; a prickly wood succeeds, burs and caltrops; and, amidst the shining fields, unhappy darnel and barren wild oats bear sway" (Georg., i. 129—159).—Many other passages in Greek and Roman writers describe the wearisome toil to which the life of man is doomed; they are all variations of those poetical verses in Job: "Indeed, drudgery is the lot of man upon earth; and like the days of a hireling are his days" (vii. i.; comp. *Euripid.*, Hippol., 189, 190: Πᾶς δ' ὀδυνηδὺς βίος ἀνθρώπων, κοῖτις πόνων ἀνάπαισις; see *Pindar.*, Pyth., v. 71; *Xenoph.*, Mem., II. i. 28; *Horat.*, Sat., I. ix. 59). But even these heathen authors had already a dim notion of the dignity of labour; they understood, that work exercises the mind, and leads to inventions; that it engages the thoughts, and shields them against idle reveries; that it invigorates the heart, and keeps it aloof from corruption and effeminacy (see, especially, *Virgil*, Georg., i. 121—124). Thus is just the punishment of sin, a weapon against it; labour was the consequence of past transgression, but it was destined to avert it for the future: wisdom had been acquired; and purity might be preserved by submitting to the price for which it was obtained. The wound had become necessary by man's disobedience; but

taken: for dust thou *art*, and to dust thou shalt return.—20. And the man called his wife's name Eve; for she became the mother of all living.—21. And the Lord God

it is a wound which restores better health. These are, with a beautiful expression of Gregory the Great, "the bitter arrows from the gentle hand of God."—But our passage teaches us further, that man, though destined to rule over nature, must yet humble himself before God; that he at once commands and obeys; and that in the feeling of the governor he must not forget the submissiveness of the child. This is another side of his twofold character.

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.** — אָדָם is here properly used; for it is the word constantly employed with regard to culture and fertility of the soil; therefore is אָדָם אֶרֶץ agriculturist, husbandman (ix. 20), whereas אִישׁ שָׂדֶה is huntsman (xxv. 27); אָדָם would here be impossible (comp. *Credner*, on Joel, p. 121).—The earth shall be cursed בְּעִבּוֹרְךָ "on account of thee" (so the Samarit., Aquil., Onkel., Saad., and others); the iniquity of man has changed the former more generous nature of the earth (comp. Isai. xxiv. 3—7); some ancient translators render בְּעִבּוֹרְךָ (see iv. 12); so the Septuagint (*ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις σου*), Symmachus, and Vulgate (*in opere tuo*). But this cannot induce us to question the correctness of the received reading. — קוֹץ וּדְרֹר (comp. Hos. x. 8) synonymous with שִׁמְרִי וְשִׁיחַ (Isai. v. 6; vii. 23).—The Septuagint translates דְּרֹר with τριβόλος, which is a kind of thistle (Tribulus terrestris), *land-caltrops* (see *Virgil*, Georg., i. 153; *Ovid*, Metam., xiii. 803). Onkelos and Jonathan render אֲמוֹרִי (thorns). Comp. *Celsius*, Hierob., ii. 128—137. — זָהָב sweat, like זָהָב (Ezek. xlv. 18).—About the double nature of man, see on i. 26.

20. The very curse which God had pronounced against the woman reminded Adam that she was dear to him in more than one respect. She was not only his companion, the partner of his life, but she was destined to become the mother of his children, in whom he would feel his own

existence renewed, who would bear his likeness, and be the links which were to connect him with the remotest posterity. She was to him, at first, only "a woman" (אִשָּׁה), or part of man; now he was induced to change this general appellative designation for the significant and more specific name, "the mother of all living" (אִמֵּי חַיִּים, Eve). Thus, a double bond of affection tied him to his wife; she was the solace of the present, and the pledge of the future. The fall had not weakened but strengthened their conjugal love. The wife was, indeed, the only treasure which Adam took with him from Paradise into the desert of life, to remind him of a more than earthly happiness. Although she had just been the cause of death, he called her the "life-giving;" for through her the generations of man are eternal, although the individuals pass away. He had given her a name; and thus claimed and manifested his superiority over her.

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.** — חַיִּים is identical with חַיָּה, wherefore the Septuagint express it by Ζωή; so is the root חַיָּה sometimes used instead of חַיָּה (xxvii. 29; Job xxxvii. 6).

21. Since garments had now become necessary by the aroused feeling of shame, God Himself prepared them, and clothed the first parents. Although He was forced to punish them, His love had not ceased. His paternal care accompanied them to the tumultuous arena of worldly strife. Scarcely any primitive nation has failed to use the skins of animals for the earliest clothing, and none was long deficient in the art of preparing them skillfully for convenience and neatness; the Phœnicians ascribed this invention to Uson, and the Samojedes, Esquimaux, and North American Indians are at present famous for their skill in preparing furs.—If any proof were necessary, that animals were believed to have, in Paradise also, been subject to death, those "skins" would

made to the man and to his wife garments of skins, and clothed them.—22. And the Lord God said, Behold, the man is become as one of us, to know good and evil: and now, lest he put forth his hand, and take also of the tree

be sufficient. Many and laborious have been the arguments to show that death came into the world only after the fall; this doctrine has been considered one of the strongest pillars of religion, and the necessary basis of every true science. If such an opinion were enforced by the Bible, a new breach between faith and science would be caused, as great and insuperable as any other hitherto discussed. For, the innumerable petrifications in the interior of the earth preach with a thousand tongues that organic life was, by myriads of myriads, destroyed during immeasurable ages before the existence of man; and we know that the eating even of vegetable food is inseparable from a vast destruction of small living beings. But this difficulty does not exist. The Bible nowhere asserts, that the sin of Adam brought death upon the animals, *but only upon the human race*. The strictest comparison of all analogous passages renders this indisputable (see Gen. ii. 17; iii. 3; Book of Wisdom i. 12, 13; ii. 23, 24; xxv. 32; Rom. v. 12—21; 1 Corinth. xv. 21, 22). The animals were, according to the Bible also, never exempt from death. It nowhere teaches clearly that the organization of the animals, like that of man, has been altered and depraved by the fall; though we must admit that it sometimes acknowledges a parallel or corresponding change in men and beasts (see vi. 12, 13); but we need certainly not to have recourse to the monstrous conjectures that the petrified animals in the earth never enjoyed real life; that their existence was only an appearance or a dream; and that they passed through a merely somnolent state! So far may piety stray from common sense, if it defies science; if it allows no scope to the intellect; if it thinks to feed one human faculty on the destruction of all the rest (see note on ix. 1—4).

22—24. By a guilty act had man at-

tained the godlike knowledge of good and evil; he had thereby forfeited the privilege of eternal life originally designed for him. But Paradise, the abode of perfect bliss, could not resound with the agony of death. It was, therefore, necessary, that man should be expelled from thence for ever. If he remained in Eden, he might eat of the fruit of life, and thus remove the mortal condition which was now his fate. As he was created immortal, the participation of the tree of life before the fall had no material influence; it gave only that with which he was already furnished. But when his sin had brought mortality upon him, it was important, that he should be exiled from the vicinity of that tree; for its fruit would have been effective in imparting to him that which he no longer possessed. Man had purchased knowledge at the expense of his eternity; both are united in God alone. But his expulsion was necessary for another reason also. The earth was cursed on account of man; thorns and thistles were to spring up in the places of his labour; the sphere of his activity must, therefore, be without the Paradise; this glorious abode could not be converted into fields disgraced by weeds and noxious herbs. Paradise, the easy existence of peace and delight, was for ever beyond the scope and grasp of man. By sin, man had been deprived of many of his former privileges; he had, above all, forfeited life; and even if he had already tasted of the tree of life, he would not have thereby conquered death; but, in order to make this impossible *for the future*, he was withdrawn from the sphere where it bloomed, and matured its tempting fruits (see on ii. 16, 17).—Man was not born without intelligence; even in his infancy he was infinitely superior to the rest of creation; he had the power of examining the individual character of all animals, and of fixing their names; he was even then

of life, and eat, and live for ever: . . . 23. Therefore the Lord God sent him away from the garden of Eden, to till the ground whence he had been taken. 24. So He expelled the man; and He placed in the east of the garden

the image of God; he was not without "knowledge," but he had not the "knowledge of good and evil"; he possessed the instinct of reason, but not the habit and energy of discernment; the germ had not yet emerged; the blade was yet unsheathed.

So entirely did God exclude the first couple from the garden of Eden, that He placed the cherubim in the east of it to guard its entrance; a flaming sword shines in their hands. The tree of life is the object of their care. Wonderful as the treasure, are the beings that watch over it. They are symbols of the presence of God. They were, in the Tabernacle, represented on the mercy-seat, and God throned between them. Here the blood of atonement was sprinkled, and here God communed with the priests, the instruments of His revelation. They witnessed the expiation of sin, and looked down upon the ark, which contained the tablets of the covenant between God and mankind. Mysterious, as in the Holy of Holies, is their presence before the garden of Eden. Great is the resemblance in both instances, but greater the difference. An internal connection between them is obvious. They guard, in both cases, an inestimable boon; they are types of the providence and proximity of God; and they are necessary, on account of the sin of man. But the Cherubim of the Paradise are the effects of the alienation of men from God; those on the mercy-seat symbolise their conciliation; the former guard a treasure which is for ever denied to man, the latter one which was proclaimed to all nations as their common inheritance; the former are, therefore, armed with a fearful weapon, resembling the terrific flashes of lightning, the others look lovingly down upon the ark, overshadowing it with their protecting wings; the one typify a covenant destroyed, the

others a covenant concluded; and instead of the tree of life, of which the one deprives the human families, the others point to a treasure which is also "a tree of life to those who cling to it" (Prov. iii. 18); and instead of the life on earth, which was lost, a spiritual life, beatifying the heart and gladdening the soul, is promised and granted.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—One single participation of the tree of life would have sufficed to secure immortality on earth, therefore God hastened to expel man. The text does in no way intimate that its fruit was to be eaten every time after the lapse of the ordinary period of human life, when it would have renewed and prolonged it to the same number of years again; so that the first pair had, as yet, no occasion to taste it (so Rosenmüller and others). The opinion of Ebn Ezra, *וְחַי לְעוֹלָם* means "and live for a long period," is perfectly against our whole narrative (see note on Exod. xxi. 6).—On the words, "Man is become as one of us" (ver. 22), see p. 120.—On the probable form of the Cherubim, see our Commentary on Exodus, p. 480. They are certainly not here the "angels of destruction," nor the gryphs of the Greeks, nor "the lightning of God," nor "the thundering horses" (*equi tonantes*!), nor the combustion or explosion of the inflammable bitumen (*naphtha*), which covers the region round Babylon (!), nor volcanic eruptions; all which opinions have been ventured.—*חֶרֶב מְתַלַּקֶת* is the rapidly turning sword, which thus produces a coruscant brilliancy (comp. Exod. ix. 24, *אֵשׁ מְתַלַּקֶת*).—The Talmudical and Rabbinical tales regarding Adam, though not always rendering the sense of the Biblical narrative, are often very beautiful. It is stated, that the Divine love created the first men, although it foresaw their fall and the sin of



of Eden the Cherubim, with the flame of the coruscant sword, to guard the way of the tree of life.

their descendants; that the Divine mercy quieted the apprehensions of the angels, by promising to provide for all human weakness and human misery; that God silenced the dispute, which had arisen about the creation of man, between Grace, Truth, Justice, and Peace, by sending Truth upon the earth, there to establish a home among mankind; by assuring them that repentance and reformation alone are sufficient for the redemption of man; and by implanting in his mind the *germ* of every perfection. It is, further, related, that Adam *alone* was created, that all nations might regard themselves as the children of one father; that he was created *the last*, that he might be introduced on the earth as its ruler, as into a finished palace; that Eve was formed out of a *concealed* rib, because her sphere is the domestic circle; that God, in consequence of Adam's sin, re-

tired into the seventh heaven; that thereby man lost all his most precious privileges; that the beasts ceased to obey him; that he was terrified at the voice of God; that death threatened him at every hour; that the sun even shone, from that time, with feebler light, and that the planets, since then, complete their orbits with greater difficulty; and that all animals lost their peculiar perfection. But it is added, that Adam partially recovered his internal peace by sincere contrition, and especially by humility and by abnegation of all feelings of pride; the darkness of night, the dreariness of winter, distressed him no more; and as mankind had been cursed through Adam, so it would, by adopting the same means of repentance and correction, unfailingly be saved, which would be the time of the Messiah (comp. *Hamburger*, *Geist der Hagada*, p. 75—85).

### III.—THE GENERATIONS BETWEEN ADAM AND NOAH.

CHAPTER IV. 1. TO V. 32.

#### CHAPTER IV.

**SUMMARY.**—Adam and Eve begat two sons, Cain and Abel. The former became a husbandman, the other a shepherd. Both offered, after a certain time, the firstlings of their labour; but God rejected the gift of Cain, whilst He accepted that of Abel. Cain's jealousy was, by this mortification, enhanced into glowing hatred against his brother; God saw his sinister schemes, and forewarned him that offerings are not accepted unless they are accompanied by a benevolent and loving heart. The tumult in Cain's breast was temporarily silenced; but when he was alone with Abel in the field, his rankling envy overpowered him, and he killed his innocent brother (vers. 1—8). The justice of God was not slow in visiting this atrocious deed; Cain was declared an exile on the earth; the soil which it would be his lot to cultivate would be sterile and reluctant; he should not even have the consolation of an early death; and a mark was given to him, that nobody might kill him (vers. 9—15). He settled in the east of Eden, in the land of Nod, where he built a town, and called it Enoch, after his son (vers. 16, 17). The heads of the following generations are Irad, Mehujael, and Lamech. The latter took two wives, Adah and Zillah; by the former he became the father of Jabal, who was a

breeder of cattle, and of Jubal, who was the inventor of musical instruments; and Zillah bare to him a daughter, Naamah, and a son Tubal-cain, who was skilled in the manufacture of implements of iron and brass. In that age the arts of peace began to flourish, and agriculture was improved (vers. 18—22). A personal incident concerning Lamech, one of great importance for the laws of the avenging of blood, is inserted (vers. 23, 24). Eve also bare another son, Seth; he became the father of Enos, in whose time religious worship assumed a higher and purer form (vers. 25, 26).

## 1. And Adam knew Eve his wife; and she conceived,

1. Adam and Eve shared faithfully the miseries of exile; their mutual love was the only reminiscence of the happy days of Eden; a son was the first offspring of their affection; the delighted mother exclaimed with mingled feelings of gratitude and pride: "I have acquired (אָקװירט) a son with the Lord," and called him Cain (קַיִן). The "mother of all living" had begun to justify her name; she had added a link to the chain of human generations; the first germ for the perpetuity of mankind was sown. This son belonged to her; he was the first-born of her pains; she had borne him long under her heart, and had in tender hopes watched the mystery of his birth; it was, therefore, from her, that he received his name; she had obtained this right from her greater anxieties, her fonder cares; and the name which she gave to the child expressed well the manifold emotions of her soul: her son was not, like herself and her husband, the direct creation of God Himself; nor did he see the light of day without His omnipotent help—for who understands the secret development of the slumbering embryo?—he was, indeed, *her* son; she was conscious of it with a certain legitimate dignity; but she acknowledged with humility, that, without the assistance of God, her strength would have been of no avail; the chief glory belongs to Him who shields the mother, and protects the offspring.—When Seth, the ancestor of the pious Noah, was born (v. 3), it is expressly added, that Adam begat him "in his own likeness, after his image," that he, therefore, bore the seal and impress of God Himself. It would have been a profanation to ascribe this Divine resemblance to Cain the fratricide, who

soon forgot his higher origin, sank into a fearful abyss of degeneracy, and even destroyed wantonly an "image of God." But, although the heavenly outlines were obliterated in the vicious mind of Cain, they had originally existed there; he also had inherited the Divine likeness; every human being, however base and abject, is a work of the holy Creator; although Cain, therefore, had a large portion of the weakness of the woman, although he succumbed under the temptation, like his mother Eve, and although he was, like her, the cause of premature death: he possessed a Divine spark which could not entirely be extinguished, which was even capable of being rekindled to feelings of repentance and atonement; and justly, therefore, might Eve impart to him a name which describes his double descent both from her, and from God.

By these remarks, several apparent difficulties of our text find their easy solution. 1. The name Cain (קַיִן) is traced to the root קָנָה *to acquire*, so that it means, "the possession, or acquisition" (compare *Ἐκτερωτος* and *Κτήσια*); whilst it seems to belong rather to קָנָה or קָנָה *to strike*, whence the substantive קֶלֶב lance, or spear, is derived (2 Sam. xxi. 16), so that the name signifies either, the man of violence and the sire of murderers (vers. 23, 24), or the ancestor of the inventors of iron instruments, and of weapons of destruction (vers. 17—22). It is true, that Biblical names have frequently reference to some momentous incident in the *future* lives of the individuals; as, Saul (שָׁאֵל) is he, who was demanded as king; Solomon (שְׁלֹמֹה) is the peaceful sovereign; and so in numerous other instances. But, whenever the name is stated, and explained at the

and bare Cain, and said, I have acquired a man with the Lord.—2. And she bare further his brother Abel. And Abel was a keeper of sheep, but Cain was a tiller of the

*birth* of the child, it relates significantly to some circumstance connected with the actual events; as, for instance, is the case with the names Isaac, Moses, Ichabod (1 Sam. iv. 21), and very many others. Now, it may happen, that the future destinies of an individual are as important as the circumstances of his birth are peculiar and remarkable. In such instances, one of the following two expedients was resorted to: either the name was afterwards changed in accordance with the character of the later event, as Jacob and Israel, Gideon and Jerubbaal (compare Naomi and Marah, Ruth i. 19, 20); or, the name was, if possible, so interpreted as to harmonise with the circumstances of both periods of life; so that the same name has, in fact, two different significations. It is probable, that in the earliest generations, the children did not, at their birth, receive any specific proper noun; they were designated as the first, second, son or daughter; they all belonged to the generic family of Adam (אָדָם); the first man never received another name; his wife was, at first, comprised in the same appellation (v. 2): but when, later, the lives of the individuals offered peculiar features, they were specified accordingly; for then only did they cease to be indifferent units of the genus. Now, the first son of man may originally have been designated only as such, without receiving any proper name. But he became the first murderer. Now his existence had an element of an extraordinary character; he was no more simply a man, he was an assassin, and he was called *Cain* (קַיִן). But, for the Biblical historian, the birth of the first child of the first parents was, in itself, too memorable an event not to be marked by the very name. The appellation קַיִן admitted of another interpretation; it was traced to קָנָה to acquire (comp. בָּנוּ and בָּוָה, דָּוָה and דָּחָה); and this explanation was put into the mouth of the mother, who was, in that time of joy,

happily ignorant of the future depravity of her child. To the birth of the second son, Abel (אָבֶל), the same strong degree of interest as regards human propagation was no more attached. It was only his death by which he became remarkable. It is, therefore, not mentioned, whether he received a specific appellation at his birth; and the name with which he is introduced from the beginning refers to the premature end of his existence (אָבֶל, nothingness, vanity, frailty; comp. Job vii. 16; Ps. cxliv. 4; not like אָבֶן, grief, as Josephus explains, misguided by the orthography of the Septuagint, which writes *Αβελ*).

2. The principal stress in the words of Eve lies on: "I have acquired" (קָנִיתִי), not on "a man" (אָדָם). Although the Hebrew families exulted with greater joy at the birth of a son than of a daughter (Jerem. xx. 15; Job iii. 3), since sons preserve the name of the father, propagate his race, and promise naturally a more powerful support to the parents (Ps. cxxvii. 3—5; Ruth iv. 14, 15): the mother alludes here rejoicingly to the birth of a child in general, an offspring of her womb, and a gift of God; she calls this child *Cain*, or Acquisition; the name expresses merely gratitude and satisfaction; it contains no allusion whatever to the sex of the child; when her next son, Seth, intended to replace Abel, was born, it is simply stated that Adam became father, and the following name only shows the sex of the child (v. 3; comp. vi. 4; x. 21): the joy of Eve may have been enhanced by the circumstance that she had given birth to a son; but both in her heart and in her words that feeling was overbalanced by the more universal delight of having become a mother. The privilege of naming the child was, by the Hebrews, often yielded to the mother; the offspring to which she gave birth renewed and strengthened the affection of her husband; it was for her a time of pride and gratification: and this

ground.—3. And in the process of time it came to pass, that Cain brought of the fruit of the ground an offering to the Lord. 4. And Abel, he also brought of the first-

is another proof of the respect with which the Hebrew women were treated (comp. xvi. 11; xix. 37, 38; xxix. 31—35; 1 Sam. i. 20; Isai. vii. 14, etc.; comp. *Han.*, *Odyss.* xviii. 5, 6).

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—"לֹא־אֵל" signifies "with God," with His assistance, as "בְּי" in 1 Sam. xiv. 45; and the Sept. translates in our passage correctly *δὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ*. לֹא־אֵל is here neither the accusative, nor is it equivalent to מֵאֵל "from God," nor to כִּי "like God."

3. Labour had commenced. It was necessary to cultivate nature with exertion, and to subdue the animal creation in order to obtain a sufficient sustenance. The treasures of the earth were ransacked, and the tribes of the plains and forests were subjected. Agriculture and breeding of cattle were the earliest occupations which necessity dictated. Man was taught the former by nature herself which, in autumn, casts numberless seeds upon the fields, in order to revive them in the following spring as plants of beauty or utility; and in the latter he was his own instructor; he felt his superiority over many animals; he conquered them easily, attached them to himself, and made them serve his use. First he subjected the weaker and tamer animals; Abel was a "keeper of sheep"; he was, no doubt, for a considerable time satisfied with their milk and their wool; much later only he found their flesh tasteful and healthy; he learnt to prepare it; and deemed it a fit and worthy offering of gratitude which he owed to the Deity. The eldest son of the first human pair followed the occupation of his father; he was, like him, guided by the example of nature; he was a husbandman. The second son advanced an important step; he began to submit to his authority a part of the animate creation; he commenced to prove, that man is not only the possessor, but the ruler of the earth; and he became a herdsman.

3—8. God blessed the activity of both brothers; they knew that He alone is the source of success and prosperity; and they felt the desire of acknowledging His sovereignty by presenting to Him the best part of their property. The first sacrifices were offered. They were not commanded, but spontaneous gifts (תְּנוּנָה); they were dictated by no other sentiment but that of gratitude, in which a feeling of humble dependence, and, perhaps, the wish of further success secretly mingled. Thus far, both brothers were equally righteous and equally pious. But yet God accepted Abel's offering only, whilst He rejected that of Cain. Why was this the case? The text gives no direct clue; and conjecture has been busy to discover a reason. The Talmud supposes that Cain offered not his *best* produce, but brought, without selection, whatever first fell into his hands; and compares him to a faithless steward, who keeps the choicest fruits for himself, and delivers to his master the less desirable productions. At present, it is customary to say that God intended to show that He preferred the magnificent animal sacrifices to the comparatively poor vegetable offerings; or that the Hebrew writer wished to sanction his system of sacrificial laws by a striking instance taken from the history of the earliest generations. But supposing even that God feels that preference, where did He intimate it to the first men? If Cain offered his first-fruits with the same cheerful good-will as Abel brought the firstlings of his flock and their fat, why should his gifts be less acceptable? "Does God delight in burnt-offerings and sacrifices so much as in obedience? Is not obedience better than sacrifice, and attention to His will better than the fat of rams?" (1 Sam. xv. 22). And should not God look even with greater benevolence upon a vegetable offering, produced with sweat and toil from the stubborn earth,

lings of his flock, and of their fat. And the Lord had regard for Abel and for his offering: 5. But for Cain and for his offering He had no regard. And Cain was

which had just been laden with the curse of sterility, than upon the firstlings of the flock, which were bred in a life of ease and leisure; for which "man had neither toiled, nor which he had reared"?—Or should Cain alone bear the malediction laid upon the soil on account of his parents' sin? Did he not, on the contrary, deserve higher praise, since he did not try to evade, but to counterbalance and alleviate its effect? Nor was, in fact, Abel exempted from the curse. Does not the abundance of pasture, also, depend on the spontaneous fertility of the ground? and is not the life of the shepherd more laborious in barren and sterile districts? We can, therefore, find the reason of the rejection of Cain's offering neither in its objects nor in his own vocation as agriculturist. And yet we must expect impartial justice in the Divine acts. And this justice will be manifest, if we but correctly understand the words which God addressed to Cain, when He perceived his anger and ominous despondency: "If thou doest well, wilt thou not find acceptance? (וְלֹא־תִשְׁכַּח אֶת־הַטֹּב אֲשֶׁר־עָשִׂיתָ) But if thou doest not well, sin lieth at the door." It is, then, evident that the heart of Cain had no more been pure; that it had been imbued with a criminal propensity; that this sin made the favourable acceptance of his offering impossible; that his gift would have been as delightful in the eyes of God as that of Abel, if it had proceeded from a mind unstained by vicious thoughts. But Cain was grateful to God; he brought Him, as a mark of his gratitude, of the produce of his labour; he valued His applause highly, and His displeasure shed a gloom of wretchedness over his soul. He must, then, have sinned, not against God, but against man. And here the supposition is obvious, that envy and jealousy had long filled the heart of Cain, when he contrasted his laborious

and toilsome life with the pleasant and easy existence of his brother Abel. With incessant exertion, tormented by anxiety, and helplessly dependent on the uncertainty of the skies, he forced a scanty subsistence out of the womb of the repugnant soil; whilst his brother enjoyed a life of security and abundance, in the midst of rich valleys, beautiful hills, and charming rural scenes. And while he envied Abel's prosperity, he despised his idleness, which was indebted for the necessities of life to the liberality of nature, rather than to personal exertions. Thus hatred and jealousy took root in Cain's heart. He beheld the happiness of his brother with the feelings of an enemy. The joy at the success of his own labours was embittered by the aspect of his brother's greater affluence. How could God look with delight upon an offering which the offerer himself did not regard with unalloyed satisfaction? How could He encourage by His applause a man whose heart was poisoned by the mean and miserable passion of envy? Is not jealousy a sure indication of a dissatisfied mind? Could, then, the gratitude which Cain owed to God be pure and noble, when it was contaminated by the sickly hue of rancour? It was from this reason that God said to Cain: "If thou doest well, wilt thou not find acceptance?" The rejection of his offering was, therefore, a proof of Cain's sinful disposition.

But it was more; it was an admonition to banish low sentiments from his heart; it was a warning, that if iniquity was not eradicated from the bosom in the very germ, it would, with its luxuriant weeds, soon destroy all its health and vigour. God's answer contained the grave lesson, that one evil deed is always the parent of other and greater sins; that it is extremely difficult to arrest the demoniac power of wickedness in its baneful career: "if thou doest not well, sin lieth

very angry, and his countenance fell. 6. And the Lord said to Cain, Why art thou angry? and why is thy countenance fallen? 7. If thou doest well, *wilt thou not find*

at the door." Envy ended with murder; the noxious root had matured a poisonous fruit; moral disease finished with moral death. It impressed the momentous truth, that sin has the irresistible propensity of attacking and tempting the heart of man; that an eternal warfare is roused in his bosom from the moment that sin first enters it; "that its desire (תשוקתו) is to him." But since every human heart encloses the seed of evil, this struggle agitates, though in very various forms, every man; it is the main element of his internal life; it is the principal task of his spiritual existence to proceed as conqueror out of these severe combats; therefore God said, in conclusion, to Cain, more as an encouragement than a reproach: "but thou shalt rule over it"; it was still in his power to obtain a triumph; if he was unable to destroy the enemy, he might, at least, disarm him; if he could not expel him entirely, he might, at least, prevent his progress.

These serious and emphatic warnings seemed to have produced the desired effect upon Cain's mind. He spoke in a friendly and benevolent tone to his more favoured brother; he silenced, for a moment, the turbulent voice of hatred; and both turned reconciled to their occupations "in the field." But when, there, Cain again saw his brother, perhaps, cheerfully repose in the shadow of a far-spreading tree, his flock pasturing calmly and peacefully around him, whilst he himself toiled, with his imperfect instruments, either to "sow the seeds with tears," or to gather in the scanty crop with sorrow; the old feelings of bitterness were revived; the Divine admonitions were effaced; sin attacked him anew; its "desire was upon him"; he had not the power to conquer it; he forgot that the object of his hatred was his own brother; passion overpowered him; and, in a moment of infatuation, he killed him whom Providence had destined

to teach him new feelings of tenderness, and whose love ought to have been to him the best and earliest school of humanity. In destroying the accidental cause of his envy, he vainly hoped to regain his peace of mind.

This appears to be the internal meaning of our narrative; and, thus understood, it offers a very appropriate connection with the preceding section. The last chapters described the *origin* of sin; our narrative develops its *progress*. Eve was tempted by an external object of pleasure, Cain allowed his heart to be impregnated with the poison of jealousy; the mother was disobedient in the hope of obtaining a high intellectual boon, the son sinned merely to destroy the happiness of another without thereby increasing his own; the former brought death into the world, the latter murder. The death was long-sufferingly delayed by God, the murder was quickly committed by man in an outburst of passion. The sin of Eve marked the period when the innocence of childhood is endangered by the consciousness of good and evil, and when the first act of free-will is also the first error; the deed of Cain describes the more advanced epoch of manhood when the strife and struggle with practical life is hottest; when the heart is assailed by numberless perils and collisions; when ambition excites the imagination; and the warfare of competition taxes and stimulates all the energies of man. The first sin was against God; the second both against God, and a brother. But the source of either was the covetous desire of the heart. The Bible reminds man incessantly, that within himself is the spring of life and death.

We conclude with a few other necessary remarks which our text suggests, and manifestly implies. The first death was a premature one; Abel was taken from the earth at an early period of his life; his very name expresses his short and

acceptance? and if thou doest not well, sin lieth at the door, and to thee is its desire; but thou shalt rule over it.

fleeting existence; his sinful parents and the fratricide Cain survived him for a considerable period. But the early death of Abel could be no punishment; he seemed, in fact, to enjoy the particular favour of God; his offering was graciously accepted. We find, therefore, in our narrative the great and beautiful thought, that life is not the highest boon; that the pious find a better existence, and a more blissful reward in another and purer sphere; but that crime and guilt are the greatest evils, that they are punished by a long, wearisome life, full of fear and care, and compunctions of conscience. Innocence is more precious than many years, and to suffer is better than to domineer.

Our narrative proves evidently, that, although God had expelled the first pair from Eden, He had not ceased to take them under His paternal care; He walked still among them, guiding, instructing, and admonishing them. He was still regarded as the Creator and Preserver of the world, as the source of every good gift. It is, therefore, natural, that the first men satisfied the feeling of gratitude, innate in the human heart, and one of its purest and richest delights, by offering to Him the best parts of their produce. Abel could not shrink from killing animals, since God Himself had already, in Paradise, given the example for the purpose of clothing the first parents (iii. 21). The slaughtering of animals for the purpose of *sacrifices* has, perhaps, never been regarded unlawful; just as those nations even offered human sacrifices, among which murder was deemed a heinous crime. Certain it is, that Buddha prohibited the killing of animals altogether, because he believed, they were too frequently slain for the purpose of eating their flesh, under the pretence of performing a sacrifice. God had pleasure in Abel's offering; He detested that of Cain. Our text does not consider it necessary to explain how the brothers could know the will and disposition of

God; there existed still a close intercourse between God and man; they learnt the Divine will immediately from Him; He spoke to them intelligibly; and it is, therefore, a very gratuitous supposition of some ancient and modern expositors, that Abel's offering was burnt by a Divine and supernatural fire (so *Theodot.*, καὶ ἐνεπύρεσεν ὁ θεός; comp. Lev. ix. 24; Jud. vi. 21; 1 Kings xviii. 38; 2 Chron. vii. 1).

We may notice the fact, that in our narrative a particular stress seems to be laid upon the word *brother*. Eve gave birth to "his brother, namely Abel" (ver. 2); Cain spoke to "his brother Abel" (ver. 8); "Cain rose up against Abel his brother, and slew him" (ver. 8); "Where is Abel thy brother?" (ver. 9); and the same word occurs three times more in the next following verses. A certain emphasis is evidently intended by this striking repetition; it implies the soul-stirring antithesis, that the brother, the best and most faithful companion of life, was the first who succumbed to the murderous weapon; that the ties which nature had lovingly woven were wantonly torn by nature herself; that the two chief occupations of rural tribes which ought to complete and to assist each other, like the helping hands of brothers, were from the beginning doomed to mutual jealousy and to sanguinary hatred. If the flocks, by chance, strayed upon the cultivated ground of the husbandman, a deadly strife commenced, and the shepherd as well as the flock were frequently the victims of the hardy labourer, whose soul easily lost its native gentleness by continuous and wearisome labour, and by the permanent struggle with the sterile or weed-covered soil.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—The explanation which we have attempted is fully borne out by the literal analysis of the text. עַל סֵף יָמַי is "at the end of a certain indefinite time," when both the ease and the affluence of a pastoral life

8. And Cain spoke with Abel his brother. And it came to pass, when they were in the field, that Cain rose against

were seen in sufficient contrast to the toils and cares of the husbandman (comp. xl. 4; 1 Ki. xvii. 7; Neh. i. 4); it is not "at the end of a year," as Ebn Ezra and some modern interpreters understand (comp. 1 Sam. ii. 19).—מִחֻלְבָּהּ is "from their fat," not "from their milk," as Grotius and others suppose, believing, that before the flood no animal was killed; but we have observed, that the clothing with skins presupposes an early killing of beasts. Besides, בְּכִרֹת are the firstlings of animals, not their wool. Abel "offered of the firstlings of his flock, and of their fat," that is, "especially of their fat"; compare עֵל יִשְׂרָאֵל, יְהוֹדָה וּיְרֻשָׁיִם, Isa. i. 1, etc. — מִנְחָה is, in general, a gift, here a thanks-offering, but not, as later, exclusively of an unsanguinary kind, as distinguished from זֶבַח and עֹלָה. The offerings of the first fruits, and of the first-born animals with their fat, were later regulated by the Mosaic Law, as we have explained in our Commentary on Exodus, p. 220, *et seq.*—Everything depends on the manner in which we understand the word שָׂאת in ver. 7. It is evident, that it stands in antithesis to נָפְלוּ פָנֶיךָ; and this phrase means, undoubtedly, "thy countenance is dejected" (comp. Jer. iii. 12; Job xxix. 24). Now, נִשְׁמָע פָּנִים signifies frequently, to listen to, or to grant, a prayer or request; it has this sense clearly in Gen. xix. 21; Mal. i. 8, 9; Job xlii. 8, etc. The substantive שָׂאת has, therefore, the meaning of "acceptance, ready compliance, or favourable response" (comp., also, 1 Sam. xxv. 35). And this is the only signification in which it can unforcedly be taken in our text. The meaning "pardon" is out of the question; and the signification "elevation of the face," which is at present usually assigned to the word, is evidently not to be taken literally; the phrase: "thou wilt hold up thy countenance," is, in Job xxii. 26, 27, distinctly explained by: "thou wilt pray to Him, and He will hear thee"; elevation of the face is the effect of pros-

perity and happiness, such as arises from the Divine blessing; and it is natural, that it was used to designate these notions by way of metaphor. Cain's countenance was dejected, because anger, confusion, and perhaps humiliation, agitated him (comp. Neh. vi. 16); it would have been "elevated," if God, by favourably receiving his offering also, had given no cause for mortification.—We only mention the translations: "if thou offerest well . . . , but if thou doest not offer well, etc." (Sept. *ἰὰν ὀρθῶς προσενέγκῃς, καλ.*); "Whether thou offerest fine gifts or not" (Zunz); "whether thou bearest it calmly or not" (Solomon); "if thou art cheerful, then bear it, etc." (Philippeon). The rendering of the Vulgate seems to approach nearest the correct conception, but it is without distinctness: "nonne si bene egeris recipies."—חֲטָאת רִבְיָן "sin lieth at the door"; the feminine חֲטָאת is construed with the masculine רִבְיָן, because it is personified as "the enemy" who lurks and waits in ambush to attack the peace of man, like the wild beasts, which assail the unsuspecting wanderer (hence, also, the masculine suffixes in תְּשׁוּקָתוֹ and בְּנוֹ); and the verb רִבַּץ is very frequently used with respect to the crouching of the beasts of prey (xlix. 9; comp. xxix. 2; Cant. i. 7, etc.). Irregular constructions like this are not rare, and they occur in very various forms; in all such cases, the sense rather than the words is regarded (con. xv. 17; *Gesen.*, Gramm., § 145, note 2; *Ewald*, Gramm., § 569, b). It is, therefore, unnecessary to attempt another explanation of the words חֲטָאת רִבְיָן; that which is frequently given: "thou liest at the door of sin," is ungrammatical, as it would require לִפְתָּח, not לִפְתָּחָה.—The word תְּשׁוּקָה desire, is particularly appropriate to express the temptations by which sin entices and attacks the heart; it describes graphically the voluptuous delight with which the demon of allurement approaches human weakness and passion.



Abel his brother, and slew him.—9. And the Lord said to Cain, Where is Abel thy brother? And he said, I know not: *Am* I my brother's keeper? 10. And He said, What hast thou done? The voice of thy brother's blood crieth to me from the ground. 11. And now *art* thou

—אָמַר, in ver. 8, is used in an absolute sense: "to speak to somebody," as דָּבַר in xlv. 15; comp. 2 Chron. ii. 10; xxxii. 24; Jerem. iv. 5; or we may, as Gesenius and others believe, take אָמַר in its usual transitive meaning, and translate: "and Cain said *it* to Abel," that is, he communicated to him the words of God, which confidence might be considered as the first sign of the earnestness of his reconciliation (see *Gesen.*, Thesaur., p. 119; Lehrgeb., p. 784). It is, therefore, unnecessary to suppose here an elliptical expression, and to supply with the Samaritan codex גִּלְכָּה הַשָּׂדֶה, or with the Septuagint διέλωμεν εἰς τὸ πεδίον, or the Vulgate *Egrediamur foras!* and similarly some other ancient translations, whereas the greater part of them do not offer this superfluous and suspicious addition, which neither was in Origen's Hebrew text, nor has the support of a single manuscript.—The Talmud contains several legends and allegories by which it attempts to explain the cause of the hatred between the two brothers; it imputes it either to avariciousness on the part of Cain; or to his ambition; or to his envy and jealousy on account of Abel's wife; or to the innate human sinfulness; or, lastly, to a difference in their views regarding Providence, the moral government of the world, and the efficacy of virtuous deeds for happiness (comp. Targum Jonathan, on ver. 9; Midraash Rabba, Gen. 22; *Hamburger*, Geist der Hagada, p. 10).

9—12. The earth had, for the first time, been stained with human blood. An image of God had been destroyed. A feeling of horror and detestation moves the historian. Nowhere does he rise to a more powerful emphasis than when denouncing the nefariousness of murder. It is an impious attack against the sacredness of God Himself. The voice of the

blood cries up to heaven, and demands expiation (comp. Isai. xxvi. 21; Job xvi. 18; Ezek. xxiv. 7, 8. See Comment. on Exod., p. 367). The earth has opened her womb to receive the body of a brother. The punishment of Cain is pronounced with an energy which overwhelms even his obdurate mind. He feels the weight of his sin, and the magnitude of the sufferings which he has deserved; and he regains his tranquillity only by a re-assuring sign of God.—The earth was now burthened with a double curse. It was overspread with thorns and thistle, and was polluted by the blood of a pious relative; it had hitherto only been repugnant, it now became impure; and, instead of a nutritive grain, it had received a destroyed human life. Blood had been sown, and misery in abundance was the melancholy harvest.

The crime must be avenged. God Himself appears to perform this unwelcome act of justice. At first, the murderer, impelled by cowardice and fear, attempts to evade the Divine retribution. He affects innocence. The first sinners "were ashamed" after their disobedience; they hid themselves, and evaded the presence of God. But Cain met the voice of God with barefaced boldness: "Am I my brother's keeper?" The monster, Sin, had advanced a significant step. But God, without stopping to reproach him with this new offence, states his crime in terms of unmitigated severity. He describes it as an act of the utmost atrocity, horrifying even inanimate nature. And He proceeds at once to name the well-merited punishment. Cain shall be exiled from the land of his parents; he shall wander through the earth without ever finding abodes entirely to his satisfaction; he, the agriculturist, who, above all other men, requires fixed and settled habitations for the success of his labours, shall be

cursed from the ground, which hath opened its mouth to receive thy brother's blood from thy hand. 12. When thou tillest the ground, it shall no more yield to thee its strength; a fugitive and a vagabond shalt thou be on the earth.—13. And Cain said to the Lord, My punishment

doomed to roam over spacious tracts for the pursuit of his occupation. To remain on the spot where the nefarious deed of fratricide had been committed, would have been impossible. Could he be happy on the scene of his degeneracy? or could the soil which had been polluted with human blood yield its strength to the murderer? The land which witnesses the abomination of bloodshed "vomits out" its inhabitants (see note on ix. 5—7). Cain is, therefore, "*cursed away from the land* which had opened its mouth to receive his brother's blood;" he shall wander as a homeless vagabond, an object both of aversion and of pity. Hence the meaning of the much-disputed words: "cursed art thou from the land" (אָרֹר אַתָּה מִן הָאֲדָמָה), is clear; they imply the beautiful idea, that the sad reminiscences of guilt banish the sinner away even from the dear scenes of childhood; that the never-slumbering associations of crime persecute the miserable sinner who flies from land to land, vainly hoping to escape the scourges of a burthened conscience. The connection between a man and the spot in which he abandoned himself to wickedness is for ever severed. Such a place scarcely can endure, much less support or cheer him. And thus was Cain compelled to leave the house of his parents, because his crime had spread grief among them, and had stained the soil on which they dwelt; just as Israel was later banished from the Holy Land, because it had beheld their evil deeds, and was defiled with the blood of civil wars (comp. Isai. xxiv. 20).

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—אָרֹר אַתָּה מִן הָאֲדָמָה is, therefore, almost identical with נִרְשָׁת אֹתִי מֵעַל פְּנֵי הָאֲדָמָה in ver. 14; Cain repeats the verdict pronounced against him with mournful emphasis; he is driven, not from the earth

altogether, but from that part which he had inhabited in the days of his innocence. The other explanations which have been proposed concerning these words are either inappropriate or vague, not seizing their spirit and vigour. They cannot mean: "cursed shalt thou be *before the land*"; nor, "*in the land*"; nor, "*more than the land*" (comp. iii. 17, 19; viii. 21), which last signification, though at present extensively received, is extremely strange, since the curse of the soil and the misery of man cannot well be compared with each other.—About קוֹל דָּמִי . . . לַעֲקִים see note on Exod. xv. 4.

**13—16.** Cain is threatened with flight and exile. He cannot bear the idea of a roaming life. He feels that he is, as it were, banished from the presence of God; for he has forfeited His favour. Thus, after the Divine punishment has been pronounced, rises within him that sentiment of shame, which his parents had experienced and evinced immediately after their sin, and he exclaims: "I must hide myself before Thy face." But fear mingles with the gloomy anticipation of a toilsome existence; he apprehends the revenge of those to whom the memory of his innocent brother is dearer than his own disgraceful existence; he clings to life with all the tenacity of a worldling; and, in utter despondency, he cries: "my punishment is too great to be borne." God relented, therefore, from the rigor of the avenging of blood, gave him a sign, which assured him that nobody should attack his life, and threatened a severe punishment against those who would lay hand on Cain. We may ask, with some degree of surprise, why God granted this uncommon indulgence to a murderer, who had insidiously killed his own brother? Did not God Himself give the distinct

is greater than I can bear. 14. Behold, Thou drivest me out this day from the land; and from Thy face must I

precept: "He who sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed"? Why was it necessary to take such anxious precautions to save a life forfeited according to human and Divine rights? There is a peculiar point in the words: "he who *killeth the murderer* (Cain), vengeance shall be taken on him sevenfold" (ver. 15). We hesitate to speak with decision where the text is utterly silent. But we may venture the supposition, that if Cain's blood was to be "shed by man," it would also have been by the hand of a brother, for no other men existed; the firstborn of Adam's strength, and the pride of his mother, would have perished by a cold law of retaliation; the avenging of the crime would, in the result, have been as horrible as the crime itself; and the human family, just called into being, would have perpetrated self-destruction in its first generations. It was thus necessary that God should Himself exercise the duty of punishment, and dispense a chastisement commensurate with the fatal offence. But in reserving to Himself that right, He showed Himself not as a God of revenge; He was urged by no other motive than justice, by which alone the moral order of the world can be maintained, and which at last invariably visits the criminal. A long, laborious life in exile, with the fear of sanguinary retribution perpetually impending, was deemed equivalent to death; and the lamentations of Cain, when he heard the verdict of his flight, prove the bitterness of his pangs. And this is the other side of a profound Biblical idea which we have above pointed out. As the early death of Abel was no curse, so was the long life of Cain no blessing. He was permitted to protract an existence, veiled by the gloom of the past, and uncheered by any hope of the future. No earthly boon, not even long life, the greatest of all, is, in itself, either a pledge of happiness, or a mark of the Divine favour. The great questions which are

discussed in the book of Job are, in their deepest essence, practically embodied in the history of the first brother. Jehovah does not, like the Persian Ormuzd, guarantee all temporal blessings also; these are shadows without substance; they are, in a great measure, left to the prudence and personal exertion of man. It was impossible, that, among the Hebrews, the priests could obtain that power which, for instance, the Lamaic faith permits them, not only of deciding the spiritual welfare of the people, but of distributing the goods of this world. The external prosperity of man is not, as among the Hindoos, considered as the reward of the virtue displayed in some fancied previous state of existence; nor are his sufferings deemed the punishments for crimes there performed; the rich and happy are regarded without envy, and the poor and wretched without contempt; pride is excluded in the one, and self-respect is upheld in the other. This earth is the sphere of action allotted to man; but the designs of God reach beyond the limits of time into the abysses of eternity.

The chief punishment of Cain was his expulsion from the land of his birth; if the words of God (vers. 10—12) left any doubt in this respect, it would be removed by the unequivocal reply of Cain, who lays a powerful stress upon the roaming and outcast life to which he was condemned; and if any other thought occupied him besides, it was the fear with which the enormity of his crime overwhelmed him, or the just apprehensions inspired by the consciousness of a moral order ruling the affairs of the world, and avenging as the nemesis of iniquity; a consciousness inextinguishable even in the breast of the most degenerate criminal. But with no word did he allude to the sterility of the soil which he would have to cultivate in his new abode. And this is a sufficient proof that the words of God (vers. 10—12) do not include any such curse. It is a misinterpretation of the eleventh

hide myself; and I shall be a fugitive and a vagabond on the earth; and it shall come to pass, *that* every one that

verse which has constantly misled to this opinion. Not the earth, in general, will cease to give to Cain its strength, but only that part of it which "had opened its mouth to receive the blood of his brother"; the regions "in the east of the Eden," to which he was banished, are by no means remarkable for barrenness; the eastern part of Asia contains, on the contrary, some of the most blooming and most fertile tracts of the habitable globe. This circumstance is of great importance in the just estimation of the punishment decreed against Cain. He suffered, in reality, nothing but the curse of Adam, though in a more intense degree. He was, like him, expelled from the dwelling-place of his earlier years, and he became, like him, from that day liable to death; for the father became mortal by his disobedience; and the son lived after his crime in constant fear of the avenger of blood. Thus the curse of Cain contains no new element; the anger of God had exhausted itself in the punishment of the first parents; but the endless variety of crimes is attended by tortures of conscience of endless degrees and forms. The soil, and the occupations of agriculture, were already so heavily laden with the Divine malediction, that they were scarcely capable of a severer execration. Cain continued, but did not then commence the struggle with the hardships and difficulties of the earth. This toil forms, therefore, no part in the despondency of his complaint.—That exile was, among the Greeks and other ancient nations, the common punishment for homicide, and that it was considered more excruciating than capital punishment, is generally known (comp. *Eurip.*, Hippol. 1045 *et seq.*; *Ovid*, Metam. xi. 268—270).

The estrangement of Cain's heart from God was the cause of his exile; he had thereby forfeited His benevolence and His grace; he was obliged "to hide himself before His face"; guilt produced shame; God would not any longer "lift up His

countenance upon him," because He could not smile with delight upon the merciless sinner. This is the true sense of the words, "from Thy face shall I hide myself"; they do not imply the almost heathen idea, that the presence of God is bound to a certain spot, which He has chosen for His residence, or the sphere of His activity; that He remained in the abode of Adam and his wife, but was not in the land of Cain's exile. It would, indeed, be a superfluous task to prove that the doctrine of the omnipresence of God is one of the great fundamental Biblical truths (see Comment. on Exod., p. 185; comp. Pa. cxxxix.); phrases as "he fled before God" (Jon. i. 3, 10), express merely the desperate intention of escaping the decree, or avoiding a commission, of God; and the concluding words of our passage: "Cain went out from the presence of the Lord," are strictly parallel with the passage in Job: "And Satan went out from the presence of God" (i. 12; ii. 7); they signify that Cain's interview with God was finished; and that he prepared himself to emigrate from the abode of his youth. It is more than surprising, it is almost incredible, that many modern critics, and among them even Tuch, ascribe to God this narrow limitation of His presence; it is nothing less than a total destruction of Biblical theology to enclose God, the Ruler of the universe, whom the heaven and the heaven of heavens do not contain, in a circumscribed place, which He changes whenever His favoured people change their abodes. The heathens invented different deities for the different elements. These modern notions would degrade the God of the Bible to a local deity, without even the dignity of a permanent attribute! But our explanation renders the very forced exposition of several ancient interpreters equally unnecessary; Onkelos translates: "It is impossible to escape Thy sight," which is against the text; and Saadiah renders: "Can I be concealed from

findeth me shall slay me. 15. And the Lord said to him, Therefore, whosoever slayeth Cain, vengeance shall be taken for him sevenfold. And the Lord

Thee?" which is against the grammar.

God gave a sign to Cain (לֵּךְ יִדְעִי לִנְתָּן) lest he should be killed by any one who found him. We do not know, nor is it important to enquire, in what that sign consisted. But it is evident, that it was necessarily of a permanent character, visible not only momentarily to Cain alone, but during his life-time to all other men; for, thus only would it have the effect of preventing his assassination by a future avenger of blood. An evanescent sign or miracle was not sufficient; this would, on the one hand, have afforded to Cain no material safety; and might, on the other hand, furnish to other murderers a welcome opportunity of cunningly evading the punishment merited at human hands. Such transitory signs were appropriately given where merely belief in some future or unexpected event was to be enforced. Moses was assured of his future success before Pharaoh by the miracles of the rod and the leprous hand. Hezekiah was convinced of his deliverance from the enemy by the retrogressive movement of the sun-dial (Isai. xxxviii. 7, 8); and sometimes even the promise of a future sign sufficed for an event which was to occur in a still later period (see Exod. iii. 12, and our note there). But, in our case, not merely belief, and a sense of security on the part of Cain, were the end of the Divine sign; this was but one of the purposes which it was to serve; another as important object was, to enable his fellow-men to know and to avoid him. God might, indeed, have protected him in some supernatural manner; but this He did not do; He left the possibility of his becoming the victim of human revenge; and this is evident from the menace which God added: "Whosoever slayeth Cain, vengeance shall be taken for him (Cain) sevenfold": if the sign was not unmistakeably visible to all, Cain was neither sufficiently shielded, nor could so severe a punishment have

been pronounced against him who might kill him. Whether, then, the author believed, that such a sign was attached to Cain's person, is not certain; but it is not improbable. Marks of ignominy for degrading conduct were common among the eastern nations; and the Hebrew servant who disdained the supreme boon of liberty after six years of bondage, suffered public perforation of his ears, both as a sign of his baseness, and as an indisputable mark of his identity. We may, therefore, find, in this part of our narrative, the important practical and philosophical truth, that the traces of crime are indelibly visible in the person of the criminal; the "human form divine" is degraded and corrupted by vice; it loses that sublime dignity with which a pure and noble soul never fails to impress it; the shy look, the uncertain step, the sinister reserve, the lurking passion, these and many other symptoms of the highest interest for the physiognomist, mark the outcast of society, and make the man conspicuous upon whose conscience weighs the burden of an enormous misdeed.

Cain settled "in the land of Nod" (נֹד), in the east of Eden." It is evident, that the name Nod expresses the nature and character of the locality; it signifies flight or exile; and the same root means sometimes, grief and mourning (Job ii. 11; Isai. li. 19; Jer. xvi. 5, etc.). Nod is, therefore, the land of misery and exile. But, although this appellative signification of Nod is clear, it is not less certain, that the historian intended to describe thereby a distinct country; he designates its position in the east of Eden; and he mentions a town which Cain built in that land of flight. Nod is, therefore, as little as Eden itself, a mere abstraction, or a fictitious name, invented for the embodiment of a myth. But, as it is only described by its relative position to Eden, its situation is, naturally, as disputed as that of Paradise itself. It has been placed in Susiana, Lydda, and

gave a sign to Cain, lest any one finding him should kill him.—16. And Cain went from the presence of the Lord, and dwelt in the land of Nod, in the east of Eden.—

Arabia, in Nysa and China; in the mountains of the Caucasus and the vast steppes in the east of Cashmere; in Tartary, in

Parthia, or any part of India (هند, ١٣٦٦).

However, it appears that the whole extent of Asia eastward of Eden, was comprised under the name of Nod; Cain was expelled to the east of Paradise, where the Cherubim with their flaming swords for ever prevented the access; we are, thus, expressly reminded, that the murderer, who with one audacious step ascended the whole climax of crime, was removed far from the seat of blessedness and innocence; and it is natural, that his numerous descendants spread further and further in the same eastern direction, till they were believed to occupy the whole vast territory beyond the Indus, which, as we have shown, is the most eastern river mentioned in the description of Paradise. Nor do we believe this opinion to be devoid of a fruitful idea. The intercourse and commerce of the Israelites seldom extended beyond the Tigris, and scarcely ever beyond the Indus. The nations, therefore, which lived to the east of this river, were of no historical or social interest to the Hebrews. They were excluded from every contact with the people of God. It is, therefore, natural, that they should have been considered less favoured; that their agricultural pursuits, far from the great and exciting political life of the west, should be regarded as the effect of Divine displeasure; the “land of exile” embracing all those tribes which were unconnected, by any internal or external link, with the chosen people, lay, as it were, under the curse of banishment, far from the selected land of Divine glory. Thus, the repeated lamentations of Cain, regarding his flight, receive new vigour and emphasis.

From the “garden of delight,” a part of the young human family was removed into the “land of flight” within one single generation; the fall by disobedience

was too soon followed by degeneracy and violence; the newly acquired gift of knowledge led, in its first exercise, to error and to crime; reason, too weak to rule, was overpowered by passion; the spiritual part succumbed, and the earthly elements obtained a fatal ascendancy.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—עוֹלָם is here not *sin*, but *punishment* as in 1 Sam. xxviii. 10; Isai. v. 18; or *calamity*, as in Ps. xxxi. 11; and עוֹלָם עוֹנִי כְּשֹׂאֵם means, therefore, “my punishment is too great to bear”; Cain was not overpowered by the consciousness of his atrocious deed, but by the fear of its consequences; the former acceptance would imply a degree of contrition in the heart of Cain, of which our text offers no trace; and the succeeding words: “Behold, Thou hast driven me away, etc.,” prove clearly, that his miserable expulsion, not the anger of God, was the cause of his grief (comp. Isai. xxiv. 20; Hoe. i. 4). For the same reason, we must reject the version of most of the ancient translators, which has been adopted by the greater part of modern expositors: “my sin is too great to be pardoned.” But very apt is the remark of Philippon, that “the uneducated sinner arrives at the entire consciousness of his *sin* only by the entire extent of his *punishment*”; for thus the two chief meanings of עוֹלָם are well united.—The adverb כֵּן therefore, presupposes here the ellipsis, “this shall not be,” or, “I shall avert thy fear.” Or we may take כֵּן here in the adversative meaning of *yet, nevertheless*; and the sense is, “although thy lamentations concerning thy flight and exile are too well grounded, yet nobody shall slay thee”; so that the answer of God has reference to the first part of Cain’s exclamation rather than to the second (comp. Jer. v. 2; xxx. 16; Isai. vii. 14; x. 24, etc.). But, in no case, is it necessary to consider כֵּן here contracted from כֵּן כֵּן (not so), as the Sept., and several other ancient translations, render (οὐχ οὐτως, etc.).—עֵשֶׂה, he (Cain) shall

## 17. And Cain knew his wife; and she conceived, and

be revenged. This acceptance is, on account of the analogy with ver. 24, preferable to the translation: "he (the murderer of Cain) shall be punished" (comp. Exod. xxi. 20, 21; *Gesen.*, *Thea.*, p. 911).—*Sevenfold* revenge (שבעתים) expresses not only the severity, but also the solemnity of the menace; God guaranteed the safety of Cain, and confirmed it by a manifest sign; an attack upon Cain's life was, therefore, disobedience to God; therefore, the solemn and sacred number of oath and theocracy is used in this announcement (comp. Commentary on Exod., pp. 448, 449).

17. Cain was soon domiciled in the land of Nod, for his vocation as husbandman forced him to seek settled abodes; he had taken his wife with him from the paternal house; she was evidently his sister, since Adam and Eve are represented as the only primitive human pair. Such alliances were, even in much later times, and among very civilised nations, not considered incestuous; the Athenian law made it compulsory to marry the sister, if she had not found a husband at a certain age; Abraham married his half-sister, Sarah; and the legislator Moses himself was the offspring of a matrimony which he later interdicted as unholy (Exod. ii. 1, vi. 20). The great and important principle of the unity of the human race was to be proclaimed and enforced; one couple were, therefore, made the progenitors of the whole human family; all other considerations were deemed of minor importance compared with that momentous doctrine which twines a tie of brotherhood around all nations and all ages; a plurality of first couples would have prevented marriages which were later justly regarded with abomination, but it would have destroyed a fundamental truth, which is the germ of noble social virtues, and which sheds brilliant rays of hope over the confusion of national strife and warfare.

Cain became the father of a son; he called him Enoch (חֵנוֹךְ). This name

cannot be without meaning, for Cain soon afterwards built a town, which he called Enoch after his son. The Hebrew root to which it belongs (חֲנָךְ) has two principal significations: to teach (Prov. xxii. 6), and to consecrate (Deut. xx. 5; 1 Kings viii. 63). The name of Cain's son seems to point to the former, that of the town to the latter meaning. Cain had felt the curse of impiousness; he could not master his vices or his passions; although he struggled against them, he fell and succumbed; he began the resistance when the enemy in his heart had gained too much power; even the solemn warning of God, that he ought manfully to oppose his evil disposition, was of no avail. He wished that his son, at least, should reap the benefit of his own mournful experience; he intended to instruct him from his early years in the duties of virtue, and he called him by a name which involuntarily reminds of the maxim: "Train (חֲנֹךְ) a child in the way he should go; even when he is old, he will not depart from it." And when he later built the first city, and called it "consecration," he meant to intimate that the firstling of his social prosperity belongs to God, for he had learnt to appreciate the value of His blessing; and, at the same time, he perpetuated the name of his son, in whom all his hope and all his joy were centred.

It was a very decided step towards civilisation, when the idea of building a city was first conceived and realised. The roaming life of the homeless savage was abandoned; social ties were formed; families joined families, and exchanged in friendly intercourse their experience and observations; communities arose, and submitted to the rule of self-imposed laws; the individuals resigned the unchecked liberty of the beasts of the forest, and felt the delight of being subservient links in the universal chain. Social and personal excellence depend on, and strengthen each other. Therefore, when the first communities were

bare Enoch; and he built a city, and called the name of

organised, the way to a steady and continuous progress was paved, and the first beams of dawning humanity trembled over the night of barbarism and ferocity. It is a deep trait in the Biblical account to ascribe the origin of cities to none but the agriculturist. Unlike the nomad, who changes his temporary tents whenever the state of the pasture requires it, the husbandman is bound to the glebe which he cultivates; the soil to which he devotes his strength and his anxieties becomes dear to him; that part of the earth to which he owes his sustenance assumes a character of holiness in his eyes; and if, besides, pledges of conjugal love have grown up in that spot, he is more strongly still tied to it; he fixes there his permanent abode, and considers its loss a curse of God. Thus, even in the "land of flight," the agriculturist Cain was compelled to build houses and to form a city. Many inventions of mechanical skill are inseparable from the building of towns; ingenuity was aroused and exercised; and whilst engaged in satisfying the moral desire of sociability, man brought many of his intellectual powers into efficient operation. Necessity suggested, and perseverance executed, inventions which safety or comfort required; and when man left the caverns which nature had beneficently provided for his dwelling-places, to inhabit the houses which his own hands had built, he entered them with that legitimate pride which the consciousness of superior skill begets, and with the consoling conviction, that although God had doomed him, on account of his own and his ancestors' sins, to a life full of fatigue and struggles, He had graciously furnished him with a spark of that heavenly fire which strengthens him to endure and to conquer.

Greek mythology also attributes to the agricultural tribes the first building of houses and cities. Ceres, aided by all the gods and goddesses, erected the walls and finished the roofs; she herself taught the first citizens the rudiments of a social

legislation, and united solemnly a young couple in the sacred bond of matrimony. In the Hebrew records this progress is both more moral and more rapid. The first parents already formed a united household; the example of a social life under the authority of a chief was given; and in the next generation a man of energy and influence might already establish himself as the head of a well-regulated community.

We have above attempted to explain the meaning of the name of the town Enoch. But to define its position is an impossibility. It lies "in the land of Nod," which is itself not described by any more distinct criterion than that it is situated "in the east of Eden." If the position of the latter should be settled beyond dispute, it will be time to search for a distinct locality both of Nod and Enoch. If the land of Nod is, at least, to be determined as the whole region of Asia to the east of the Tigris, it would be preposterous to fix in this vast territory upon a spot for the town of Enoch. Vague resemblances with later Greek or Eastern names have here also been the only guides of those who think it either necessary or possible to settle every minute detail of Biblical antiquities. Whether Enoch represents the people of the Heniochi in the Caucasus (*Hasse*), or the town Anuchta in Susiana (*Huetius*), or Heniochia in Syria, or Iconium, or the old commercial town Kannunch (or Kanjakubdsha) in India (*Bohlen*), are suppositions connected with the individual conjectures concerning the site of Eden, and it is of little importance to examine them. It is an essential part of every science to distinguish and to acknowledge what it is impossible to know. And a certain subdued light, a *chiaro-oscuro*, is well befitting the earliest deeds and sufferings of mankind. The progress from the delightful innocence of childhood (Eden), through the struggle and guilt of the awakening physical and moral strength (Nod), back to the con-



the city, after the name of his son, Enoch.—18. And to Enoch was born Irad: and Irad begat Mehujael: and Mehujael begat Methusael: and Methusael begat Lamech.

sious virtue by training and instruction (Enoch), is a type more to be conceived by the internal eye than to be palpably constructed for the senses.

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—To understand עֵיִר here as *cavern*, like מְעֵרָה (*Perizonius*, Orig. Babylon, ii. 35; *Faber*, Archæol. i. 36, and others), is not only against the genius of the language (compare עֵיִר בְּנֵה עֵיִר), but against our context, which, as we have shown, implies just that momentous change from tents and caverns into houses and cities, which marks one of the most decided stages of social development (compare *Pliny*, Hist. Nat. vii. 57; *Ovid*, Metam. i. 121).—Tradition calls Cain's wife Sava (*Epiphan.* Haer. xxxix. 6).

**18—24.** The historian passes rapidly over the next four generations. After the first formation of towns, and the organisation of communities, there is necessarily a long pause before any decided advance is made in social life. Numberless claims are to be adjusted, endless conflicts to be settled; and experience suggests a thousand improvements in the institutions and all external arrangements. Centuries elapse before the political life admits of, or urges on to, a further progress. This important step was reserved to the fifth generation. One of Lamech's sons was Jubal. He was the inventor of musical instruments (כְּנֹר וְעוּבָב). Necessity had been the mother of the first discoveries, and had prompted to the earliest exercise of the moral energies. A certain simple comfort was the consequence of this activity; and security and ease gave leisure and cheerfulness for the cultivation of the fine arts. The bare and rude wants were supplied; and the mind was sufficiently vacant to desire beauty. The toilsome existence was ennobled by the admixture of a higher element. The inexorable necessities of daily life absorbed no more the whole attention or the entire

strength; the soul and the heart also, demanded and obtained their food and nurture; Lamech was the first poet (vers. 23, 24), and his son the first musician; the "sweat of the brow" was temporarily dried by the heavenly sunshine of art; the curse of Adam was, in a great measure, conquered by the perseverance and the gentleness of his descendants. Everybody will readily admit, that this was a most important step in the advancement of society; for, materialism with its degrading tendencies of cold expediency was, in some measure, dethroned; it became a co-ordinate part of a higher striving, which found its reward, not in selfish utility, but in a free and elevating recreation. It is true, that most of the ancient nations ascribed the invention of musical instruments to their deities: the Egyptians believed that Thot, the god of wisdom and knowledge, the friend of Osiris, invented the three-stringed lyre (*Diod. Sic.*, i. 16); the Greeks represented Pan or Mercury as the first artists on the flute; and music was generally considered a divine gift, and an immediate communication from the gods. But our context describes the invention of these instruments in a far deeper manner; it embodies it organically in the history of the human families, and assigns to it that significant place which its internal character demands.

It is not an accidental fact, that the lyre and the flute were introduced by the brother of a nomadic herdsman (Jabal). It is in the happy leisure of this occupation, that music is generally first exercised and appreciated, and the idyllic tunes of the shepherd find their way, either with his simple instruments, or after the invention of others of a more developed description, into the house of the citizen, and the palace of the monarch. — But we must not be surprised to find here Jabal described as "the father of those who dwell in tents, and of those who have cattle" (ver. 20), although Abel

19. And Lamech took two wives: the name of the one *was* Adah, and the name of the other Zillah. 20. And Adah bore Jabal: he was the father of those who dwell in

had already followed the same pursuits (ver. 2). Every single remark proves the depth of thought, and the comprehensiveness of the views of the Hebrew writer. Abel had been murdered, most probably without leaving children; yet, his occupation could not die out with him; breeding of cattle is a calling too necessary, and at the same time too inviting, not to be resumed by some later-born individual. But in the family of Cain rested the curse of blood-shed; the crime was to be expiated by severe labour; in the fourth generation it was atoned for (Exod. xx. 5); and now were the Cainites permitted to indulge extensively in the easy life of herdsmen; the blood of Abel was avenged, and with the restored guiltlessness returned affluence, and—mirth, which is aptly symbolized by the invention of music.

Jabal and Jubal were Lamech's sons with Adah (אֲדָם); but he had another wife, Zillah (צִלָּה), who bore him also a son, Tubal-cain (תּוּבַל-קַיִן). He was a "sharpeners of all instruments of brass and iron"; and this seems to imply, that he continued the ancestral pursuit of agriculture, but that he also improved the necessary implements; he invented the practical arts of whetting ploughs, and of making, by the aid of fire, other instruments materially mitigating the toil and hardship which the cultivation of the soil imposes upon the laborious country-man. And are we not justified in finding in this alleviation of the manual labour also, a relaxation of the severe curse pronounced against his ancestor Cain?

Daughters are not usually mentioned in genealogical lists, except where in later history they obtain some individual distinction. We shall, however, not urge too much the question, why Naamah is here introduced, as the only female descendant of Cain? And, since the name alone is mentioned, it can be our only guide in

attempting a reply; but, considering the general significance of the names, we shall scarcely go astray in following that trace. Naamah (נַעֲמָה) signifies, the lovely, beautiful woman; whilst the wife of the first man was simply Eve (חַוָּה), the life-giving. Who does not see the obvious progress in the intervening generations? It is the same remarkable change in women, as we have just pointed out in men. The women were, in the age of Lamech, no more regarded merely as the propagators of the human family; beauty and gracefulness began to command homage; the woman was no more merely the "help" of the husband, but his most beautiful ornament; if the eye finds an independent delight in lovely appearance, gross materialism is conquered; and man has entered the period of art, which consists essentially in the spiritualisation of the sensual conceptions. Even the wives of Lamech manifest the transition into this epoch of beauty; for, whilst one wife, Zillah, reminds still of assistance and protection (צִלָּה, shadow), the other, Adah (אֲדָם), bears a name almost synonymous with Naamah, and, likewise, signifying ornament and loveliness.—We may add, that the son of the former (Tubal-cain) was the inventor of practical and mechanical improvements, whilst the son of the latter (Jubal) was the inventor of the adorning instruments of music.—Thus, we may, with due energy, strike the living water of thought even out of the apparently rocky soil of dry names.

Two verses (the 23rd and 24th) are inserted as a poetical episode which seems, both in its form, and in its contents, to be unconnected with the main thread of our historical narrative. But they are by no means so obscure as they have often been represented to be. Lamech had been either insidiously attacked or wantonly provoked by a young man (אִישׁ or יָלֵד); he had, in this involuntary encounter, even received

tents, and of those who have cattle. 21. And his brother's name was Jubal: he was the father of all such as use the

a serious wound (פצע or חִבְרָה); he was, therefore, obliged to prepare himself for resistance; and in this act of legitimate self-defence he had the misfortune of killing his assailant. Lamech, though lamenting this melancholy issue, was conscious and certain of his innocence; and partly in order not to risk the affection of his wives if they should hear of this sanguinary deed, and partly in order to satisfy them that his personal safety stood in no danger from the avenger of blood, he informed them of the whole incident in a solemn address. Although he confessed the deed, he was sure that nobody could, with any legal or moral right, seek his life, since he had not offered but repelled violence. And in this fact consists the chief difference between his deed and that of Cain; for, the latter had maliciously and nefariously murdered a brother, incited by no other motive than vile jealousy. And yet had God guaranteed to Cain his life; He had set an awful curse upon any future aggressor; "whosoever slayeth Cain, vengeance shall be taken on him sevenfold." Lamech, therefore, whom the duty of self-preservation had reluctantly forced to bloodshed, might be infinitely more satisfied that he had not forfeited his life; he was even confident, that he had committed no crime; and he could exclaim with emphasis: "If Cain shall be avenged sevenfold, truly Lamech seventy and sevenfold"; in which sentence the numbers are all expressive of intense and rigid punishment. It is obvious, that in this address of Lamech, a new political and social law of the greatest importance is proclaimed. The eastern custom of avenge of blood was often so sanguinary, as to cause endless persecution, hatred, and murder. Blind passion alone regulated the conduct; and base vindictiveness was hallowed with the virtuous names of affection and duty. At a later time, Moses restricted by a series of efficient laws, that pernicious custom within salutary limits (see notes on xxvii. 45, and Exod. xxi. 12—14); but

already the history of Lamech teaches distinctly, that the avenging of blood must not be continued to an interminable extent; that a murder caused in the necessity of self-defence is not liable to the persecution of the blood-avenger; and that so far from this being an act of duty, honor, or justice, it is visited with the most rigorous Divine punishments. — This appears to us the general sense of these two verses; they are no fragment, but are complete and intelligible; they contain a clear and appropriate idea, in perfect harmony with the whole tenour of our chapter, which describes, in the form of a genealogical list, the gradual social progress of the human family. — And let us observe, in addition, that, whilst poetry is attributed to the father, the invention of music is ascribed to the son. Poetry and music are, in the ancient world, almost inseparable; but poetry is unquestionably the more primitive and fundamental art; for solemnity of disposition and emotion, or elevation of thought, lead naturally to poetical diction; it is even maintained, that all the first written compositions were in poetry, not in prose. Music formed, generally, but the accompaniment of poetry, enhancing the effect of its recital; the latter is not rarely identified with prophecy itself; it was considered as the effusion of direct inspiration; and even in the "singers" or "seers," the sublime contents and the poetical beauty of the words were of higher moment than the charm of the accompanying musical performance (comp. notes on Exod. xv. 20). Words convey ideas with greater distinctness and precision than the most descriptive music; and if those words are, besides, accompanied by the harmony of sounds, both the mind and the heart are touched and moved by an irresistible power. We know that the ancient laws were generally written in verse; the laws of Charondas were sung at the banquets of the Chalcidian cities; in Crete, the youths learnt their laws, which were composed in poetry, with musical accompaniments, as was the cus-

lyre and the flute. 22. And Zillah, she also bare Tubal-cain, a sharpener of all instruments of brass and iron:

tom of the Agathyrsi even in the time of Aristotle; and there was a time when even "history and philosophy, every action and passion, precepts and instructions, praises of the gods, prayers and thanksgivings" were all composed in verse (comp. *Lowth*, *De Sacr. Poes.*, *Lect.* iv.).

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—After these observations, we need scarcely refute the numberless other expositions which have been attempted, and which either do violence to the sense or to the words. That Lamech really destroyed the life of a fellow-man is indisputable from the use of the perfect: "I have killed" (אֲנִי הִרַגְתִּי); it is, therefore, impossible to translate: "If I killed a man," etc. (*Maurer*); or, "did I kill a man, etc. . . ?"; or, "I shall kill a man for a wound"; or, "I shall now kill the man who wounds me," etc. (*Herder*); or, "A man have I killed, but to my own wounding," etc. (*Geddes*); or, "I have slain a man by my wounds," etc. But, that this deed was necessarily committed by means of the weapons invented by Lamech's son Tubal-cain, is nowhere indicated in the text. The instruments which the latter made were agricultural implements rather than murderous arms. If Lamech had "exulted in the consciousness of the inviolability which the use of his arms secured to him" (*Herder*, *Tuch*), he would have addressed his words more fitly to his sons, who could protect him, and who understood the use of arms, than to his wives; he would, at least, have summoned the former also to listen to his solemn speech. And if it were, lastly, a lay of triumph on the invention of the sword, that pride would be more appropriate in Tubal-cain than in Lamech. It is not the "rude strength" which is celebrated in this little song, but a moral truth of practical significance, and a pious conviction resulting from an unshaken belief in the just rule of Providence.

The passive וַיִּלְדָּה, followed by the accusative אֶת־עֵירָה (ver. 18), is a construction ad sensum: "one (that is, his wife) bore to Enoch a son, Irad," a construction

frequently employed (see *Exod.* x. 8, and our note there; comp. *Gesen.*, *Lehrg.* p. 682); it is not a usage "borrowed from the customs of polygamy," as has been observed by several critics.—יָלַד (ver. 18) is identical with הוֹלִיד (see x. 8, xxii. 23,

etc.; comp. *τίκτειν*; *γεννᾶν*; Arab. وَلَدَ *ilārim* parents, *Zech.* xiii. 3).—The three sons of Lamech have similar names, יָבֵל, יֹבֵל, and תּוֹבֵל־קַיִן; but they are derived from different roots, and their meanings are different. 1. יָבֵל (from יָבַל, to flow, or grow; comp. תִּבְּלָה, increase, is an appropriate name for a breeder of cattle, who tries to augment his flocks; 2. יֹבֵל (from יָבַל, to blow the horn), points to the invention of the musical instruments ascribed to him; and 3.

תּוֹבֵל־קַיִן (from the Persian توبال brass, and قین smith), copper-smith, with regard to the instruments of brass and iron which he made. It is simply futile to identify Jubal with Apollo, and Tubal-cain with Vulcan; or with the nation of the *Τελχίτες* (*Diod. Sic.* v. 55; *Strabo* xiv. 654); or with the northern god Dvalin, the manufacturer of military swords (*Buttmann*, *Mytholog.* i. 164).—אָבִי יֵשֶׁב means literally: "the father or first of dwellers in tents, and of proprietor of cattle"; אָבִי וּמִקְנֵה belongs to יֵשֶׁב, not יֵשֶׁב; for it would be strange to say, "he dwells among cattle" (*Tuch*), and forced to translate "dweller in tents and near the cattle" (*Gesenius*), thus taking יֵשֶׁב in two different meanings in two successive words; and the Masorites express the former meaning by the distinctive accent under אָבִי. We may, therefore, supply אָבִי before מִקְנֵה (comp. xlv. 32, 34); but we need not contract the words אָבִי וּמִקְנֵה into one notion, as the Septuagint does: *παρθρ οἰκοῦντων ἐν σκηναῖς καταπορεύσαν.*—יֵשֶׁב is not rarely used absolutely, "to dwell in some place" (comp. 1 Sam. xxvii. 9; *Isai.* xlii.

and the sister of Tubal-cain *was* Naamah. 23. And Lamech said to his wives,

Adah and Zillah, hear my voice,

Ye wives of Lamech, listen to my speech;

For I have slain a man for my wound,

And a youth for my bruise:

11, xliv. 13; comp. Ps. xxii. 4). To dwell in tents means merely to pursue the nomadic life of a shepherd; it does not imply that the cities were abandoned by the agriculturists (ver. 17); it indicates by no means "a retrograde movement in civilisation and social refinement" (*Morren*). This passage, therefore, is far from confirming the signification of עֵר (in ver. 13) as "a rocky fastness"; one part of the population might live in houses and cities, whilst another part wandered from district to district, with their light and portable tents.—כַּנּוֹ and עוֹנֵב are the two musical instruments invented by Jubal. We are accustomed to find everywhere, in this primitive history of mankind, great outlines and comprehensive sketches; nothing is trifling or accidental; and it will, therefore, be readily admitted, that those two words represent the chief musical instruments known to the ancient Hebrews. And this view is not only confirmed but demanded by an examination of the words. For כַּנּוֹ (*κινύρα*, or *κυνύρα*) is indisputably the *lyre*, or *cithara*, and represents the stringed instruments (כַּנִּינֹת); whilst עוֹנֵב is most probably the *flute*, and is the type of all wind instruments. The כַּנּוֹ had, according to Josephus (*Antiq.* VII. xii. 3), ten strings, and was played upon with the plectrum; whilst the עוֹנֵב had twelve notes, and was played upon with the fingers: although it appears, from several Biblical passages, that the כַּנּוֹ, also, was sometimes, perhaps in earlier ages, or if it was of a smaller size, beaten with the fingers (1 Sam. xvi. 23, xviii. 10, xix. 9). The כַּנּוֹ was scarcely the harp, but a smaller stringed instrument, the lyre, or guitar, since it was played in walking also (1 Sam. x. 5;

2 Sam. vi. 5; comp. *Déscrip. de l'Égypt.* xvii. 365; see *Winer*, *Bibl. Dict.* ii. 125). It was frequently made of costly wood, either that of the cypress (2 Sam. vi. 5), or of the rare almag, which was imported from Ophir with the gold and the precious stones (1 Kings x. 12). The root כַּנַּנ seems to be imitative of the sound produced by trembling strings (comp. *Gesen.* *Thesaur.* p. 698); and כַּנּוֹ is, therefore, scarcely to be traced to the Syriac root כַּנַּנ, signifying "scapus canalis," hemp, or linum, of which material the strings of the harp were made. The כַּנּוֹ was in very general use among the Hebrews and other Eastern nations, as the Syrians and Phœnicians (comp. *Ezek.* xxvi. 13). It was played in joy and happiness, either alone or with vocal accompaniment, for the purposes of amusement and edification; and it is especially as a religious instrument, that it was important to the Hebrew writer. But the כַּנּוֹ was scarcely ever used on mournful occasions, when it was hung up in silent melancholy, and gave way to doleful lays (Ps. cxxxvii. 2; Job xxx. 31).—The second instrument, עוֹנֵב, has, by some of the earliest interpreters, been understood as the *flute*, perhaps the Pandæan pipe, or syrinx, an instrument still common in many parts of the East, with a number of reeds varying from five to twenty-three (*Niebuhr*, *Reise* i. 181; *Russell*, *Nat. Hist.* of Aleppo, i. 155, 156). The root עוֹנֵב seems to signify to *blow*; it is, therefore, impossible to take עוֹנֵב as lyre, or harp, or psaltery. That עוֹנֵב is identical with עוֹנֵב דָּוִד (Dan. iii. 5; *συμφωνία*), and that both are the *bag-pipe*, cannot be sufficiently substantiated (comp. *Ugolini*, *Thesaur.* xxxii.; *Pfeiffer*, *Musik der alten Hebräer*, p. 48; *Forke*, *Geschichte der*

24. Yet Cain shall be avenged sevenfold,  
But Lamech seventy and sevenfold.

25. And Adam knew his wife again, and she bare a son, and called his name Seth: For God, *said she*, hath given me another seed instead of Abel; for Cain hath slain him. 26. And to Seth, to him also there was born

Musik, i. 131). Onkelos renders it correctly by אֲנֹכְנָה; the Vulgate, *organum* (that is, a double or multiple pipe). But it is possible that אֲנֹכְנָה means simply "the lovely, agreeable instrument"; for the root אֲנָה has undoubtedly this signification in Ezek. xxxiii. 31, 32 (שִׁיר אֲנָהּ). However this may be, the context compels us to understand here a wind instrument, and the traditional interpretation confirms this view. — אֲנֹכְנָה (ver. 23), instead of אֲנֹכְנָה; a similar form is אֲנֹכְנָה (Exod. ii. 20), instead of אֲנֹכְנָה. — The suffixes in אֲנֹכְנָה and אֲנֹכְנָה express the genitival *objectives*, "the wound or stripe inflicted upon me"; compare אֲנֹכְנָה, "violence committed against me" (Gen. xvi. 5; Jer. li. 35, etc.). — We take אֲנֹכְנָה, in ver. 24, in the adversative signification of *yet, nevertheless*, as it is clearly used in Isai. xxviii. 28; Job xxiii. 10. — On the history of Cain, compare *Othon. Lex. Rabbin.* p. 109; *Hottinger, Hist. Orient.* p. 25; *Niemeyer, Charakt.* ii. 57; *Buttmann, Mythol.* i. 164; on the life of Abel see also *Fabric. Pseudepigr.* i. 113; *Iren.* v. 67; *Chrysostom. Hom.* in Gen. xix.

25, 26. The history of Cain and his descendants is finished. It is never resumed in any later portion. The Cainites, though known to the Hebrews, did not enter into any internal connection with them; they were the nations of the distant East, famous by the mighty polities they formed, powerful by their inventions, and though disposed to deeds of sanguinary violence, yet not inaccessible to the softening influence of mental culture and civilisation. This narrative is clearly a continuation of the preceding chapters; for it contains both the progress of the human mind and of sin. But it introduces, also, the succeeding genealogy.

The premature death of Abel had thrown the first parents into grief and sadness; the circle which had just been formed was already broken; their habitation appeared to them desolate, and their hearts longed for those objects of love which they had so fondly cherished. For the murder of Abel had deprived them of both their children; Cain was not only removed from their vicinity, but he was alienated from their affections; they could not, with pleasure, think of the destroyer of a sacred life; nor could they, with satisfaction, represent to themselves the miserable life which his own guilt had prepared for him: all their sentiments were as painfully moved by the remembrance of their dead, as of their living son. But the Divine mercy compensated them for their loss, and consoled their affliction. Eve bore a son whom she called Seth (שֵׁת), for "God, *said she*, has given me (שָׁתָה) another seed instead of Abel; for Cain slew him." This son became the ancestor of Noah, and, through him, of Abraham, and of the chosen people of Israel. On him and his progeny, therefore, the whole attention of the historian is henceforth concentrated; with him we approach nearer the immediate end and purport of the Pentateuch. And even the very first generation after him, gives a striking proof of the altered direction which the path of mankind then took. The son of Seth was Enos (אֵנוֹשׁ), and it is added, that in his time "men began to invoke the name of God" (אֲנִי הוֹחֵל לְקַרְאֵ בְשֵׁם יי). We cannot repress a feeling of astonishment, that these simple and clear words should have suffered so many forced and often most strange interpretations; since we need only take them in their obvious sense in order to arrive at a perfectly satisfac-

a son; and he called his name Enos: then began *men* to invoke the name of the Lord.

tory idea. The first, and perhaps most material mode of Divine worship is by means of offerings and sacrifices. Kings were honoured with gifts; little cultivated nations naturally believed, therefore, that the King of kings would be pleased or propitiated by their most precious property. This feeling of devotion, loyalty, and self-denial, is certainly truly religious and commendable; it is a perfect justification for the offering of sacrifices, which, therefore, were even later not only maintained in the Mosaic legislation, but developed into a magnificent system. But God is a spirit; His worship is, therefore, the more perfect, the more it is internal and spiritual in character. The elevation of the heart to God, whether accompanied by offerings or not, is, therefore, a higher, and, no doubt, a more refined way of Divine adoration than the mere killing of animals, or the mere oblation of vegetable gifts. *Prayer*, in itself a noble mode of worship, enhances and dignifies the *sacrifices*. The first generation after Adam, represented by Cain and Abel, displayed its gratitude to God by offerings; the second manifested it by prayers; in the time of Seth, "men began to invoke the name of the Lord," either in private prayer or in public supplication. We are, thus, at once transported to another, and purer, sphere; we move in a more spiritual world; the descendants of Cain exercise their ingenuity by mechanical or social inventions of every kind; they try either to facilitate or to adorn the external life: the first descendant of Seth advances a decided and a bold step towards the realm of spirituality; his thoughts are directed to the inner man, and to internal life; he is destined to be the ancestor of the propagators of religious truth; and he boldly opens the portals of the purest religion.

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—This explanation excludes the opinions: "then they began to call themselves by the name of God" (*Clericus, Michaelis*); or, "they began to desecrate the Divine name by

calling idols gods" (*Onkelos, Jonath., Josephus, and others*); or the strange translation of the Septuagint: οὗτος ἡλπίσεν επικαλεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ (deriving ἡλπίσθαι from ἡλπί to hope).—That "עֲשֵׂה אֱלֹהִים signifies, to invoke the name of God, requires, indeed, no proof; the instances of this usage are superabundant (comp. xii. 8; xiii. 4; xxi. 33, etc.; Ps. lxxix. 6; Isai. xii. 4).—Seth was born to compensate his parents for the pious Abel, who had become a victim of his brother's envy. He was, thus, a new pledge of the Divine love; Eve imparted to him, therefore, herself the name, as she had before done at the birth of the first-born only. If Seth was, indeed, to be "a compensation," his life must be safe, his existence secure; neither he nor his descendants must be exposed to annihilation; when the ninth generation after him had degenerated by sin, it was not entirely destroyed; Noah remained to preserve the old race; and whenever his later descendants were, in future ages, pursued and oppressed, they were never extirpated: "a tenth part was left, and although this also is exposed to destruction, it is like the terebinth and the oak, in which the stem remains when they are cut down; a stem of holy seed" (Isai. vi. 13). It is not arbitrary to find this idea in the explicit and distinct words of Eve when the future progenitor of the chosen people was born.—The *nominative* of the personal pronoun אֲנִי follows after the *dative* לְאֵלֹהִים, in order to produce a greater emphasis; similar constructions are אֲנִי לְאֵלֹהִים "in his mouth also" (2 Sam. xvii. 5); לְבִי לְאֵלֹהִים "my heart also" (Prov. xxiii. 15; comp. Gen. x. 21; xxvii. 34; 2 Sam. xix. 1; 1 Kings xxi. 19; Ps. ix. 7; 2 Chron. xxxv. 21; *Ewald, Gram.*, § 578).

*Ewald* is of opinion, that the four first names of our list express merely the notions of *man* and *child*; for, as אָדָם and עֶשֶׂת signify *man*, so he believes אֶתֶּן and קִיָּן to mean *offspring* (connecting אֶתֶּן with שָׂתֵל to *plant*, and rendering

*shoot or offshoot*; and identifying יֶפֶט or יֶפֶת with יֶפֶת, and explaining *son* or *child*); and that they represent "mankind old but eternally young." In order to procure for this hypothesis some probability, he adds to these names that of Salah (שָׁלַח, xi. 12), and—of *Kainān* (כַּיִּנָּן), which the Septuagint inserts before Salah, but which is manifestly spurious (see on xi. 10—32), and he attributes to both the same signification of child or offspring. He is, further, certain, that, in the original legend, Enoch and Lamech were regarded as demigods, if not as gods; that Enoch was the good deity, the ideal of a pious existence, or Janus, the *beginner* of the year, whence a life of 365 years is ascribed to him; whilst Lamech was, on the contrary, the savage, sanguinary being (for, לִמְךָ is connected with חִמְךָ to *grasp, seize, or rob*), the type of wild and inexorable selfishness; and his address to his wives is the utterance of a mind raging with insatiable revenge! The author finds it easy to find typical meanings for the other patriarchs also; for, he explains Methuselah as Mars, Mahalaleel as Apollo, and Jared as the god of the water, like the Indian Varuna. These five gods (Janus, Lamech, Mars, Apollo, and Neptune), formed an old pantheon, which the Bible placed in the remotest antiquity, because it was later

eclipsed by other more popular deities. Noah, lastly, signifies, the *fresh* or *youthful*, for he left the ark at the beginning of a new year, and נֹחַ is etymologically akin to נָח and נָחַל; and the existence of a little town, Nokh, south-east of Mush, serves as a proof, that Noah was once worshipped in these regions as a demigod. —The genealogy of the Cainites is identical with that of the Sethites; for Lamech, with whom the former closes, corresponds with Noah; and the deluge took place in the time of Lamech, who represents depravity and wickedness; the latter, like Noah and Terah, had three sons, Jabal, Jubal, and Tubal-cain, who correspond with the three principal castes of the Hindoos, the Brahmans (יֹבֵל the musicians), the warriors (or Kshatryas, קִין תִּוְבֵל the sharpeners of iron instruments), and the agriculturalists (בֵּל the proprietors of cattle), and who, therefore, typify the three chief classes or occupations of civilised society. — We thought it our duty to introduce the opinion of so eminent a scholar and critic on this section; but we do not deem it necessary to comment upon its value; the reader will, by the preceding remarks, have been enabled to judge for himself how far it is borne out by the text, and how far it is conjectural (see *Ewald*, *Ist. Gesch.*, i. 349—370).

## CHAPTER V.

**SUMMARY.**—The descendants of Adam, who represent the ten successive generations down to Noah, are enumerated with some prominent chronological dates regarding the history of their lives. Adam was created in the image of God, which was inherited by his progeny (vers. 1—8). But as the numbers given in the Samaritan text and the Greek translation do not agree with those stated in the Hebrew original, we subjoin a tabular view of their various statements, but add distinctly that both the Samaritan and Greek variations contain internal evidence of being systematic corruptions of the Hebrew text (see note on vers. 1—20).

PATRIARCHS.	HEBREW TEXT.			SAMARITAN TEXT.			SEPTUAGINT VERS.		
	Years before birth of son.	Rest of life.	Extent of whole life.	Years before birth of son.	Rest of life.	Extent of whole life.	Years before birth of son.	Rest of life.	Extent of whole life.
1. Adam .....	130	800	930	130	800	930	230	700	930
2. Seth .....	105	807	912	105	807	912	205	707	912
3. Enos .....	90	815	905	90	815	905	190	715	905
4. Cainan .....	70	840	910	70	840	910	170	740	910
5. Mahalaleel .....	65	830	895	65	830	895	165	730	895
6. Jared .....	162	800	962	62	785	847	162	800	962
7. Enoch .....	65	300	365	65	300	365	165	200	365
8. Methuselah ..	187	782	969	67	653	720	187	782	969
9. Lamech .....	182	595	777	53	600	653	188	565	753
10. Noah .....	500	—	950	500	—	950	500	—	950



1. This is the book of the generations of man. When God created man, He made him in the likeness of God;
2. Male and female created He them, and blessed them, and called their name man, when they were created.—

1—20. The creation of heaven and earth has been described; man, the ruler of the earth, had rapidly passed through the paradise of childhood; his happiness vanished with his innocence; sin engendered death, and death matured murder; the earth had been cursed by God, and defiled by man with fraternal blood; sin had made gigantic strides among the generations of man; but the corruption of the heart did not long fetter the activity of the mind; manifold inventions were made; great and extensive tribes settled in the vast tracts of eastern Asia; they filled the earth with the din and tumult of their arms; whilst they endeavoured to soften the stern reality of life by the arts which please, and the accomplishments which adorn. But who occupied the west? How were the nations which inhabited the more central parts of the ancient world connected with the first parents of mankind? This question was of the greatest practical importance; it was of immediate interest; for it implied the origin and infancy of the holy nation itself; it approaches nearer to the end and purport of Biblical history; it introduces that for which the whole preceding narrative was inserted. And this question is treated in the portion to which we now advance. Biblical historiography is truly pragmatical; it is nowhere abrupt; it deduces the single facts organically from their higher source; but whilst it is grand and rapid in its outlines, it is minute in its details; the execution is as careful as the conception is lofty; genius and industry are surprisingly blended; and if, sometimes, an individual trait seems to disturb the harmony of the whole, a more careful inspection will show that harmony in still stronger light. The chronological list contained in our chapter specifies the generations between Adam and Noah, between the first and the second father of

the human families; between the unconscious innocence of infancy, and the self-acquired intellectual righteousness of manhood (vi. 9; vii. 1); between the creation of the earth, and its all but total destruction; between the Divine love which called man into existence, and the Divine justice which, with grief and reluctance, was compelled to annihilate him (vi. 6, 13). This list comprises, therefore, all the outlines of the possible history of the earth, and of man; it includes a perfect cycle of events, partly returning to the beginning, and partly commencing a new era; it is, therefore, a complete whole; and, hence, the number of the generations is that of *completeness*; TEN bears throughout the Old Testament this character of entireness and perfection; the Ten Commandments are the complete code of fundamental laws; and the ten plagues inflicted upon Pharaoh represent the idea, that all the terrors of nature were exhausted against the refractory tyrant (see notes on Exod., pp. 118 and 495). Thus, also, the *ten* generations are perfectly Biblical; even later the same notions were entertained; the book of Enoch knows ten periods of the world, and the Cabbalists ten Sephiroth or emanations which complete the idea of the Divine nature. It is scarcely necessary to recur to the numerous analogies among other eastern traditions, although they assist and confirm the Biblical narrative; but we may add, that the Hindoos believed in ten great saints, the offspring of Manu (see p. 58), and in ten different personifications of Vishnu; that the Egyptians knew ten mighty heroes, the Chaldeans ten kings before the flood, from Aloros to Xisuthros, and the Assyrians ten kings from Ham to Ninyas, and as many from Japhet to Aram (*Ewald*, *Gesch. Isr.*, i. 351); and that the Book of Enoch enumerates ten periods, each comprising seven generations, from Adam to the Messiah. In

3. And Adam lived a hundred and thirty years, and he begat *a son* in his own likeness, after his own image; and called his name Seth: 4. And the days of Adam, after he had begotten Seth, were eight hundred years: and he

this, as in all similar instances, the facts borrowed from general current traditions were, by the Hebrew writer, organically embodied in his own original system; in his hands they were purified from the alloy of their primitive character; and they lost the trace of their origin.

But a systematic order, similar to that represented by *ten* generations between Adam and Noah, is discoverable in the list of the Cainites also; it embodies, also, an idea of the highest interest and moment, an idea which alone throws a proper light upon the genealogy of the Sethites, and which explains the fact of the two lists succeeding each order. From Adam to Lamech, the Cainite, are seven generations, which, with his three sons, Jabal, Jubal, and Tubal-cain, make the number of ten names in that list also. We need not to remind our readers of the significance of the number seven. But, whilst ten signifies completeness, seven typifies the *striving* after perfection; ten is, therefore, used whenever *God* acts, whilst seven is applied when *man* endeavours to perform holy deeds; God created the world by ten commands, as even the Rabbins deduced from the first chapter, whilst all the festivals, that is, the days of mental elevation *on the part of man*, are connected with the number seven; except the holiest of all, the day of atonement, which is on the *tenth* day of the *seventh* month, thus combining the human craving with the Divine mercy which graciously satisfies it: ten symbolizes the descending of God to man; seven denotes the aspiration of man up to God; the former number represents, therefore, *revelation*, the latter natural *piety*; and, whilst ten bears, in Mosaism exclusively, the highest character of sanctity, seven is the common sacred number of most of the other religions. This obvious and striking difference between the numbers seven and ten, will be more fully

explained in its due place; it receives, however, a full corroboration from the two genealogical lists, the examination of which has given rise to these remarks. The seven generations from Adam to Cain arrived, by their own human exertions, at *beauty*; the ten generations from Adam to Noah reached, with the aid of Divine guidance, to *truth*; the Cainites rose to the cultivation of *art*; the Sethites proceeded to the knowledge and practice of *religion*; human reason and energy, so teaches the Bible, may be able to facilitate our external existence; but it is by Divine assistance alone, that the internal life of man can be reformed and humanized; the Cainites remained idolaters and heathens, in spite of their artistic refinement; the Sethites became, according to the Pentateuch, the possessors and guardians of a pure monotheism by their immediate connection with God. According to the Biblical notions, it is impossible for the unaided human mind to ascend higher than to the cultivation of the arts; when, therefore, the Cainites had reached this aim, they had completed the possible circle of their activity; they had fulfilled their mission; and no further stage of development was left to them. They were, therefore, swept away by the deluge; no member of their race was spared to hand down the experience they had gathered to future generations, because no new element of importance could be added. But Noah, the descendant of the truth-seeking, religious, divinely assisted race, was rescued in the general destruction, to become the ancestor of Abraham, and of the favoured people destined to receive and to spread the full knowledge of God. Thus, the double list is not only justified, but includes ideas in every respect worthy of the great historian's wisdom.

Our chapter begins with the words: This is the "book of the generations of

begat sons and daughters: 5. And all the days that Adam lived were nine hundred and thirty years: and he died.—6. And Seth lived a hundred and five years, and begat Enos: 7. And Seth lived after he begat Enos

man" (ספר תולדת אדם), whereas the history of Paradise and the first sin is introduced by the sentence: "These are the generations of the heavens and of the earth"; henceforth the narrative of human progress is no more interrupted; man becomes the exclusive subject; the generations are specified in their direct succession; and now begins that continuous system of genealogies which embraces the whole of the Old Testament—from Adam to Noah, from Noah to Abraham, the lives of the patriarchs, the judges and kings, down to the time of the second temple (see note on Exod. vi. 16). Sometimes, indeed, accessory genealogies are inserted, as that of Ishmael (xxv. 12—14), Esau (xxxvi.), and others; but in such cases—and this is an important circumstance—the ages of the persons are not stated; they are without the powerful aid of chronology; they lose thereby a great portion of their significance; they are valueless for the computation of the centuries; and are thus clearly designed and regarded as subordinate; whilst the direct genealogies are generally provided with very accurate numbers, expressing not only the whole ages of the individuals, but mostly, also, those periods of their lives when their eldest sons, or the propagators of their races, were born, thus affording exact materials for the calculation of historical time. This circumstance will also explain the otherwise surprising fact, why, in the list of the Cainites, no year or number whatever is stated; for it does not treat of the direct "generations of man"; it was, therefore, sufficient to explain briefly the general importance of that line, and its relation to the principal stem.

But there is another question to be discussed with regard to the chronological statements of this chapter, a question which has often been disputed with a zeal

exceeding even its importance; namely, about the extraordinary ages of the patriarchs. Adam was 130 years old when his son Seth was born, he lived after his birth 800 years more; he attained, therefore, the marvellous age of 930 years. A similar longevity is ascribed, with one exception, to the other members of this genealogy, and Methuselah is stated to have reached the age of 969 years. It is well known, how many and how arbitrary expedients have been resorted to for the explanation of this vitality, incomprehensible in our ages. Traces of such attempts are found already in the Samaritan text, and in the Septuagint version of the Pentateuch, both of which have freely altered the numbers after a preconceived system, unwarranted and unauthorised by any Biblical foundation. Their alterations affect, however, but little the aggregate years of the lives, which have only been changed in two or three uncertain instances; they concern, rather, the years when the eldest sons were born to their fathers; for the Samaritan text starts evidently from the premise, that these sons were not born after the hundred and thirtieth year of their fathers' lives; and the Septuagint, that they were not born before the hundred and sixtieth; and both versions change the numbers accordingly, as will be seen from the synoptical table, inserted in the summary to this chapter (p. 155). But it is impossible to attach any importance to these intentional corruptions; the traditional Hebrew text, which is faithfully rendered by the Chaldee, Syriac, and Arabic versions, and other ancient translations, must be considered as exclusively authentic. Josephus, who, in more than one passage, attempts rationalistic explanations of miracles, defends here the literal acceptance of the text (Antiq. I. iii. 9); he considers these high numbers as perfectly

eight hundred and seven years, and begat sons and daughters: 8. And all the days of Seth were nine hundred and twelve years: and he died.—9. And Enos lived ninety years, and begat Cainan: 10. And Enos

correct; the patriarchs, he says, were beloved by God; man, but lately formed by the Divine hands, was more vigorous in strength; his food was more appropriate; God granted him a longer life on account of his virtue; He wished to enable him to make astronomical and geometrical discoveries; for the Great Year is completed in six hundred years; He afforded him, therefore, a life extending, at least, to this duration; and, besides, there is the testimony of Manetho and Berosus, of Mochus and Hestiaeus, of Hieronymus the Egyptian and of the Phœnician historians, of Hesiod and Hecateus, of Hellanicus and Acusilaus, of Ephorus and Nicolaus, who all relate, that the ancients lived a thousand years; and although Josephus concludes with the ambiguous words: "but as to these matters, let every one look upon them as he thinks fit"; it is certain that he regarded those numbers as historical; and though some of his arguments are trifling, and some of them advocate a supernatural agency of God, whilst some inconsistently represent the long life of the patriarchs as a usual occurrence, with many analogies among heathen nations, he acknowledges, at least, that it was a particular favour of God granted to these generations for their greater piety. But this view, which is at present chiefly prevalent among critics, is not in harmony with the Biblical narrative. These generations were by no means distinguished for their piety; on the contrary, their iniquity rendered the destruction of the whole human race indispensable, with one solitary exception. We attempt, therefore, another explanation.

Man was originally intended for an immortal existence; sin brought death upon him; every progress in the career of sin caused a new reduction in the years of his life; toil increased, and the

years were again curtailed; the greater the interval which separated man from the happy days of Paradise, the shorter grew his life, till it was at last contracted to its present narrow limits, and became comparable to the "shadow that passes," the "cloud that vanishes," or "the dream that disappears." The unbounded strength with which the nature of man was originally furnished, and which made unending life a physical possibility, gradually exhausted itself; the next generation inherited but a part of the paternal vigour; the heroic forms and the iron limbs of the ancestors were thus imperceptibly weakened, till they reached that transitory condition the origin of which is by the Bible ascribed to the sin of man. Thus Noah reached an age of 950 years (ix. 29); Abraham of 175 (xxv. 8); Jacob lived 147 years (xlvii. 28); Moses, 120 (Dent. xxxiv. 7); Joshua, 110 (Josh. xxiv. 29); whilst David was decrepit in his seventieth year (1 Kings i. 1; *Jos.*, Ant. VII. xv. 2); and the Psalmist represents the usual extent of life as seventy years, and one of eighty as a rare and exceptional occurrence (Ps. xc. 10). Only when a new heaven and a new earth will be created, when nature will be entirely regenerated, the life of man will again be prolonged; a death at the age of a hundred years will be considered the death of a youth; the human frame, though not destined to regain immortality, will receive back its pristine strength; for sin and rapine will cease, and a state very similar to the happiness of Paradise will be restored (Isai. lxxv. 17—25). Another circumstance compels us to renounce the explanation, that, as those early generations were regarded as more pious and more favoured by God, a longer life was attributed to them. We have shown by several instances, that a long life was, in itself, deemed neither a happiness nor a mark of Divine favour. This might

lived after he begat Cainan eight hundred and fifteen years, and begat sons and daughters: 11. And all the days of Enos were nine hundred and five years: and he died.—12. And Cainan lived seventy years, and begat Mahalaleel: 13. And Cainan lived after he begat Maha-

have been a common prejudice and mistake among the Hebrews; but the wise author of the Pentateuch did not share it; he endeavoured to correct it by repeated allusions; it is manifestly disregarded in the long life of the wicked Cain, and the short existence of the pious Abel; and the genealogy of this chapter contains a still more striking instance, which removes every doubt. Enoch walked with God; he was, among all the Sethites before Noah, the most virtuous, the most upright man; he was the especial favourite of God; and he was ordained to leave this earth when he had scarcely completed half the number of years allotted to his less meritorious, less beloved kinsmen. We must, therefore, acquit the Bible of those external notions of happiness which have been too long unjustly imputed to it; it is true, that "the fear of God increases the days" (Prov. x. 27; Exod. xx. 12); but this prolongation is, in fact, desirable only in so far as it is accompanied with "fear of God"; it is true that "the years of the sinner are shortened"; but this brevity of life is a curse only when it is the effect and punishment of wickedness; longevity with crime is a still greater punishment, whilst paucity of years with virtue may be the lot of those upon whom God would bestow His best and choicest rewards. It may also have been a far-spread prejudice, that a sudden death is a sign of Divine anger, and a fearful visitation (Ps. xxxvii. 36); but this error is combated by the sudden disappearance of the God-favoured Enoch (לֵךְ אֶת־עֵנֹךְ); comp. Ps. xxxix. 14; Jerem. xxxi. 15, etc.). And both doctrines are expressly enjoined in the Book of Wisdom, with immediate reference to the example of Enoch: "The righteous, even if he dies early, is in

peace. For a happy old age is not measured by the number of years, but by a spotless life. Because Enoch loved God, He took him away, for he lived among sinners, lest malice should pervert his mind, or falsehood stain his soul" (iv. 7—15). The insertion of the history and destiny of Enoch is, therefore, alone sufficient to destroy the supposition, that the Hebrew historian, in stating those high numbers, merely copied the fabulous traditions of other ancient nations, which ascribe to the earlier and happier generations, among other great blessings and privileges, the high boon of a very extended life. And although Josephus, in the passage above quoted, speaks of persons reported to have lived a thousand years; although Hesiod (Op. et D. 112) and Diodorus Siculus (i. 26), Herodotus (iii. 23) and Pliny (Hist. Nat. vii. 49), have made similar statements; although, according to the Lamaic creed, the first men lived 60,000 years; and although the Indian traditions, those most important analogies for Biblical antiquities, speak of four epochs, during which the extent of human life gradually sank from 400 to 100 years (see p. 89): the resemblance of the Hebrew narrative to these legends is merely an external one; the fact is partially retained, but the explanation is completely changed; the highest bliss is, with the Hebrew writer, not worldly enjoyment, but a spiritual life in God; the aim of human existence is thus perfectly different; not the duration, but the holiness of life is of essential import: time thus becomes a mere vessel, indifferent in itself, and deriving its value only from the contents with which it is filled by the conduct of man. And thus we naturally arrive at the only possible explanation of the longevity of the patriarchs; we find ourselves

laleel eight hundred and forty years, and begat sons and daughters: 14. And all the days of Cainan were nine hundred and ten years: and he died.—15. And Mahalaleel lived sixty-five years, and begat Jared: 16. And Mahalaleel lived after he begat Jared eight hundred and

again in the same sphere and circle of notions, into which we were brought by the creation of the six days, by the seduction of the serpent, by the forbidden tree, and the loss of Paradise; we have here, also, a common Oriental, or rather ancient tradition, received by the Hebrew writer, as it would, indeed, have been impossible to ignore or to repudiate it, but ennobled and purified by him, and endowed with a new idea, of the highest moral and practical interest.

We trust, therefore, that it will suffice briefly to allude to the former opinions on this question of patriarchal longevity; namely, that the atmosphere was, in the times before the flood, more salubrious (at present, even under every the most favourable circumstance of climate, health, and mode of life, an age above 200 years is declared by physiologists a physical impossibility); or, that every name represents a whole tribe, and the number comprises all its ramifications; or, that the years mean only months; or, that from Adam to Abraham the year had three months, from Abraham to Joseph eight, and from Joseph's time only twelve months; or, that several generations have been omitted in our list, and that yet the number of years was attributed to the remaining few. These and several other still more hazardous conjectures are mere inventions without any fact or argument to support them; they either suppose a vast corruption of the Hebrew text merely for the sake of proving a pre-conceived theory; or they force upon the words fictitious significations (*לשן*, for instance, never means *month*); or they create even greater difficulties than those which they intend to remove; as, for instance, Enoch would have been taken to heaven *with his whole family*; or, Cainan would have become a father at the age of

six, and Enoch of about five years, supposing the years were months.

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—These conjectures were proposed by *Gatterer*, *Weltgeschichte*, p. 8; *Bredow*, *Untersuchungen* i.; *Hensler*, *Bemerkungen über die Genesis*; *Rosenm.*, *Schol.*, p. 144; *Ideler*, *Chronol.*, i. 93; comp. *Plutarch*, *Numa*, xviii.; *Macrobius*, *Saturn.*, i. 12; *Lactant.*, *Instit.*, ii. 12; and they have been fully refuted by *Bohlen*, *Genesis*, p. 64—67; and *Tuch*, *Genesis*, p. 128—130.

It cannot be doubted, that the fifth chapter is an immediate continuation of the first (to ii. 3); it resembles it both in language and in its whole tenor; it introduces God also by the name of Elohim, with one easily explicable exception (ver. 29); it contains the characteristic expressions *ברמות אלהים* and *כצלמו כצלמו* (comp. i. 26); man and female are created (*זכר ונקבה*); God blesses them (comp. i. 28), and names them Himself (v. 2). The fifth chapter is, therefore, a part of those ancient, generally accredited, documents to which we have alluded above (p. 85), and which we shall, henceforth, for the sake of brevity, and in conformity with general usage, call the account of the Elohist, in contradistinction to that of the *Jehovist*, or the author of the Pentateuch. But, although the second, third, and fourth chapters separate these two Elohist portions, they are far from interrupting the connection; we have throughout proved the consistency, and almost logical necessity, of the narrative; it is evident, that those older documents, also, contained some other portions after the third verse of the second chapter; for, they could not have repeated (in v. 1, 2), with the same words, that which was literally contained within a few verses before (i. 26—28).—The word *וידע* signifies, certainly, any writing

thirty years, and begat sons and daughters: 17. And all the days of Mahalaleel were eight hundred and ninety-five years: and he died.—18. And Jared lived a hundred and sixty-two years, and he begat Enoch: 19. And

that forms a whole for itself, as, a letter, a contract, a bill of divorce (Deut. xxiv. 1; 2 Sam. xi. 14; Jerem. xxxii. 11); it might, therefore, here simply mean, “the list” of the generations; but the history of man is the end and purport of the whole Pentateuch; and, as history is, in oriental literature, generally based upon genealogies which form its sinews and framework, we understand the words ספר תולדות אדם as prefacing the history itself; they assume, thus, the importance of a general introduction to the essential part of the Pentateuch; and, hence, again are the repetitions from the first chapter explicable.—The Divine image impressed by God on the first man, was inherited by his descendants; for Adam begat Seth in his “image and in his likeness” (ver. 8). These terms decide at once, and most distinctly, the dispute which has long engaged the theological world, whether the internal nature of man, that is, his soul, is preserved simply by propagation (per traducem; Traducianism), or whether it is, in every case, the product of a new Divine creation (Creatianism). The former is, evidently, the Biblical view. Tertullian has indefatigably advocated it, although Jerome as decidedly embraced the other opinion, and Augustin fluctuated through all his life between the two acceptations, unable to arrive at a decision. This question assumed a high importance on account of the connection into which it was brought with the dogma of hereditary sin, which, by the doctrine of Creatianism, was surrounded by additional difficulties. And yet, the catholic church decided in its favour, whereas the followers of Luther hold Traducianism. The theory of Aristotle, that the souls come *ἐνθάθεν* from the Deity into the human body, contributed chiefly, in the middle ages, to procure the preponderance to Creationism. According to the Biblical narrative, Adam and Eve

alone were brought forth by a direct act of Divine creation. But this does not exclude the view, that every individual owes his soul to the omnipotence and the love of God (Eccl. xii. 7; Jer. xviii. 16; Isai. lvii. 16; Job xii. 10; xxxiii. 4; Ezek. xviii. 4, etc.). He is the primary and absolute Cause; He bestows upon the parents the power to produce descendants similar to themselves; He is the Lord of life and death; He has created man after His similitude; therefore, He can be called “the God of the spirits of all flesh” (Numb. xvi. 22; xxvii. 16), and the “Father of the spirits” (Hebr. xii. 9). In the same sense it is even said, that God forms the matter for the body of man, develops it in the womb of the mother, and completes the marvellous tissue of the nerves and sinews. Nor can, in this manner, the plants, with less propriety, be called the direct creatures of God (comp. Job x. 8—12; xxxiii. 6; Ps. cxxxix. 13—16; Matth. vi. 30; 1 Cor. xv. 36—38). All this should be the less surprising, as God, even after the completion of the work of the six days, has reserved to Himself the power of producing new creations (Jonah iv. 6, 7; Job xxxiv. 14, 15), and of interfering personally in the ordinary course of nature (Job ix. 5—7; Exod. xiv. 21, etc.).—About the expression בְּרִמְוֹהוּ כְּצִלְמוֹ see note on i. 26. Comp. *Maim.*, Mor. Neb., i. 1.

It has been maintained, by many recent critics, that the genealogy of the Cainites, as given in the preceding chapter, and that of the Sethites, as specified in this chapter, are, properly, not different; that the latter list is the original one, whilst the former one is merely a corrupted version of it; that the latter ignores entirely the existence and history of Cain and Abel, whilst the former introduces the birth of Seth abruptly, and without proper connection. If we enquire into the reasons of this opinion, we find, that its only

Jared lived after he begat Enoch eight hundred years, and begat sons and daughters: 20. And all the days of Jared were nine hundred and sixty-two years: and he died.—21. And Enoch lived sixty-five years, and begat

support is the recurrence of Enoch and Lamech in both lists; for the *similarity* of some other names, of Irad in the one, and of Jared in the other, of Methusael and Mahalaleel, of Methusael and Methuselah, is not too strongly urged, and is ascribed to "mistakes of an inattentive copyist" *Ewald, Gesch.*, i. 355; *Buttmann, Mythol.*, p. 170). But it is impossible to speak with decision on this point; we have no means whatever for ascertaining, whether both lists are traceable to one original tradition, and whether both are only two modifications of the same historical reminiscences. The mere identity of two names is not sufficient to make the whole list suspected. We are obliged to admit in the Bible homonymous persons of different families. And thus much is certain beyond dispute, that the whole tenor and spirit of the two lists are totally different. The one is minutely exact in the chronology; the other states no number whatever; the one begins with Seth, the other with Cain; the remarks concerning discoveries, and the character of individuals, which are occasionally given, are in both lists not only different, but entirely opposed, as we have proved in the preceding remarks. The historian certainly understood and represented both genealogies as different; and he took care to obviate every doubt in this respect; he distinctly characterised the two Enochs and the two Lamechs. Enoch, the son of Cain, gave the name to the first town built by his father; Enoch, the descendant of Seth, led an entirely spiritual life, and was a stranger to worldly and terrestrial affairs: Lamech, the Cainite, had two wives, and three children remarkable for their inventions, and he was in perpetual fear of the avenger of blood, which he had roused by a homicide; whilst Lamech, the Sethite, had one son, who propagated his direct line and from whom he hoped for repose and consolation in the toil of daily labour.

The opinion, therefore, that both lists were originally identical, and that both are reducible to the same source, can only be entertained as a vague hypothesis.

21—24. The six generations from Seth to Jared are rapidly passed over; they comprise a period of nearly seven hundred years; during this time, the human family grew in numbers and in sin; in the generation of Seth, the name of God was invoked in prayer (iv. 26); but it was forgotten and profaned in the increase of toil; wickedness and violence began to fill the earth; and piety was a stranger in the turbulence of passion. In such an epoch, and among such men, Enoch was born, "the seventh from Adam." His mind was pure; his spirit rose above the turmoil of worldliness; he delighted in calm communion with God; once more the familiar intercourse between God and man, which had existed in the time of Paradise, was restored; the path commenced by Seth was continued by Enoch; the former addressed God by the medium of the *word*; the latter approached Him by the still more spiritual medium of *thought*: the highest form of religious life was gained: but, unfortunately, Enoch alone "walked with God"; his contemporaries were sunk in iniquity and depravation; but the measure of their wickedness was not yet complete: three generations more were required to mature their destruction; and God, in order to rescue Enoch, took him to Himself, delivering him from the contamination of his time at a comparatively early period of his life. Was this early death a punishment? But the piety of Enoch is repeatedly stated. Was it a misfortune? It was this as little, as the full length of Noah's life; both cases were analogous; in the one, the pious man left the wicked generation; in the other, he was, by a catastrophe, freed from it; and in both instances, the deliverance was im-



**Methuselah: 22.** And Enoch walked with God after he begat Methuselah three hundred years, and begat sons

raculous and supernatural, by the immediate agency of God. If this is the clear internal meaning of Enoch's history, who can doubt that he was called away from the earth, not to cease his life abruptly, but to continue it in a better sphere, and in still more perfect virtue? We are convinced, that the "taking away" of Enoch is one of the strongest proofs of the belief in a future state prevailing among the Hebrews; without this belief, the history of Enoch is a perfect mystery, a hieroglyph without a clue, a commencement without an end. If, then, pious men could hope to continue a brighter existence after their transitory sojourn upon earth, the books of the Old Testament are not enveloped in the gloomy clouds of despair; they radiate in the beams of hope; and, if a long life on earth was also gratefully accepted as a high, though not the highest, boon, this may have sprung from the just feeling, that man is born to enjoy and to work, to receive much and to give more; and that he does not deserve the blessing of eternal rest before he has toiled to extend the empire of truth and piety (comp. Sap. iv. 7—10).

God "took Enoch," as He "took" Elijah (2 Kings ii. 9), or, "he was translated by faith, that he should not see death, and was not found, because God had translated him" (Hebr. xi. 5; comp. Sir. xlv. 16); "He was no more" (יָנֹחַ אֵלֶּיךָ; comp. xxxvii. 3). The notion seems to be, that Enoch passed from earth to heaven without the intermediate state of decrepitude and dissolution; he suffered no bodily infirmity; "his eye grew not dim, nor did his natural strength abate," as it is stated with regard to Moses, who also disappeared so that no mortal knew his grave (Deut. xxxiv. 6, 7; comp., also, Sir. xlv. 16; xlix. 16; and Mark xvi. 19; Luke xxiv. 51). For the pious Enoch, death lost its pang and its sting; though the descendant of a sinful race, he was delivered from the real punishment which sin inflicted upon the human family; his existence was uninter-

rupted; he was undying, as man was originally intended to be; for he passed from this life into a future state, both without fear, and without struggle. God took him as a loving father to His eternal home. The history of Enoch has ever been regarded as embodying profound truths; and, we think, there are few so strongly affecting the very root of religious life as those which we have just briefly indicated. And, as the virtuous are thus translated into heaven, the wicked are devoured alive in the gulf of the earth (Num. xvi.). It is known, that the classical writers also mention such translations into heaven; they assign this distinction among others to Hercules, to Ganymede, and to Romulus (Liv. i. 16: 'nec deinde in terris fuit'). But it was awarded to them either for their valour, or for mere physical beauty, which advantages, though valued among the Hebrews, were not considered by them as sublime or godlike; a pious and religious life alone deserved and obtained the crown of immortal glory. In no single feature can the Scriptures conceal their high spiritual character. However, the idea of a translation to heaven is not limited to the old world; it was familiar to the tribes of Central America; the chronicles of Guatemala record four progenitors of mankind who were suddenly raised to heaven; and the documents add, that those first men came to Guatemala from the other side of the sea, from the east. This is, then, apparently, a rather remarkable connection of the primitive traditions of the most different nations. These chronicles also contain a history of the creation, which, though replete with pagan elements, and disfigured by more than one grossly extravagant notion, is, at least, a thoughtful attempt at solving the mystery of the genesis of the universe. (See an account of the chronicles of the Dominican monk Francesco Ximenes, who wrote in 1721, in the Athenæum of May 31, 1856.)

Later legends have busily adorned and

and daughters: 23. And all the days of Enoch were three hundred and sixty-five years: 24. And Enoch

amplified the history of Enoch; an apocryphal book, probably composed about a hundred years before Christ, and from which St. Jude quotes (vers. 14, 15), was ascribed to him, or rather written under his name; this production collected and arranged all the traditions which the lapse of time had accumulated about that extraordinary man; he foresaw, in a prophetic vision, the destruction of the human race by the deluge; he exhorted his son Methuselah, and all his contemporaries, to reform their evil ways; but he penetrated with his prophetic eye into the remotest future; he delineated the ten periods of the world from Adam down to the time of the Messiah; he explored all the mysteries of the earth and of the heavens; angels guided him, and taught his eager spirit every hidden knowledge, which he revealed to mankind to strengthen it in faith and hope; he explored also the secret working of nature, and the marvels of the celestial orbs, and he deduced therefrom new doctrines regarding the wisdom and grandeur of God; after the birth of his eldest son, he passed a retired life in intercourse with the angels, and in meditation on Divine matters; and, while he had before received revelations in dreams or visions only, like other prophets, he was henceforth in immediate connection with the world of spirits, till he was translated to heaven, in order to reappear in the time of the Messiah, leaving behind him a number of writings on subjects of morality and religious truth. Enoch is, therefore, the great teacher; he is the "scribe," or the "scribe of justice"; he pointed out the way of virtue, both by his word, and his writings; he was the inventor of letters, and the protector of all sciences.

But the legends did not stop here; they developed the old traditions more and more; the Book of Jubilees relates, that he was carried into Paradise, where he writes down the judgment of all men, their wickedness, and eternal punishment;

and Rabbinical authors give him, not only the rank of the great scribe of God, but they assert that he promulgated during his life many important laws which he had read in the heavenly books, and which were afterwards embodied in the Law of Moses. Even Arabic writers have treated of Enoch's history; Elmacin ascribes to him a code of laws; and Beidhawi speaks of thirty books which God had sent down to him from heaven.

All these traditions are a proof of the reverence with which the person of Enoch was regarded to the latest times; but not less remarkable than his person is the book which bears his name; it is of peculiar importance; it embodies several of the leading ideas of the New Testament in a most distinct manner, and forms a welcome historical link between the other apocryphal works and the writings of the apostles. The book of Enoch insists, with the earnestness of the old prophets, upon the renewal and restoration of the pure *Biblical* faith; it combats with equal energy against the corruptions of Rabbinical interpretation, and the inroads of Greek philosophy—against superstition and paganism; the author deduces all his truths from no other source but the written holy books, and rejects traditional exaggerations and embellishments; he gives enthusiastic descriptions of the world of angels; he delineates their respective rank and glory; he introduces men into the abode of these pure spirits, and elevates them to their light, and peace, and wisdom; he furnishes the most elaborate and most detailed descriptions of the future life in such completeness, that no later time has been able to enlarge them; he gives a clear picture of the Sheol, its different divisions, and the preliminary judgment there held (chap. xxii.)—of the hell (gehenna), where the wicked are doomed to receive their punishment (xxvi., xxvii., liv., lvi.)—of the place where the fallen angels are contumacious.

walked with God: and he *was* no more, for God had taken him away. — 25. And Methuselah lived a hundred and eighty-seven years, and begat Lamech: 26. And Methu-

cious powers of nature are fettered; he describes, in full outlines, the resurrection of the dead, and the Messianic judgment over the dead and the living (xlvi. 3). — lvi., etc.). But one of the most remarkable features of the book of Enoch is its very elaborate and clear description of the person and the times of the Messiah. It does not only comprise the scattered allusions of the Old Testament in one grand picture of unspeakable bliss, unalloyed virtue, and unlimited knowledge; it represents the Messiah not only as the King, but the Judge of the world, who has the decision over everything on earth and in heaven; for the Messiah is "the Son of man, who possesses justice, since the God of all spirits has elected him, and since he has conquered all by justice in eternity" (xli. 3); but he is also the "Son of God," the Elected One, the Prince of Justice; he is gifted with that wisdom which knows all secret things; the spirit in all its fullness is poured out on him; his glory lasts to all eternity; he shares the throne of God's majesty; kings and princes will worship him, and invoke his mercy; he pre-existed before all time; "before the sun and the signs were made, and the stars of heaven were created, his name was already proclaimed before the Lord of all spirits" (xlviii. 3); "before the creation of the world he was elected"; and, although still unknown to the children of the world, he is already revealed to the pious by prophecy, and is praised by the angels in heaven (xl. 5, xlviii. 2). Even the dogma of the Trinity is implied in the book; it is formed by the Lord of the spirits, the Elected, and the Divine power; they partake both of the name and of the omnipotence of God (*Lawrence, Prelimin. Dissert. to the Book of Enoch*, p. xlv., xlv.). The doctrine of incarnation alone was reserved for the New Testament, as the last completion of the Messianic notions. It is, for the present

purpose, unnecessary to enter into the component parts of the book, and to enquire into the age when each was written. On these points, there exists a vast difference of opinion, the discussion of which lies entirely beyond the limits of this volume. But thus much we may observe, as an indisputable fact, that the book of Enoch, in its present form, was composed *before* the canon of the New Testament; and that its chief portions, at least, were written *by a Jew of Palestine, in the Hebrew language, more than a hundred years before the birth of Christ*. We may add, with regard to the history of this extraordinary book, that, when it appeared, it was evidently received and read with eager interest; that it was soon translated into Greek, and from this language into the Ethiopian dialect; that not only the later apocryphal writings, as, for instance, the Book of the Jubilees, and the "Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs," but most of the Fathers of the Church, down to the time of Augustin and Jerome, used and quoted it; that, however, from this period, it fell into almost entire oblivion, and was, with the exception of a few fragments of the learned monk Syncellus, at the end of the eighth century, and some allusions in Rabbinical writers, totally forgotten; the manuscript which Augustus Mai deposited in the library of the Vatican remained unnoticed; but the celebrated traveller, James Bruce, brought, in 1773, three copies of the Ethiopian version to Europe; and since this time translations and valuable commentaries were published successively, by Lawrence (1821), A. G. Hoffmann (1833, and 1838 the second part, with the aid of another Ethiopian copy, in the meantime procured by Dr. Rüppell), Gförrer (1840), and Dillmann (1853); whilst essays and criticisms were written on it by De Sacy, Lücke, Edward Murray, Krieger, J. Hoffmann, Ewald, Koostliu, and recently

selah lived after he begat Lamech seven hundred and eighty-two years, and begat sons and daughters: 27. And all the days of Methuselah were nine hundred and sixty-

(1857) by Hilgenfeld (*Die jüdische Apokalypstik*, pp. 91—184). The Ethiopian text has been published by Laurence (1838), and Dillmann (1851). This remarkable apocryphal production, which, if we are not mistaken, will one day be employed as a most important witness in the history of religious dogmas, deserves the most careful study, and it is accessible to the English reader in the editions of Lawrence, whose interesting "Preliminary Dissertation" commands especial attention. Compare, also, *Steph. Byzant.*, sub 'Ισθμιον; *Origen. de Princ.* iv. 35; *Clem. Alex.* 'Εκλογ. ποικίλη. 2; *Tertull. De Cult. fem.* i. 3; *Ewald, Gesch. Isr.* iii. 2, p. 397.

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.** — Enoch attained the age of 365 years. Modern critics found in this number an astronomical element; Enoch lived as many years as the solar year has days; they concluded, therefore, that the whole list is not older than the time of the Babylonian Nabonassar; especially as some ancient writers maintain, that Enoch was the inventor of the art of writing, and of Babylonian astrology, and as the prophetic book which bears his name is ascribed to him; and, to complete the hypothesis, they believe it not to be improbable, that "the Babylonians regulated the calendar with the assistance of an Indian astrologer, or *ganaka* (arithmetician), of the town of *Chanoge*" (iv. 17), (*Bohlen, Genesis*, p. 69). But these complicated combinations are without solid foundation. It is almost generally admitted, that our list contains no astronomical numbers; that the years which it specifies refer to the lives of individuals, not to periods of the world; that none of all these figures, is in any way reducible to a chronological system; that, especially their aggregate sum of 8,575 years coincides with no astronomical theory whatever; whereas the ten generations of the Chaldeans before the flood occupy 120 sari, or 432,000 years, which

is the Indian period of the world. It would be strange, indeed, if just in the life of Enoch, which represents the purest and sublimest unity with God, a heathen and astrological element were intentionally introduced. We must, therefore, consider that number as the ordinary Hebrew tradition, and resign to find in it any hidden meaning, which would destroy the internal character of the narrative. If Enoch is, in the preceding chapter, *Chanoge*, why is it here *ganaka*? And is not עֲנוֹךְ evidently Hebrew in its root and in its form? (see p. 146). And the difficulty is the greater, as the same critics identify Enoch with a third name, namely, the Phrygian sage *Anakos* ('Ανακος), who is said to have lived before the flood of Deucalion, to have attained an age of more than three hundred years, and then to have been translated into heaven! (*Buttmann, Mythol.* i. 176).—Into which place Enoch was received, whether Eden and Paradise, or any other blessed abode, we willingly leave antiquaries to decide (comp. *Schulthess, Paradies*, p. 353). —"הַתְּהֵלֶךְ אִתּוֹ" expresses the familiar and intimate intercourse with God (vi. 9); it implies, therefore, a much higher degree of piety, and a much more fervent love of God, than "הַתְּהֵלֶךְ אִתּוֹ" (Deut. viii. 19), or "לִפְנֵי י" (Gen. xvii. 1; xxiv. 40).

25—27. To Enoch, the pious, was allotted the shortest life; to his son, Methuselah, the longest. The latter reached the high age of 969 years; he exceeded even the duration of Adam's life, who died 930 years old; he seems not only to have renewed, but considerably surpassed the primal strength granted to man;—does he then, indeed, mark a retrogression in the history of the human generations? But Methuselah's longevity seems intended as a compensation for Enoch's short life: even if the pious leaves this world early, his race flourishes; his name lives in his progeny; his example ennobles and guides their conduct,—but although his righteousness spreads bles-

nine years: and he died. — 28. And Lamech lived a hundred and eighty-two years, and begat a son: 29. And he called his name Noah, saying, This *one* will relieve us from our work and the toil of our hands, from the ground which the Lord hath cursed. 30. And Lamech lived

sing over thousands after him, it is, of itself and unaccompanied by the piety of the descendants, unable to avert or to retard their doom. Such is the Biblical doctrine; and this important truth is, in more than one instance, enforced in the history of the earliest patriarchs.

28—31. Noah, the tenth descendant from Adam, was destined to form a very important link in the chain of successive generations, to commence a new era in the history of sin, and to modify essentially the relation between God and man. It is, therefore, natural that his very birth should be introduced with a certain emphasis; that he should receive a significant name; and his name, even, be expressive of his future mission on earth. Lamech begat a son (ver. 28), and he called him Noah (נֹחַ), exclaiming: "This one shall comfort us (נַחֲנוּ) from our labour, and from the toil of our hands; from the earth which the Lord hath cursed." The name of Noah, then, implies a prophetic anticipation; it refers to a characteristic crisis in his subsequent life; and its explanation must, therefore, be sought in a later event (see p. 134). And the circumstance to which it alludes cannot be doubtful, although many strange opinions have been advanced. The produce of the earth had been assigned to man as his only food (i. 29). But the earth was laden with the curse of the Divine anger (iii. 17—19). Man was doomed to force, with "labour and wish toil," a scanty sustenance from the barren and stubborn soil. His life was one of perpetual struggle, of incessant anxiety. In the time of Noah he was, in a great measure, relieved from this curse of the earth, for God permitted him to eat the flesh of animals also (ix. 3). He was no more entirely dependent on the uncertainty of the skies, or the "strength" of the earth;

he found *rest* from the uninterrupted fatigues of agriculture, and was partially *consoled* for the Divine curse which was inflicted on the earth. We find, therefore, in the very name of Noah an indication of a grand and fundamental change which concerned the whole human race, and which we shall more fully develop in the ensuing chapter. And thus only we can understand why the father said, "this one will comfort us from *our* labour." Not Lamech, but all the future generations, enjoyed the relief granted to his son Noah.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS. — For the attentive reader, we need scarcely remark, that the 29th verse, from נֹחַ, is inserted by the Jehovist; it applies יהוה as the name of God; it has the expression נַחֲנוּ repeatedly used by the Jehovist (iii. 16, 17); and it refers to the curse of the earth, likewise narrated by him only (iii. 17—19). But this insertion is also in complete harmony with the rest of the narrative, which it, indeed, tends greatly to illustrate and to amplify. — Thus the grammatical difficulty also is removed, which lies in the explanation of נַח by נֹחַ נִחְמוּ; for although the roots נֹחַ and נִחַם are not identical, they are correlative terms; rest is a cause of comfort (comp. Isai. liv. 11, lvii. 2; Job vii. 13; 1 Chron. xxii. 9); and we understand the words נֹחַ נִחְמוּ מֵעֲמֻלָּנוּ as a *constructio pragnans*: "this one will comfort us and give us rest" (Sept. οὗτος διαπαύσει ἡμᾶς); and thus only נִחַם can unforcedly be construed with נַח. The "comfort" consists not vaguely in "the renewal of the human race"; nor in the "assistance which Lamech expected from Noah in his labours"; nor "in the agricultural inventions which he would make"; nor in the vine which Noah planted (ix. 20), and which comforts the

after he begat Noah five hundred and ninety-five years, and begat sons and daughters: 31. And all the days of Lamech were seven hundred and seventy-seven years: and he died. 32. And Noah was five hundred years old: and Noah begat Shem, Ham, and Japheth.

heart of man. Nor is the etymological derivation of נֹחַ from דָּחַ so "thoroughly unhappy," as some critics have asserted it to be; nor can we with safety identify נֹחַ with the name ΝΟ, *sailor*, appearing on certain ancient coins and monuments; or with the Indian word *Nôh*, which has the same signification (compare *νάειν*, *νῆμα*, *νήχειν*, *navis*, etc.; *Buttmann*, *Mythol.* i 180 *et seq.*).

33. When Noah was five hundred years old, he had three sons, Shem, Ham,

and Japheth; they are all mentioned, not the eldest son alone, as in the other generations, because they became individually the ancestors of many important nations; they are the regenerators of the human race, when its destruction had become indispensable; their names alone are sufficient to prepare us for the extraordinary incidents that follow; and to indicate that the calm genealogical narrative is interrupted, and that events of universal interest and importance will be disclosed.

## IV.—THE DELUGE.

### CHAPTERS VI. TO IX.

**SUMMARY.**—When the human families had vastly increased upon the earth, they sank into wickedness and crime, still more enhanced by the "sons of God," who associated themselves with the daughters of man (vi. 1—4). God resolved, therefore, to exterminate every living being from the earth, and to save Noah alone, who had remained in the path of piety (vi. 5—8). Once more is the fearful depravity of man described; and God announces to Noah the approach of an all-destroying deluge. He ordered him to build an ark of huge dimensions, for himself, his wife, his three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth, and their wives, and for one pair of every living creature (except the fishes), which were to be preserved alive, and to gather food for all this immense number of animals. Noah executed the Divine commands (vi. 9—22); he was then ordered to enter the ark; but his former instructions were so modified, that he was to take with him seven pairs of every clean species of animals, and one pair of every unclean species (vii. 1—5). In the six hundredth year of Noah's life the flood began; the fountains of the deep and the flood-gates of heaven were opened; forty days and forty nights the waters continued to break forth upon the earth; the waves rose fifteen cubits above the peaks of the highest mountains; every living soul expired on the earth; the ark and its inmates alone were safely carried along the flood; and after the end of one hundred and fifty days, the waters decreased, and the ark rested over the mountains of Ararat (vii. 6—viii. 5). The floods gradually retired; the tops of the mountains became visible; Noah sent out first a raven, then a dove, to learn the state of the earth; the second time the dove returned with a fresh olive-leaf in her mouth, and the third time she returned no more. After a complete year and ten days, the earth was again perfectly dry (viii. 6—14). By the command of God, Noah left the ark, with all living beings that were with him. God blessed the animals; and Noah, to show his gratitude, built an altar, and offered a grand sacrifice to God, who graciously promised to send no other deluge to destroy the earth, and to look with mercy upon the weakness of the human mind (viii. 15—22). God renewed the dominion of man over the brute creation; permitted him, also,

the flesh of the animals, but interdicted their blood, which is their soul. Murder committed against a fellow-man was to be punished with death (ix. 1—7). He concluded a perpetual covenant with man and all living creatures; and appointed the rainbow as the sign of this covenant of peace and reconciliation (ix. 8—18).—Noah began now again to cultivate the ground; he planted a vineyard; and when he once was in a state of intoxication, his youngest son, Ham, committed an act of disrespect and indecency, for which he and his son Canaan were laden with the curse of servitude; whilst his two elder brothers, Shem and Japheth, who had shown due filial reverence, received the richest blessings as the future masters of Ham (ix. 19—27).—Three hundred and fifty years after the deluge, in the nine hundred and fiftieth year of his life, Noah died (ix. 28, 29).

## CHAPTER VI.

1. And it came to pass, when men began to multiply on the face of the earth, and daughters were born to them,

1—8. Universal history describes the progress of politics, and the relation between nation and nation; Biblical history teaches chiefly the internal progress of the individual, and the relation between God and the nations of the earth: the former deduces all events from human agencies; the latter traces them to Divine interposition: the former is pragmatical when it demonstrates cause and effect, or means and end, in the external events; the latter, when it deduces the events from causes connected with the internal life; the end of the former is instruction by experience; the aim of the latter, reformation by truth: in the former, the facts are individual; in the latter, they conceal a general idea. Results not produced by human efforts find no place in the former; and nothing but what has reference to the Divine sovereignty is embodied in the latter. The powers and terrors of nature, therefore, are of very subordinate moment in universal history; but they are regarded as most significant Divine instruments in the Biblical narrative; the former records them only in so far as they affect or change the material condition of countries or nations; the latter uses them to illustrate the supreme doctrine of the just providence of God. Now, there exist numerous traditions of a deluge among most of the ancient nations, as we shall specify in its due place; but they are but imperfectly alluded to in the earlier histo-

rical works; whilst the Pentateuch treats them with evident care; it dwells upon the history of the deluge with a minuteness which indicates its importance; and it unfolds a picture at once interesting and instructive, elaborate and powerful. In reading, therefore, the eventful life of Noah, our principal attention must be directed to the spiritual lessons it contains; to the progress which it delineates with regard to the relation between God and mankind, and with regard to the religious aspirations of the human mind. We shall find our narrative of the utmost interest with reference to these momentous points; it will allow us a deeper insight into the history of salvation than was opened to us even by the preceding remarkable portions; and these sublime and exclusively Biblical ideas will, we hope, relieve us from all pusillanimous apprehensions if we find, that the Mosaic deluge resembles, in the form, many similar Eastern narratives; that it shares with them even many prominent details; and that, indeed, the material of this portion also was the common property of all Eastern literatures.

The very commencement of the narrative contains a notion, which cannot be explained from the Bible, but which is indisputably borrowed from foreign and heathen sources. The "sons of God" descended to the beautiful "daughters of man." They deserted their pure and eth-

2. That the sons of God saw the daughters of men, that they *were* beautiful; and they took for themselves wives of all whom they chose. 3. And the Lord said, My spirit shall not always preside in man, while he is also flesh:

real nature, and abandoned themselves to despicable depravities; they left the heaven, in order to corrupt the earth and themselves; and it is but natural, that their wicked sons, excluded from the abodes in heaven which their fathers had enjoyed, should attempt to force access to it by a desperate and flagitious assault. This is the story of the Titans storming the heavens; it is a tradition which recurs, in many modified forms, among most of the ancient nations; the giants are, in the mythology of the Hindoos, the enemies of the gods who pollute the holiest sacrifices; some are a sort of wild beasts, or of vampires, eager for blood and human flesh, haunting the forests and the cemeteries; pious hermits are incessantly compelled to invoke against them the assistance of intrepid heroes; they belong to the highest order of the beings of darkness; their number is incalculable; and, as the soul of a criminal is frequently condemned to enter the body of a giant (*rakshasa*), they will always exist in undiminished numbers (comp. Manu, i. 9; xii. 44; Ramayana, i. 20; Sacuntala, ii. 3). In the mythology of the Chinese, the giants are the originators of crime and rebellion, who long waged a successful war against the virtuous kings (*De Guignes*, Chou-king, Diss. Prél., p. 128); and in the northern and western legends, they are enormous beings, with the power, and sometimes the disposition, of doing mischief. We need not say, that all these traditions concerning the giants are fabulous; Strabo already ridiculed the fictions of strange creatures mentioned by older writers, of persons with long heads, with one eye, or with their eyes in their breasts; or of beings half men, half dogs (vii., p. 298); men of such extraordinary size seem never to have lived; the human race has remained essentially the same in its physical proportions ever since the historical time; the

large bones which have occasionally been found, as, for instance, the skeleton of a head twelve palms in circumference (discovered in Africa in 1559), or the tooth "as big as a fist" (found in Mexico in 1586), are the remains of huge antediluvian animals, not of human beings; and the men who have been mentioned in history for their size, as being eight or nine feet high, as Gabbaras, in the reign of Claudius, or the emperor Maximinus, and the cases which Pliny adduces (vii. 16), are as rare exceptions as the men "with six fingers on every hand, and with six toes on every foot" (2 Sam. xxi. 20), and are no proof of a time when whole races of such men existed. How, then, are we to understand the Biblical narrative under consideration? Who are the "sons of God"? When were they called into existence, and for what purpose? We have seen, that they are nowhere introduced in the history of the creation; were they, then, a later thought of the Divine Framer, after "the heaven and the earth and all their hosts were finished"? And, if they are "sons of God," have they carnal desires? Are the angels subject to all the deplorable aberrations of human nature? Although God finds offence even in His angels (Job iv. 18), they are always, in purity, infinitely superior to man. The "sons of God" cannot, therefore, here be identical with the angels, or the sons of God mentioned in other parts of the Scriptures; they are not of Hebrew, but of general Eastern origin. And these notions were gradually more and more amplified; they were enlarged from other heathen sources, or from the fictions of imagination; and the Book of Enoch already (vi.—x.) shows, that the chief of these sons of heaven, Semjaza, at first opposed their wicked design; but they pledged themselves by awful oaths and imprecations to execute it; they descended, two hundred in number, to mount Hermon;



but his days shall be a hundred and twenty years.  
4. The giants were on the earth in those days; and also afterwards, when the sons of God came to the daughters

they chose wives; taught them sorcery and conjuration; introduced ornaments of vanity and luxury, bracelets and trinkets, paints and costly stuffs; giants, three thousand cubits high, were the offspring of these alliances; they first consumed all the produce of the earth; then they devoured all the animals, and afterwards began to turn against the men; the cries of the earth rose up to heaven; the angels Michael and Gabriel, Surjan and Urgan brought the complaint before the throne of God; He precipitated Azazel, the most wicked of the "sons of God," into a dark cavern, where he lies in fetters, and covered with rough pointed stones, in order to be thrown into the burning pool on the great day of judgment. He inspired the progeny of these unnatural unions with fierce rage; and the consequence was, that they destroyed each other in mutual murder, after which they were tied to subterranean hills to remain there for seventy generations, and then to be for ever hurled into the fiery abyss: but He assured the son of Lamech, that an approaching deluge would spare him and his children to become the ancestors of better generations.

Who recognizes in these fables the spirit of the Old Testament? And yet, they develop only the statement concerning the sons of God, who took the beautiful daughters of men to wives, and begat the giants (ver. 4). Do they not rather remind us of the Persian myths, which relate, that Ahriman and his evil spirits entered the creation, mixed with it, and corrupted its purity; that they defiled nature, deformed its beauty, and debased its morality, till the whole earth was filled with black crime, and venomous reptiles? Greek mythology, also, sings of the loves between the gods and the beautiful daughters of the earth; and the Hindoos mention marriages between nymphs and Divine heroes. But why has this heathen element been retained in the Mosaic narrative?

We are accustomed, not to find a blind or heedless imitation, but a bold modification, not so much in the form as in the ideas with which the materials are ennobled. The wickedness which caused universal destruction was not commenced by man; the sons of God came down to the earth, and gave the pernicious example; man unfortunately imitated it; for, "every cogitation of the thoughts of his heart was evil continually" (ver. 5); he was powerless to resist the allurements of temptation. Noah was saved from the first generations of mankind; but his descendants are not endowed with a more perfect nature; their hearts, also, are filled with evil imaginations from their youth (viii. 21); the only difference is, that the extent of their lives is limited to a hundred and twenty years; they cannot sin as *long* as their ancestors, but they may sin as *much*; their crimes may be more frequent, and more atrocious; but the depraved "sons of God" are destroyed; their iniquitous progeny is removed; the earth is delivered from all impiety which is daringly ascribed to heaven; henceforth, man can no more plead the seduction of superior beings to palliate his own misdeeds; there is no other evil demon but man's own passion; his heart is weak, but the temptation proceeds entirely from himself; "wickedness doth not come from heaven"; for, the whole race of heavenly seducers is annihilated; those "sons of God," who were celebrated in ancient songs and traditions, are, if they ever existed, extirpated with all their infamous progeny; the messengers of God in heaven are incorruptible angels; they give to man the example of virtue; not of vice; from them no evil can proceed. Thus, the Hebrew historian admits, for one moment, the existence of a superstition, in order for ever to subvert and to eradicate it.

God had breathed His spirit into man (ii. 7); it was, then, originally pure and

of men, they bare *children* to them: these *are* the heroes who *were* of old men of renown.—5. And God saw that the wickedness of man *was* great on the earth, and *that*

undefiled; but it was gradually corrupted by the weak frame with which it was coupled; it was depraved by the allurements of the flesh; and, the longer the spirit was the tenant of the body, the more did it lose its pristine brightness, and the greater was the danger of its becoming entirely covered with the rust of passion. God determined, therefore, that His spirit should not animate the human frame for so long a period (לעולם); it should leave the flesh after a hundred and twenty years, to renew and to continue its existence in a purer world, free from the fetters of the dust, and no more a slave to the baneful propensities of the flesh. We translate, therefore, the difficult words וְהָיָה בְּשָׂרָא, “when he is still flesh”; and we shall prove, in the philological notes, that this conception alone is in harmony with the context.

It is true, that to Noah and most of his immediate descendants are attributed ages far exceeding the period of 120 years; Abraham is stated to have reached the age of 175, Isaac of 180, and Jacob of 147 years; whilst to Amram even a life of 137 years is attributed (Exod. vi. 20). But it seems, that, in the time of Moses, an age of 120 years was deemed the utmost extent of human life; that later this point was rarely surpassed, whilst it was, in most cases, not attained; and seventy to eighty years were the average duration of man's existence on earth (Pa. xc. 10). But, if the age of hundred and twenty years was to become customary in the time of Moses only, why was it announced so many centuries before in a manner which seems distinctly to imply, that it was to be the rule in the generations immediately following? We cannot suppose so obvious a contradiction. The decrease of human vitality was decreed in the time of Noah; it tended, indeed, to the restricted number of 120 years; but the change was permitted to be gradual; the lives of the individuals

had been regulated after the measure of a much more extensive existence; all their plans and undertakings, their domestic and social arrangements, were based upon it; a sudden diminution from nine hundred to a hundred and twenty years would have disturbed all their relations; they would have been unable either to realize their hopes, or to limit them. Besides, as we have explained above (p. 159), the innate strength of man was but imperceptibly worn away; the following generation was but little inferior to the preceding one; they might arrive to a very limited amount of years, but only very gradually; and, in the first ages after the renewal of the world by the deluge, the deprivation of the Divine spirit in the flesh was less to be apprehended.—This appears to have been the conception of the Hebrew historian. Other ancient writers also mention the age of 120 years as that ordinarily reached during a long period; we may add, that 120 was, indeed, an astrological number of great significance, expressing an important epoch; and, thus, the statement of our text will receive additional light, and will cause less surprise (comp. *Herod.*, iii. 23; *Plin.*, H. N., vii. 50; *Censorin.*, De Dei Nat., xvii.; *Bohlen*, Alt. Ind., ii. 302).—The fall of the human families in the time of Noah was, therefore, punished in an analogous manner to the fall of Adam. In both cases, the duration of life was shortened; and in both, the earth also suffered for the crime of man. But, whilst the descendants of Adam shared the curse of his transgression, in the time of Noah the sinners alone perished, and his descendants commenced a new era under the sunshine of Divine mercy, which graciously remembers the innate human weakness and frailty; the wicked race was destroyed; and the world was renewed from the seed of the pious.

The renowned children of the sons of God mixed with the violent tribes then

every cogitation of the thoughts of his heart *was* only evil continually: 6. And the Lord repented that He had made

peopling the earth (נִפְלֵא, ver. 4); universal corruption was the consequence of this baneful intercourse; the heart of man, which—this is the doctrine of the Bible—by nature inclines to evil (viii. 21), was, by the power of the pernicious example, fearfully depraved in all its propensities (ver. 5); God was grieved to see the pride and crown of His creation fallen so deeply; He foresaw, that man would ever sin on earth; He regretted, therefore, that He had called him into existence (ver. 6); and His justice compelled Him to destroy the sinners. But it is a Biblical notion, to which we have already alluded (p. 130), that the animals sink into degeneracy together with man; both are regarded as intimately connected; both are “living beings” (נִפְלֵא חַיִּים; i. 30; ii. 19); the latter are the rulers of the former; the wickedness of the one exercises a degrading influence upon the other; the animals do not exist for their own sake, but for the use and service of man; their habits are, therefore, considered as bearing a strict analogy to the virtues or the vices of the human family in the different periods. That these views are peculiarly Biblical, and that they are neither sanctioned nor countenanced by science, requires scarcely to be mentioned. The animal creation, though vastly inferior to man in internal organisation, and to a great extent capable of being subjected to his rule, have an existence independent of the life of man. Myriads of animals peopled the earth many millenniums before man was created. Millions of animals live, at present, far from the habitations, and beyond the reach and power of man. All follow, with an undeviating necessity, the inborn instinct of their nature; a “moral degeneracy” of the animals is an impossibility, because they are beings without free will, and without moral responsibility, and because they are unable to “discern between good and evil.” But even if, under certain climatic or other unfavourable external conditions, animals may lose some of their

originally better qualities; the example of the immoral conduct of man has no influence whatever on this change: as the beasts cannot appreciate the virtues, so they cannot be deteriorated by the vices of a being, alone possessing the moral faculties that render virtue and vice possible.—In this light we must read the statement, that “all flesh had corrupted its way upon the earth” (ver. 12), and that, therefore, “the end of all flesh” was decreed (vers. 7, 13). The term, “all flesh,” is, indeed, sometimes applied for “all men” (Ex. xxi. 4, 9, 10; Zech. ii. 17; Joel iii. 1); and even the words, “all living beings,” are sometimes limited to the human family (Gen. iv. 20; Job xxx. 23): but this acceptation is here decidedly against the context (comp. vi. 12, 17); and if the animals were considered as innocent, why were they destroyed? It is, in fact, the orthodox view, that the beasts also had degenerated (see *Rashi*, on ver. 12). It is natural, that these notions are not uniformly adopted in the Bible; for, in the Book of Jonah, the animals of Nineveh are, like the children, represented as perfectly innocent in the midst of the general perversity of the inhabitants (iv. 11): though they were obliged to submit to the same outward exercises of penitence and mourning as their wicked masters (iii. 7, 8; see note on vers. 9—13).—That awful necessity filled God with grief; and the text expresses well this feeling by repeating His determination with a certain melancholy earnestness (vers. 6, 7). But, lest the pious perish with the wicked, Noah was saved in the universal ruin; his piety secured him the Divine grace (ver. 8). The deliverance of Noah implies the grand and fruitful truth, that, though the generations of man may seem to decline and to become worse, a better race invariably rises on the ruins of the past; the old follies and vices are the groundwork, on which wisdom and virtue erect their magnificent structure. Most appropriately, therefore, did some of the Fathers of the Church compare the

the man on the earth, and He was grieved in His heart.  
7. And the Lord said, I will blot out the man whom I

effects of the Deluge with those of regenerative baptism (comp. *Ewald*, *Ist. Gesch.* i. 360, 361).

Here concludes the introduction to the grand tragedy, which the Hebrew writer, conscious of its thrilling interest, unfolds with a warmth and pathos, not unfrequently rising to the sublime.

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.** בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים (ver. 2) are "sons of God," opposed to בְּנֵי הָאָדָם, as is clearly evident from Job i. 6, ii. 1. But they are here not the בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים of Pa. xxix. 1, who glorify God before the throne of His majesty; they are not traceable in the Old Testament; they belong to the general circle of the Eastern legends, and are introduced only in order to be annihilated. They are the *δαίμονες*, who were considered as the *θεῶν παῖδες* (*Plato*); not the *ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ* (*Sept.*, *Joseph.*); they may be the "fallen angels" of mythology (*Bonfresius*); but they are by no means the descendants of Seth, calling themselves after Elohaim (iv. 26), or called "sons of God" on account of their piety (*Deut.* xiv. 1; Pa. lxxiii. 15; *Ephrem Syrus*, *Clericus*, *Datha*, etc.); nor the descendants of Cain arrogantly assuming that proud name, in consequence of their prosperous commercial enterprises (*Psalms*, *Memo-rab.* vii. 131); nor "a race of pre-Adamites"; nor the mighty or influential men who insulted the low-born "daughters of men" (*Symmach.*, *Saad.*; for אֱלֹהִים has never, in itself, the meaning of a "poor or common man"; comp. Pa. lxxxii. 7, xlix. 3; *Maimonides*, *Mor. Neb.* i. 14); nor are they ordinary men, who were called sons of God because they bear His image (*Schumann*).—It is, therefore, out of the question to suppose that our text alludes to intermarriages between the pious Sethites and the wicked Cainites, and that it intends to brand such unions as unholy.—But we may add, that, according to the belief of the Persians, the holy Djemshid married the sister of a *dev*, and their offspring were monsters,

black and impious men; and that, in the laws of the Hindoos, the children of illegitimate marriages are declared to be invariably false and wicked (*Manu* iii. 41, 42).—כָּבוֹד is sometimes applied for external beauty (*Exod.* ii. 2), synonymous with כְּבוֹד כְּרָמָה (*Ezra* ii. 2).—The general meaning of רוּחַ, in the phrase לֹא יֵדוֹן רוּחִי בָאָדָם לְעֹלָם (ver. 3), is perfectly clear; it signifies that the spirit of God will not for ever remain or dwell in the human body; and this general sense has been expressed by many ancient interpreters (*Sept. οὐ μὴ παραμῖνῃ*; *Vulg.* non permanebit; comp. *Buxtorff*, *Antier.* p. 539; *J. D. Michaelis*, *Supplem.* p. 423). But that acceptation may be more accurately qualified; for רוּחַ or רִיחַ; has indisputably the signification of reigning, or governing; it is cognate with רוּחַ, and the substantive רוּחַ master (if not רוּחַ and the Niphal רוּחַ, 2 Sam. xix. 10), proves that sense. These words mean, therefore, my spirit shall henceforth not for so long a period govern, or *preside in*, the frame of man: the body returns to its primitive dust, when God keeps back his breath, which is the principle and fountain of life, and "the flesh expires" (*Job* xxxiv. 14, 15; Pa. civ. 29, 30). The spirit existed before the creation of the body, and is independent of it; for it is a part of God (רוּחַ); but the body exists only with it and through it. It is, therefore, not incorrect, although not quite distinct, when Symmachus renders οὐ σπνεί, and, similarly, some other ancient interpreters. But it is impossible to translate: "the spirit, or reason, shall not for ever be in strife and antagonism with the physical passions of man" (*Joseph Kimchi*, *Philippson*); or, "my spirit shall no longer argue with me concerning man" (*Raski*); or, "I shall no longer admonish man, but destroy him at once" (*Fuller*, *Rosenmüller*, and others); while the meaning, "my spirit shall not for ever be humiliated and defiled in man" (*Tuch*, *Ge-senius*, and others; see *Theaur.* p. 327),

have created from the face of the earth; both man, and beast, and reptile, and the fowls of the air; for I repent that I have made them. 8. But Noah found grace in the eyes of the Lord.

has its only support in the kindred dialects (Arab. *دون*, *دان*), without any analogy in Hebrew; and the translation: "this depraved race shall not exist before me for ever, but I will give them a respite of a hundred and twenty years" (*Onkelos*, and others), is utterly at variance with the context.—About *לעולם*, in the sense of "a long period," see Comm. on *Exod.*, p. 388.—The French physiologist, Flourens, believes that the normal period of man's life, according to his organisation, is one hundred years; but, that "with our manners, our passions, and our torments," man unnaturally abridges his days; he "does not die, he kills himself."—It is known that almost all the ancient translations take *בן* as composed of *ב*, *ש*, instead of *שנ* (comp. *Judg.* v. 7, vi. 17; 2 *Kings* vi. 11), and *בן* (like *בן*). We cannot see that any valid objection can be made against this acceptance; the Masoretic vocalisation of *בן*, instead of *בן*, is of no weight; and it is but natural that several modern critics should have embraced it (*Bohlen*, *Boetticher*, and others). But they render the word so that *בן* also, seems, indeed, superfluous, and even inappropriate (*Onkel.*, *בן*; *Sept.*, *διὰ τὸ εἶναι ἀνθρώπος*; *Vulg.*, *quia*; *Saad.*, *لأنهم*, etc.). The sense of *בן* *בשר* is not simply, "because he is flesh," but "as long as he is also flesh," that is, whilst the spirit is still in the frame of the body; the days of man on earth shall be limited to a hundred and twenty years. But the modern interpreters derive almost generally *בן* from *בן*, to sin; declare *בן* as the infinitive *Kal* after the analogy of *בן* from *בן* (*Jer.* v. 26), or *בן* from *בן* (*Isai.* xlv. 1); and translate: "on account of their sinful propensities they are flesh," that is, transitory beings (so, for instance,

*Gesen.*, *Rosenm.*, *Vater*, *Tuch*). We admit that *בשר* has this figurative meaning (comp. *Isai.* xl. 6, 7; *Ps.* lxxviii. 39, etc.); but it seems perfectly impossible to suppose a plural suffix in *בשר*, whilst the pronoun (*הוא*) immediately following is in the singular; such irregularity in the numbers never occurs in Hebrew; no instance which may be adduced is analogous to our case; all apparent anomalies are justified by the sense, and are, in truth, logical. Besides, it is, doubtful whether the unimpassioned prose of our passage, admits of such condensed and highly metaphorical language.—Some strange, though sagacious, combinations, concerning the gradual diminution of the extent of human life, will be found in *Ewald*, *Isr. Gesch.* i. pp. 366—370.—*בן* (ver. 4) are giants, as is evident from *Num.* xiii. 33: "And there we saw the *בן*, the sons of Anak, who came of the *בן*, and we were in our own sight as grasshoppers; and so we were in their sight." This meaning of *בן* being certain, it is of no great importance to decide whether this word is to be derived from *בן* or *בן*, "extraordinary, marvellous men" (which explanation has little probability); or from *בן* in the sense of *בן*, "one who throws himself upon an enemy," a hero, or man of violence (*Gesen.*, and so *Symmach* *βῆται*; *Aquil.* *ἰσχυροί*); or in the sense of *בן*, formidable men, who "cause others to fall before them in terror" (*Kimchi*); or in the meaning of *fallen* spirits, who had revolted against God, as is the usual theological interpretation, according to which, however, the *Nephilim* would be identical with the "sons of God," contrary to the contents of the fourth verse. They possessed the mighty vigour of the first descendants of Adam, and formed the chief part of the population; their superabundant strength se-

9. These *are* the generations of Noah: Noah was a righteous man, *and* perfect in his generations; with God walked Noah. 10. And Noah begat three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth. 11. And the earth was corrupted

duced them to violence and extravagance; they raged against each other in bloodshed and destruction; and their name continued to be known and abhorred on earth; they were "the men of renown from olden times" (comp. Num. xvi. 2; Deut. iii. 11; Josh. xii. 4, xiii. 12); but they descended, as little as the "sons of God," from a race of pre-Adamites.—*יצר* is *cogitation*; whence it is simply said *יצר לב האדם רע*, "the cogitation of man's heart is bad," which is perfectly intelligible (comp. *משכיות לבב*, Ps. lxxiii. 7); but according to a pleonasm sometimes occurring in Hebrew, a synonym is added in the genitive: *כל יצר מחשבת לבו רק רע* "every cogitation of the thoughts of his heart is evil" (comp. vii. 22, *נשמת רוח חיים*; 1 Chron. xxviii. 9; xxix. 18; *הרד כבוד הוֹדך*, Ps. cxlv. 5, where three synonyms are similarly connected). In later (Rabbinical) phraseology, *יצר* means inclination, propensity (comp. Deut. xxxi. 21); and the *יצר הרע* is the tempter to sin and disobedience.—The word *לב* comprised, in Biblical language, the whole man, with all his powers and functions; it denotes both the centre of the physical life, for eating and drinking "strengthen the heart" (xviii. 5, etc.), and the centre of his mental and psychical life; of will and desire; of consciousness; of love and hatred; of thought and conception; of reflection and computation; of prudence and folly; of the feelings and passions; of joy and grief; of zeal, rage, revenge, and fear; terror and consternation; of morality and vice; uprightness and falsehood; of conscience and covetousness (comp. *Maimon. Mor. Neb. i. 39; Delitzsch. Bibl. Psychol. p. 203—220*). Thus the propriety of the terms used with regard to the depravity of man will be still more obvious. But we shall not go the length of those who seriously claim for this Biblical doctrine

the superiority over the modern researches of psychology, which assign to the *brain* the supreme functions of the mental life of man; for in order to refute modern science, those men are compelled to derive their chief arguments from the phenomena of somnambulism and the phantastic doctrines of the Hindoos (*Delitzsch, loc. cit. p. 203—220*; compare, however, *Hoffmann, Schriftbeweis, i. 248*). This is only another manifestation of the hyper-orthodox principles, which we have had sufficient opportunity to consider in the remarks on the Creation. The Hindoos regarded the *mind*, or the reasoning faculty, to be situated in the *heart*; whilst they believed the *soul*, or conscious life, to lodge in the *brain* (*Colebrooke, Essays, i. 50*).—God "repented" that He had created man (ver. 6), that is, He resolved to annihilate the human race (ver. 7); that phrase, also, is borrowed from the "ordinary language of man"; for a man destroys his own work when he finds that it does not answer the purpose for which he intended it. Thus, when God saw that man had shown himself fit neither for virtue nor for happiness, He determined to remove him from the earth; *man* had failed in his august mission, but *God* had remained faithful to His designs and to His love; for "God is not a son of man that He should repent" (Num. xxiii. 19; comp. *Maim., Mor. Neb., i. 29, 36; Cusari, ii. 38*).

9—13. We have just been informed of the cause of the universal degeneracy on earth; the "sons of God" spread immorality among the children of Adam; their pernicious example seduced the impressionable heart of man. This account is followed by another shorter record, which repeats some features, and omits others (see note on vii. 1—10). The latter states simply, that the earth became depraved, and was replete with deeds of violence (ver. 11); that God saw the iniquity of

before God, and the earth was filled with violence. 12. And God looked upon the earth, and behold, it was corrupted; for all flesh had corrupted its way upon the earth.

all flesh (ver. 12), and that He determined, therefore, the destruction of man with the earth (ver. 13). The author begins, therefore, this important section with a new heading: "These are the generations of Noah" (comp. ii. 4; v. 1); and connects with it at once the praise of the only man who remained "righteous and perfect" in his own and the preceding criminal generations, who reached even the exalted degree of Enoch's piety, for he also "walked with God" (comp. v. 24); and was, therefore, like him, worthy of being exempted from the general fate of his contemporaries.

But although God repented that He had made man, and resolved the destruction of all flesh with the earth, He did not execute His design; He annihilated the sinners, but left on earth the germ of future generations; He seemed anxious that no species of the former creatures should perish in the impending visitation; He was evidently averse, both to rejecting His old creation, and to producing a new one; the propensity of man was bad all his days, yet God did not create a rational being more worthy to bear His image. The animals, also, had depraved their way; yet He refrained from their entire destruction. And here we have an apt illustration of the Biblical words: "God is not a son of man, that He should repent." He had endowed man with a nature capable both of high internal purity, of which Enoch and Noah were examples, and of fearful depravity, which lowered him to the level of the animal creation (ver. 7). Ten generations had passed, and wickedness preponderated fearfully over virtue. His justice demanded an example of the most ignominious punishment; for man is not necessarily bad; his nature does not compel him to wickedness; that piety which was attainable by two men within three generations, is not beyond the possibility of mankind in general: the evil had been

done; and the punishment was inevitable. Man had *corrupted* his way (הִשָּׁחִיתָ); therefore God *destroyed* man (מִשָּׁחִיתָ); a strict "measure for measure" was exercised. But should similar universal chastisements be periodically repeated? The example of that visitation alone would not be sufficient to counteract the evil propensities of man. Under these circumstances, a double course was possible. Either God might create a new and more perfect human race, which was, from its nature, not so liable to sin and impiety; or He might henceforth apply a more lenient test for the transgressions of man. God chose the latter alternative. *The God of Justice became a God of Mercy*; the severity of the Judge was changed to the love of the Father. Thus piety is still a glorious victory, and sin, though an ignominy, is regarded with compassion; the reward of the former is infinite, and the punishment of the latter less overwhelming. A new covenant was concluded between God and man (ix. 9—17). The descendants of Noah are regarded by God in another light, as the immediate progeny of Adam. The ultimate consequences of the first fall are widely different from those of the second fall. The former ends in the expulsion from the primitive happy abode, in an alienation from God, and in a sad and severe curse; the latter results in assurances of happiness and blessing, in prospects of the undisturbed sovereignty of man upon earth, and in a return to a more intimate relation between God and man. But let it be clearly remembered, that the latter blessings were not due to the greater piety of man, but to the unbounded mercy of God alone. Man does not prevail by his own righteousness, but owes peace and pardon to Divine mercy. —These are some of the principal ideas embodied in the history of the Flood. We were compelled to anticipate them

13. And God said to Noah, The end of all flesh is come before me; for the earth is filled with violence through them; and, behold, I will destroy them with the earth.—

here, in order to render the text more accurately intelligible.

The earth was corrupted, and full of violence (ver. 11), and all *flesh* had depraved its way upon the earth (ver. 12); therefore the end of all flesh was resolved, *together with the earth* (עַרְצָא וְחַיָּוָת, ver. 13). The earth is, in the Bible, not considered as a mere passive object; it is the habitation of man; it beholds his deeds of virtue and of baseness; it is, therefore, like the eternal heavens, invoked as a witness in solemn exhortations (Deut. xxxii. 1; Isai. i. 2); it cries up to heaven if it is soiled with blood; it "vomits out" the wicked inhabitants. But the earth has also furnished the matter from which man was framed; there is, therefore, a certain mutual relation between both; if man is corrupted, the earth shares his degradation; if the one is exterminated, the other participates in the ruin; Sodom and Gomorrah were destroyed together with their impious inhabitants; the Israelites were threatened, that when they should be led away as captives for their iniquity, their once blooming land would be converted into a dreary desert of thorns and thistles; whilst, at the return of the pious and penitent into their land, even the inhospitable wilderness would be changed into beautiful gardens and proud cedar-forests (Isai. xli. 18, 19); and just as the first parents were, after their fall, doomed to exhaust their strength on a curse-laden soil; thus the generation of Noah was annihilated, together with the earth which had seen and suffered their iniquity. The Persian faith teaches, that in whatever country the sacredness of matrimony is violated, that country perishes, together with its inhabitants. The nearer man is to the state of nature, the more mysterious and inseparable appears to him his connection with the earth and its silently-working powers; the earth is the "great mother" of all

men, who produces, nourishes, and may destroy them; and the heathen nations have based upon these conceptions many of their most beautiful myths, too universally known to require a detailed allusion (see p. 105). But the animals must perish, because they had also beheld the iniquity of man; every witness of the degradation was to be removed; the history of man should commence a new epoch. If crimes were committed through the instrumentality of animals, the latter were also killed; an ox which had caused the death of a man, was destroyed; if a Hebrew town adopted idolatrous worship, its inhabitants were destroyed with their cattle (Deut. xiii. 16); whilst piety and faith were attended by prosperity among the beasts (Deut. vii. 14; xxviii. 4, etc.); the avarice of Achan was punished by death, and the destruction of his family and his property (Josh. vii. 24, 25); when the Amalekites were to be extirpated, the animals were included in the fatal decree (1 Sam. xv. 3); and when the Ninevites did penance by fasting and humiliation, the beasts shared the same acts of external grief (Jonah iii. 7, 8). The horror against bloodshed was so intense, that every reminiscence of it was to be eradicated; some Indian tribes pursue with their united force the wild beast which has killed a man, and the family of the murdered is an abomination and a disgrace till they have killed that or another beast of the same species; and other ancient nations went a step still farther, and doomed even inanimate objects (as an axe) with which a crime had been perpetrated to ignominious treatment, if the author of the misdeed could not be discovered (see notes on Exod. xxi. 28—32); and if, among the Hindoos, a man is killed by an accidental fall from a tree, all his relations assemble, cut it down, and reduce it to chips which they scatter to the winds (Asiat. Res., vii. 190; ii. 187).



14. Make for thyself an ark of gopher wood; *in* cells shalt thou make the ark, and shalt pitch it within and without with pitch. 15. And this *is the mode in* which thou shalt make it: The length of the ark *shall be* three hundred cubits, its breadth fifty cubits, and its height thirty cubits. 16. Light shalt thou provide for the ark, and by the cubit shalt thou finish it above; and the door of the ark shalt thou make at its side; *with* lower, second, and third *stories* shalt thou make it. 17. For behold, I will

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—Egyptologists precariously deduce from an obelisk of the son of Amenemes (of the eleventh dynasty) in the valley of Faïoum, that the name of Noah's wife was *Tamar* (תמר, palm-tree), the Lucina of the Egyptians (*Osburn*, Monum. Hist., i. 386).—The earth was corrupted “before God” (לפני ה'אלהים, ver. 11), that is, in His sight, or before the tribunal of His justice. It is evidently opposed to the phrase התהלך לפני ה', which implies that state of piety which needs not to shun the holy presence of God, nor to conceal any of its actions. All the similar phrases are based on the same notion; comp. את-פני ה' (xix. 13); נגד פני ה' (Hosea vii. 2); and in Jer. xvi. 17 it is explicitly stated: “My eyes are upon all their ways: they are not hidden from my face, nor is their iniquity hidden from my eyes” (comp. Pa. xli. 13; lvi. 14; xxiii. 4).—The end of all flesh ברא לפני, that is, is decreed before my throne.—את-הארץ signifies here not “from the earth” (*Samarit.*, *Saad.*), nor “on the earth” (*Syr.*, *Rosenm.*, and others), but “with the earth.”—The plural suffix in ספניהם and משחיתם refers, according to the *sense*, to the beings comprised in כל-בשר.

14—22. God had hitherto pronounced, in general terms only, His determination to annihilate the earth and its inhabitants. He now reveals to Noah the nature of the punishment; He states, that a universal flood shall destroy “all flesh which possesses the breath of life,” so that “all that is on earth shall die.” But Noah, his three sons, and their wives, should escape the general destruction; and, lest the living

creation perish, which the love of God had but lately produced, Noah was ordered to gather a pair, male and female, of each species of the birds, the beasts, and reptiles, and to provide food sufficient for the time of the deluge (19—21). Now, for his own reception, and that of the animals, he was commanded to make an ark (תבה) of “gopher wood” (עצי נפר), three stories high, and to divide its interior into cells (קנים). To protect it against the influx of water, it was to be daubed with pitch (לפך) from within and from without. It was to be provided with a door at the side, and with windows in the upper part (ver. 15), or the roof (viii. 13). So far, the construction of the ark offers no difficulties. But its size is of such enormous dimensions, that the technical obstructions seem insuperable. It was to be three hundred cubits long, fifty cubits broad, and thirty cubits high—or 450,000 cubits in contents. Now, the cubit (אמה) is the length of the fore-arm, or from the elbow to the extremity of the longest finger (see Commentary on Exodus, pp. 490, 491); it is nowhere used of a shorter measure, as has been arbitrarily maintained; and it has been proved, that, in an architectural point of view, such a vessel, which would be equivalent, “in capacity or stowage, to eighteen of the largest ships in present use,” is impossible; as, indeed, an ark constructed, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, by the Dutch Menonite Janson, after the stated dimensions, broke into pieces before it was completed; though a ship built in the same proportions, but much smaller dimensions (120 feet long,

bring a flood of water upon the earth, to destroy all flesh, wherein is the breath of life, from under the heaven; every thing that is on the earth shall die. 18. But I establish My covenant with thee; and thou shalt come into the ark, thou, and thy sons, and thy wife, and thy sons' wives with thee: 19. And of every living being, of all flesh, two of every sort shalt thou bring into the ark, to preserve them alive with thee; they shall be male and female. 20. Of the fowls after their kind, and of the

20 feet wide, and 12 feet high), proved successful. And how many years did Noah require to complete this gigantic structure? Some answer, a hundred years (comp. v. 32, and vii. 6; so, for instance, *Origen*, *St. Augustin*); others, a hundred and twenty years (after an erroneous interpretation of vi. 3). We must confess, that the size of the ark forms one of those difficulties in the history of the deluge which assist us in arriving at a clear historical view concerning its character, and which we shall soon consider in their systematic connection (see the treatise after the eighth chapter).

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—The structure which Noah was to build for himself and the animals, is called תֵּבָה (*Sept.*, *κιβωτός*; *θίβη*; *Vulg.*, *arca*). This word does not signify *ship*; for, in this whole narrative, no synonymous word as אֲנִיָּה or ספינה is used; nor are sails, oars, or other parts of a ship mentioned. Its real sense is indisputable from Exod. ii. 3, where Moses is said to have been exposed in the Nile in תֵּבָה נִמְצָא, that is, evidently, in a chest made of bulrushes. In 1 Sam. vi. 8, the Philistines are stated to have deposited their sin-offerings בְּתֵבָה, that is, a chest, which word is rendered, in Chaldee, with תִּיבֹתָא, and, in Arabic, by تابوت. The תֵּבָה of Noah was, therefore, a vast oblong chest-like ark, or box, which was considered floating on the waves; similar vessels were, generally, however, drawn by horses or men, and are still used in some parts of Europe and Asia. The word תֵּבָה seems to be of

Egyptian origin (see *Bunsen*, *Egypt's Place*, i., p. 482, 483; *Ludolf*, *Lex. Aeth.*, p. 262; *Forster*, *De Byssu Antiquorum*, p. 113); whilst Bohlen derives it from the Sanscrit (*pot*, a pot or boat).—The material from which the ark was to be made, is עֵץ נֹפֶת. The word נֹפֶת, which occurs only in this passage, and the root of which (נֹפֶת like כֹּפֶר) seems to signify, to cover; it is evidently a tree which yields a resinous, pitch-like substance, as the pine, fir, and cedar, whence נֹפֶת and נֹפֶת are pitch and sulphur; and נֹפֶת signifies here most likely, the *cypress* (*κυπάρισσος*), which was, in some parts of Asia, exclusively used as the material of ships; in Athens, for coffins; and in Egypt for the mummy-cases; for which purposes it was peculiarly adapted on account of its great durability and hardness (*Arrian*, *Exp. Al.*, viii. 19; comp. *Bochart*, *Phaleg*, i. 4; *Celsius*, *Hierob.*, i. 323). It is scarcely the cedar, or the box, or the juniper; but the translations of the Septuagint (*ξύλα τετραγώνω*), and of the Vulgate (*ligna lævigata*) are free hazards, at variance with the context.—The substance נֹפֶת, with which the ark was to be covered, in order to be shielded against the intrusion of the floods, is *bitumen* or *asphalt*, as almost all ancient versions correctly render. — The ark was to be divided into cells (קְנִיִּים, ver. 14; originally *nests*; Onk. מְדֻרִין), which were to be arranged in a first, second, and third story (חֲתֻמִּים שְׁנַיִם וְשְׁלִישִׁים, ver. 16). About the construction אֵת תַּעֲשֶׂה אֵת חֲתֻמָּה, see note on Exod. xii. 39.—The ark was, further, to receive לָאֵר, that is, light. It is clear, that this phrase by no

cattle after their kind, of every reptile of the earth after its kind, two of every *sort* shall come to thee, to preserve *them* alive. 21. And take thou to thyself of all food that is eaten, and thou shalt gather *it* to thee; and it shall be for food for thyself and for them. 22. And Noah did according to all that God commanded him; so he did.

means compels us to suppose *one* window for the whole ark; as is done, for instance, by Theod. (θέραν), Symmach. (διαφανής), Vulgate (fenestram), Kimchi, Luther, and several modern critics, who believe, that Noah's cell alone was provided with a window, while all the animals remained in the dark (thus *Tuch*). The text requires no such unnatural arrangement. God prescribed to Noah the chief features of the ark only, leaving to him, in many respects, the execution in detail. The window (חלון) which Noah later opened (viii. 6), is no proof, that it was the only inlet of light in the ark. The succeeding words, ואל אמה תכלנה מלמעלה, if correctly understood, remove every doubt. They do not mean, "thou shalt make the *window* above of the length of one cubit"; for כלה is not merely *to make*, but *to finish*; nor can the feminine suffix in תכלנה be referred to the masculine substantive צהר, for it is extremely forced to take the latter word, with Gesenius (*Thes.*, p. 1152), as a collective and feminine substantive, or to regard it, with Ewald and *Tuch*, as an "ideal feminine" (*Ewald*, *Gr.*, § 249. b; *Tuch*, *Gen.*, p. 164; comp. *Ezek.* xli. 16, 26). The phrase ואל אמה תכלנה מלמעלה is to be rendered, "and thou shalt finish *the ark* at the upper side by the cubit"; it implies, that the light was, indeed, to be let in from above through an indefinite number of windows; but that those windows should not destroy the compactness or the symmetry of the ark; the roof should, after the construction of the windows, be regularly finished by the cubit or the just measure.—We need only to mention the strange interpretation, that the ark grew gradually more narrow in the upper stories, and to refer the curious reader to the imaginative description which Jonathan has given of the ark, and in which a pre-

cious stone is made to illumine the interior of the vessel; to the exact mathematical calculations in which modern scholars have indulged (*Thenius*, *Althebr. Maasse*, p. 43 *et seq.*); and to the architectural disquisitions, which attempted to decide whether the ark was circular, or a perfect square (*Michaelis*, *Or. Bibl.*, xviii. 23, *et seq.*).—The visitation by which the earth, and all living creatures were to be destroyed, is the מַבּוּל, from יָבַל (with the assimilated י', *to flow* or *stream*; whence יָבַל and יוֹבֵל, *river*; בּוֹל, *the month of rain*; Sept., καταισχυμός; Vulg., *Diluvium*; Sanscr., *sint-vluot* (that is, *universal flood*), and Luther, *Sünd-fluth* (*sin-flood*), which word appropriately expresses the cause of the deluge, and may be traceable to the Sanscrit term. מַבּוּל מִים is the superabundant flow of water, whence the phrase מִי הַמַּבּוּל (vii. 7, 10; ix. 11) is easily intelligible; it was, therefore, later promised, that the water should no more be or increase to a מַבּוּל (ix. 15); and as מַבּוּל may be used of any fluid (compare יָבַל, *יָבַלַת*, *Lev.* xxii. 22), it is not illogical to say, הַמַּבּוּל הָיָה מִים עַל הָאָרֶץ (vii. 6). In the phrase הַמַּבּוּל מִים the second word may either be taken as an apposition in the accusative (*Gesen.*, *Gram.*, § 111. 2), or as a simple genitive, the article in הַמַּבּוּל being used as in הַמִּזְבֵּחַ הַנִּחֲשֵׁת (2 Kings xvi. 14; comp. note on *Exod.* xxxix. 17). The words מִי הַמַּבּוּל do not simply mean *rain-water*, as Böhlen supposes, starting from the wrong supposition, that the floods descended solely from heaven, and that the seas did not contribute to swell them; which is contrary to vii. 11. But it is, nevertheless, equally unnecessary to read, with Michaelis and Jahn, מַבּוּל מִיִּם; or to take, with Maurer, מִים מִיִּם as a later gloss.

## CHAPTER VII.

1. And the Lord said to Noah, Come thou and all thy house into the ark; for thee have I seen righteous before Me in this generation. 2. Of every clean beast thou shalt take to thyself by sevens, the male and its female: and of the beasts which *are* not clean, by two, the male and its

1-10. The commands of God concerning the approaching deluge seem complete; its cause, the corruption of the human race, has been clearly stated (vi. 9-13); Noah was ordered to build an ark after prescribed proportions (vi. 14-16); to take into it specimens of all animals, and every necessary provision (vi. 19-21); and to enter it with his family (vi. 18). But after it had even been mentioned, that Noah had executed all that God had commanded him (vi. 22), the text not only repeats, in the first ten verses of the seventh chapter, several of the statements already distinctly made (vii. 1, 5, 9), but, what is more important, it is in one point *irreconcilable with the preceding narrative*. Noah was commanded to take into the ark *seven* pair of all clean, and one pair of all unclean animals (vii. 2, 3); whereas he had before been ordered to take *one* pair of *every* species (vi. 19, 20), no distinction whatever between clean and unclean animals having there been made. All the attempts at arguing away this discrepancy have been utterly unsuccessful. The difficulty is so obvious, that the most desperate efforts have been made. Some regard the second and third verses as the later addition of a pious Israelite; while Rabbinical writers maintain that six pairs were *taken* by Noah, but one pair *came to him spontaneously*! Is it necessary to refute such opinions? The explanation at present generally given is, that the beginning of the seventh chapter is merely a more definite or specified repetition of the preceding account. But let us see if this view is tenable. In the first command of God, we read: "And of every living being, of all flesh, two of every sort shalt thou bring into the ark, to pre-

serve them alive with thee; they shall be male and female: of the fowls after their kind, and of the cattle after their kind, of every reptile of the earth after its kind, two of every sort shall come to thee, to preserve them alive" (vi. 19, 20). Can there be any doubt regarding this statement? It says, as distinctly as language can express, that Noah was to bring into the ark two animals of every species, male and female. And which is the second command of God addressed to Noah? "Of every clean beast thou shalt take to thyself by sevens, the male and its female; and of the beasts that are not clean by two, the male and its female. Also of fowls of the air by sevens, the male and the female; to preserve the seed alive upon the face of all the earth" (vii. 2, 3). Is there any doubt or indistinctness about this injunction? Not two promiscuously of all beasts, but of the unclean species only were to be collected, whilst of every clean species seven pairs were to be taken. Who, then, can declare these two conflicting statements to be identical? or regard the one simply as a detailed explanation of the other? or consider a reconciliation possible? We appeal to every unbiassed understanding. The Bible cannot be abused to defy common sense, to foster sophistry and perverse reasoning, to cloud the intellect, or to poison the heart with the rank weeds of insincerity; nothing but the despair of perplexity could lead men to declare, with an affected humility, that the exposition of the books written for man is beyond the reach of the human intellect. We do not hesitate to acknowledge here the manifest contradiction, as we have avowed it in the history of the Creation. And we explain it here on the same un-

female. 3. Also of fowls of the air by sevens, the male and the female; to preserve the seed alive upon the face of all the earth. 4. For in yet seven days I shall cause it to rain upon the earth forty days and forty nights; and I shall destroy every living being which I have made from the face of the earth. 5. And Noah did according to all that the Lord commanded him. 6. And Noah *was* six

objectionable principle which we have found efficient in the former instance. The author of the Pentateuch, or the Jehovist, used, among other materials, especially an old and venerable document, or that of the Elohist (see p. 161), and he based his immortal work upon it; but he enlarged it, wherever he believed that the context required an amplification, and he inserted facts and reflections derived from his own experience and wisdom. Now, the beginning of the seventh chapter is such a supplementary addition of the Jehovist. In the time of the earlier Elohist the system of sacrifices was not yet developed, nor were the animals fit for an offering distinguished from those which were an abomination to the Lord; the difference between clean and unclean animals was not yet established. The Elohist was, therefore, satisfied with one pair of every species; his only end was the preservation of the animal kingdom; and a greater number of animals than that absolutely necessary for this purpose would have been a superfluous burthen to the ark. But the Jehovist deemed a thank-offering after the flood indispensable; the pious and God-beloved Noah could not be indifferent at the time of his miraculous and merciful deliverance; he built an altar, and brought to God an offering "of all the clean beasts and all the clean birds" (viii. 20); this offering was to be provided for; one pair of every clean species was, therefore, not sufficient; and the Jehovist, therefore, prudently introduced the significant number of seven pairs. But he himself neither thought, nor did he in any way intend to be, in opposition to the statement of the Elohist; he understood the *two* animals which Noah

was to bring, as merely signifying that always male and female were to be chosen, that they were to be *pairs*, without the *number* of these pairs being stated; for he writes: "Two and two went in to Noah into the ark, male and female, as Elohim had commanded Noah" (ver. 9). This is the only rational solution possible; but we add distinctly, that our narrative is in no other point contradictory; it contains repetitions, but no further discrepancy; the Jehovist designed full harmony with the Elohist, and he has preserved it in all other respects; he has so closely interwoven his additions with the former document, that it is now impossible and perfectly inadmissible to separate both, and to dismember the narrative. The portions of the Elohist seem, indeed, to form a complete whole in themselves. The earth is corrupted, its annihilation is resolved upon, the ark is constructed, and the animals are collected in it (vi. 9—22). The deluge begins, increases, diminishes, and ceases; all living things are destroyed; Noah, with his family and the animals in the ark, are alone saved; he leaves the ark, and the blessing of God is pronounced over the animals (vii. 11—viii. 19). But God concludes a new covenant with Noah, enforces certain primary laws, promises never to send another deluge, and appoints the rainbow as the sign of His pledge (ix. 1—17). The statement of Noah's age concludes and completes the narrative (ix. 28, 29). No link is wanting to form a well-connected chain of facts. We have a perfect *history* of the deluge. But the Scriptures do not intend to give mere history. They desire to make the facts subservient to ideas, to render the events practically profitable

hundred years old when the flood of water was upon the earth.—7. And Noah, and his sons, and his wife, and his sons' wives with him, went into the ark, on account of the water of the flood. 8. Of clean beasts, and of beasts which are *not* clean, and of fowls, and of every thing that creepeth upon the earth, 9. There went in two and two to Noah into the ark, the male and the female, as God had

by reflections, to teach, in an individual occurrence, a general rule, and thus to spiritualise the facts. And this task is frequently performed by the Jehovist. He converts information into instruction, and instruction into education. He treats the events as a base for a spiritual edifice. He infuses into the mute materials the living breath of religion. And this is the advance which the Pentateuch shows within its own pages. Scripture is so far from excluding the idea of development, that it offers itself the most remarkable example of progress. It is no dead letter; it admits of a more and more spiritual acceptation. It is no stagnant river, but a well of refreshing floods. Let but narrow-mindedness shake off the chains of the letter, and let apathy but hasten to the reviving waves.

It will be sufficient briefly to allude to the significant numbers introduced in our verses. *Seven* pair of clean animals were brought into the ark (vers. 2, 3); the deluge was announced to Noah *seven* days before the commencement; and the rain lasted *forty* days and *forty* nights. We have observed above (p. 157), that the number seven typifies the striving of man up to God; it is the craving and aspiration after holiness; it points, therefore, here to the offering which Noah later brought to God (viii. 20), and for the sake of which alone seven pair were taken into the ark instead of one. Hence it may be explained, why the reptiles are omitted in the enumeration of the animals which Noah was to collect (ver. 3); they contain no species fit for sacrifices; they belong all to the unclean animals. It is not owing to "carelessness" or "oversight," then, that they are not mentioned

here, although they were not forgotten when Noah actually brought the creatures into the ark (ver. 8).—*Forty* days express a long, extended period; but they are by no means here used as a fabulous or fictitious date. It is true that forty, among many Eastern nations, is employed as a round or indefinite number: Persepolis is the town of "forty pillars"; and the Scamander has "forty sources" (comp. *Gesenius*, *Lehrgr.* p. 700, and the references there given). But we have yet no right to consider the number forty, in all passages where it occurs in the Old Testament, as mythic and inaccurate, or hyperbolic. Is it so incredible that Isaac and Esau married in the fortieth year of their lives; or that the scouts remained forty days in Canaan (Num. xiii. 26); that Eli exercised sacerdotal functions during forty years; or that David, Solomon, and Joash reigned for a like period? But a number might be historical in some cases, and symbolical in others; and a historical number might, in still other instances, be explained or used symbolically. The latter was especially the case in visitations of God. It was so intended in the forty years of the wanderings in the desert, and so, perhaps, in the narrative of the deluge (comp. Ezek. iv. 6; 1 Kings xix. 8; see also 1 Sam. xvii. 16; Matt. iv. 2; Acts i. 3). The iniquity of Noah's generation deserved a total destruction and a fearful correction. It is an admirable skill to express both the punishment and its intensity, by the mere announcement of a forty days' deluge. We shall, however, soon have an opportunity of examining how far that number is historical and how far symbolical.—The clean and the unclean animals are described and

commanded Noah. 10. And it came to pass after seven days, that the water of the flood was upon the earth.— 11. In the six hundredth year of Noah's life, in the second month, the seventeenth day of the month, on the same day, were all the fountains of the great deep broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened. 12. And the rain was upon the earth forty days and forty nights. 13. On the selfsame day entered Noah, and Shem, and Ham, and Japheth, the sons of Noah, and Noah's wife,

specified in later portions of the Law (Lev. xi.; Deut. xiv.); that distinction is here anticipated; but it forms so inseparable a part of the whole Levitical system, that it is impossible to discuss it here, and that it must be reserved for those passages in which it is organically introduced. How Noah knew which animals are "clean," and which "unclean," is not alluded to in the text. The author evidently understands by clean animals precisely those which were later permitted as food (Lev. xi.), and especially as fit for sacrifices (Lev. i.); not those merely which Noah might consider as such. Hengstenberg, who proposed to himself to prove, that one of the chief objects of the Pentateuch was to show how Elohim gradually became Jehovah, has, in a most artificial manner, which, we presume, notwithstanding its sagacity and learning, has convinced but few, attempted to justify and to account for every change of the names Elohim and Jehovah; he asserts, for instance, that the words, "And *Jehovah* closed behind him" (vii. 16), imply that "*Jehovah* was concerned for the deliverance of the pious *Noah*," so that "if *Jehovah* shuts the door, certainly all the waters of heaven and earth will not be able to open it"; whereas *Elohim*, occurring in the same verse, took care of the preservation of the animals and the whole creation (Authentic des Pentateuches, i. 324—336). But he touches with no word upon the manifest discrepancy with regard to the one pair and the seven pairs; he passes over it as if it had never struck

him, though he is generally so very zealous in elucidating similar points. What conclusions are to be drawn from the silence of that most uncompromising and most able of all the champions of the unity of the Pentateuch? It is surprising to find the same oversight in many other ancient and modern commentators. Not more satisfactory is the exposition of Ranke, who, by a superfluous refutation of Vater's extravagant and long-exploded fragment-hypothesis, seems to believe that he has met the real difficulty (Untersuch. i. 172—181).

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS. — The distributive number is expressed by a repetition of the cardinals; שבעה שבעה "by sevens" (ver. 2, 3); but the words שנים שנים (in ver. 9) signify, in couples, male and female together; and they imply nothing about the number of the couples, which must be inferred from the statement of the preceding verses. — לַחַיִּים (ver. 3) is equivalent to לַחַיִּיּוֹת (vi. 19). — The fowls are, of course, like the beasts (ver. 2), divided into clean and unclean; seven pairs were to be taken of the former, and one pair of the latter class; this is evident from the tenour of the text, although it is not distinctly stated (ver. 3); the additions of several ancient versions are, therefore, unnecessary, and undoubtedly spurious (Sept., ἀπὸ τῶν κτευνῶν .. τῶν καθαρῶν .., καὶ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν κτευνῶν τῶν μὴ καθαρῶν δύο δύο, ἄρσεν καὶ θήλυ; and so, also, in ver. 8).

11—24. The description of the flood itself is now introduced in plain, but vigorous, and often poetical language. Repetitions and synonyms are skillfully

and the three wives of his sons with them, into the ark; 14. They, and every beast after its kind, and the cattle after their kind, and every reptile that creepeth upon the earth after its kind, and every fowl after its kind, every bird, every winged creature. 15. And they went in to Noah into the ark, two and two of all flesh, wherein is the breath of life. 16. And those that went in, went in male and female of all flesh, as God had commanded him. And the Lord closed behind him.—17. And the

employed; but, so far from weakening the force of the ideas, they add powerfully to their emphasis; they express the unspeakable misery that befell the earth; the compassion of the writer seems inexhaustible; he dwells again and again on the destruction of every living soul; he was compelled to unfold that awful picture of distress, because he intended to use it as a means of correction, as the text for eternal lessons, as the basis for a new and better creation.

We can here be brief in the exposition of the narrative; for we have more fully dwelt on its internal difficulties in a supplementary treatise at the end of the eighth chapter; we have there examined the evidences of history, and the natural sciences, especially geology, concerning a universal deluge; and have unreservedly stated our opinion on this subject, which is, next to the Creation, perhaps the most important portion of Genesis for forming a true estimate of the nature and composition of the Pentateuch.—The flood began on the seventeenth day of the second month, which was later called *Jar*; it corresponds with April or May; it is not the Marheshvan, or October, which is never designated as the second, but the eighth month; for the year is, throughout the Bible, counted from Nisan, not from Tishri (see note on Exod. xii. 2). The numbers introduced in the history of the deluge, are, with the few exceptions already stated, not significant; they cannot be explained symbolically; they were evidently considered, by the author, as historical; and we must, therefore, abstain from forcing upon them,

either individually, or in their aggregate amount, any mystic meaning, either religious or astronomical.

The waters of the oceans, and the torrents of rain combined to inundate the earth (ver. 11); the “fountains of the deep” (מעֵיִנוֹת תְּהוֹם) and the “windows of the heaven” (אֲרָבוֹת הַשָּׁמַיִם), were opened together, and both poured forth their endless floods; for, when the chaos was, by the Divine will, brought into order and harmony, a part of the primitive water remained below, to form the seas, and the foundation of the earth; whilst the rest was gathered in heaven, above the firmament, to serve as the stores of the future rain, which was sent upon the earth through windows (אֲרָבוֹת), or doors (דִּלְתִּים; see p. 20). It was, therefore, not rain alone that caused the deluge; God unfettered the watery element wherever it was kept by His omnipotence; “the deep” (תְּהוֹם) is the sea, not the heaven (see p. 62); it was not a deluge of rain, but simply a “deluge of water” (מַבּוּל מַיִם, vi. 17).

Eight human beings entered the ark, Noah with his wife, and his three sons with their three wives (ver. 13); in the pious family of Noah, monogamy was still strictly observed, as it was originally instituted; whilst the Cainite, Lamech, in the seventh generation from Adam, had two wives (iv. 23); the domestic virtues, the basis of which is the sacredness of matrimony, are the surest test of social and public excellence.—Together with Noah, all the animals were brought into the ark; they came in pairs, two of each



flood was forty days upon the earth; and the waters increased, and bore up the ark, and it rose above the earth. 18. And the waters prevailed, and increased greatly upon the earth; and the ark floated along upon the face of the waters. 19. And the waters prevailed exceedingly upon the earth; and all the high mountains which *are* under the whole heaven, were covered. 20. Fifteen cubits above *them* prevailed the water, and the mountains were covered. 21. And all flesh died that moved upon the earth, both of fowl, and of cattle,

species (ver. 15; for this portion belongs to the Elohist); they did not fly spontaneously into the vessel, "from the innate instinct which teaches them the approach of a danger," which curious opinion was advanced to evade the miracle, that Noah could know and seize all the animals; but it would require, indeed, a much greater miracle, to suppose, that all the animals, from every zone and clime, hastened just to the spot where the ark was standing.—The enumeration is not only complete, it is also rhetorical; the words, "every fowl, every bird, every winged creature" (ver. 14), are, however, no idle synonyms; they embrace the three chief classes of winged beings, the eatable species (עוף), the birds which people the air, and enliven it by the sounds of their melodies (צפור), and the endless swarms of insects (כנף), the greatest part of which possess neither the utility of the former, nor the beauty of the latter.

Noah, with his family, and all the animals, were in the ark; God Himself closed it, as a proof that He would protect it against all danger, and watch over it in the midst of the towering waves (ver. 16); and the deluge commenced. The floods rushed on for forty days; the waters increased and rose: but they did not sink the ponderous ark; on the contrary, they raised it above the earth, in opposition to the ordinary physical laws (ver. 17). And, although the waters grew higher and higher, the ark was safely borne along on the surface of the waves (ver. 18). But the floods continued to swell irresistibly;

no obstacle of nature, no work of human hands could stay them; the highest mountains of the earth were immersed (ver. 19), and the water exceeded by fifteen cubits their highest peaks (ver. 20; comp. viii. 5). All animals died, and every man (ver. 21). The unchecked power of the waves reigned for a hundred and fifty days (ver. 24). Every sound of life was silenced on the wide surface of the earth; the breath of joy was hushed in the air; the gloomy wings of death were spread over the globe; the abode of universal life was converted into a universal grave. The occupants of the ark alone were left as the witnesses of an annihilated creation; and none but Noah and his family were spared to mourn over the misery and devastation that filled the world.

The Hebrew text breathes, in this description, a majestic power; it is pervaded by a tender sympathy, nor does it fail to arouse it in the reader's mind;—a master's hand has sketched a great theme; and a few strokes sufficed for him to exhaust it.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS. — אֲרָבֹת (ver. 11, from אָרַב to *knot* or *weave*), is simply *windows*, which were formed of lattices or net-work; therefore, אֲרָבֹת הַשָּׁמַיִם the *floodgates of heaven*, through which the rain descends upon the earth; Sept., *καταρπάκται*; Vulg., *cataractæ*; Aq., Sym., *θυρίδες*; — וַיָּהִי has, in ver. 12, the signification of *falling*, "the rain fell upon the earth," analogous to וַיָּהִי אֵשׁ in Job xxxvii. 6; which sense is easily derivable from the fundamental meaning

and of beast, and of every reptile that creepeth upon the earth, and every man: 22. All in whose nostrils *was* the breath of the spirit of life, of all that *was* on the dry *land*, died. 23. And He blotted out every living being that was upon the face of the ground, both man, and cattle, and reptiles, and the fowl of the heaven; and they were destroyed from the earth: and Noah only remained, and those that *were* with him in the ark. 24. And the waters prevailed upon the earth a hundred and fifty days.

of the verb *היה* (ver.13) *בעצם היום הזה* (ver.13) *on the self-same day*, namely, on the day when the waters began to flow (ver.11).—The words *ויסגר יי בעדו* (ver. 16) seem to be inserted by the Jehovist, unless, as Rosenmüller believes, *יהוה* is used by the Elohist, instead of *אלהים*, to avoid the repetition of the latter word in the same verse.—The waters were fifteen cubits above the peaks of the mountains (ver.20), and not merely above the surface of the earth, as is frequently supposed; for *מלמעלה* (ver.20) is qualified by the preceding words *ויכסו כל ההרים* (ver. 19),

and the following *ויכסו ההרים*; and, according to viii. 3—5, the tops of the mountains became visible only more than seventy days after the waters had begun to subside. The physical difficulty of this statement will be later adverted to.—*וימח* (ver. 23) is *Kal future* of *מחה*, and *אלהים* is to be supplied as subject. If the reading *וימח* is correct, it is the Niphal, and the construction with the following *אם* is to be explained like *לחנך* in iv. 18, p.151 (comp., however, *Gesen.*, Lehrs., p.100).

## CHAPTER VIII.

### 1. And God remembered Noah, and every living thing,

1—4. The love of God watched even while His justice punished; nor did His anger last longer than His wisdom demanded. When the wicked had received the reward of their iniquity, it was time to remember the piety of Noah, and to rescue him among the ruins of a desolated earth. The animals which had witnessed the atrocious crimes of a depraved generation, had shared the destruction of those to whom dominion was given over them; but it was not in the plan of the Deity to produce a new creation; the world had been pronounced perfect; it might be regenerated, but its plan and design could not be modified; it was the emanation of the combined omnipotence, wisdom, and goodness of God; and it was, therefore, incapable of higher excellence; the Framer

of the Universe does not superfluously lavish His creative power; therefore, He saved, in the general deluge, specimens of the animals which He had produced; and He applied, for the cessation of the flood, the natural agency of a dry wind; He had endowed the powers of nature from the beginning with extraordinary attributes; the Creation is the miracle of miracles; it involves all future wonders; and, whenever His wrath or His affection wished to produce marvellous effects, He merely sent the "winds as His messengers, and as His servants the flaming fire" (Ps. civ. 4); except in a few grand visitations, when His omnipotence deemed it necessary to suspend the ordinary laws, either creating a dry path in the turbulent sea, or arresting celestial orbs in their eternal course. This

and all the cattle that *was* with him in the ark: and God caused a wind to pass over the earth; and the waters sub-

is the Biblical doctrine. It is, therefore, scarcely a poetical metaphor if the text adds, that the fountains of the deep and the windows of heaven were closed; the waters ceased to flow from the two sources which had contributed their stores for the catastrophe; and a hundred and fifty days after the commencement of the flood, the billows began to retire from the earth. Exactly after five months, the ark of Noah grounded "*on the mountains of Ararat*" (על הרי אררט).

If tradition is at all received as a historical witness, the situation of the country, and of the famous mountains of Ararat, is indisputably certain; they form a part of *Armenia*; several ancient translations render Ararat by *Armenia* (thus, the Vulgate, *Aquila*, *Symmachus*, *Theodot.*); Moses of Chorene, the historian of *Armenia*, describes Ararat as the principal central province of the country; and, hence, Ararat was, indeed, used as synonymous with the whole of *Armenia* (*Jerem.* li. 27). It is situated between the *Araxes* and the lakes of *Van* and *Orminah*. The vegetation of *Armenia* is beautiful and abundant: its pastures rival the renowned fields of *Media*, and render it one of the most fertile countries of the earth. But the whole land is intersected by extensive tracts of high and naked table-lands; the peaks are generally not of very great elevation, but they are, even in the warmest season, not freed from the snow which perpetually envelops them. But, in the province of *Erivan*, which formerly belonged to *Persia*, but was, in 1828, ceded to *Russia*, is an extensive plateau which ascends 2,740 feet above the level of the sea; there, about seven geographical miles to the south of the town of *Erivan*, on the right side of the river *Araxes*, nearly equidistant from the *Black* and *Caspian Seas*, rises a gigantic peak, clad in eternal ice, overtopping the whole region in solitary and gloomy grandeur, and hitherto but rarely trod by human feet; "a giant who rises to spread terror." This is the moun-

tain to which all but universal tradition has given the name of *Mount Ararat*. The natives call it *Macis*; the Turks, *Aghri-Tagh* (that is, the difficult or steep mountain); the Persians, *Kuhi-Nuck* (that is, the mountain of *Noah*). And here the second father of mankind is said to have landed when the waters of the flood began to subside. The *Armenians* write the name of that venerable mountain, *Arai-arat*, and ascribe to it the meaning "the ruin of *Arai*," because the eighth king of *Armenia*, *Arai*, is said to have been defeated and killed in one of the plains of this province (B.C. 1750).

The *Ararat* consists of two unequal peaks, both of which disappear in the clouds; the loftier summit is 16,254 *Parisian* feet high, whilst the other north-western pinnacle rises to the elevation of 12,284 *Parisian* feet above the level of the sea. Both are 12,000 yards distant from each other. According to the *Treaty of Turkomanshee* (concluded in 1828), the boundary limit between the empires of *Russia*, *Turkey*, and *Persia* passes over the summit of the *Little Ararat*. The north-eastern declivity of the whole mountain is about 20 *versts* in length, its north-western, 30. The region around the mountain makes the impression of a dreary, devastated wilderness; it is haunted by bears, small tigers, lynxes, and lions, and is infested by large and extremely venomous serpents, which frequently impede the progress of caravans; and great numbers of wild boars live in the swamps which abound on the banks of the *Araxes*, and the foot of the *Ararat*. At a little distance, the summit does not appear particularly imposing; for numerous lower mountains obstruct the view; and the plateau itself on which it rises, is of considerable height. But, viewed from the vast plain which skirts its base, it appears "as if the hugest mountains of the world had been piled upon each other to form this one sublime immensity of earth, and rock, and snow." Here the aspect is over-

sided. 2. And the fountains of the deep and the windows of heaven were closed, and the rain from heaven was

powering; it awes the mind with the stupendous power of the Creator; the peaks seem to reach into the very heart of heaven; and the sides disappear dimly in the endless horizon. All the surrounding mountains sink into insignificance. Its shape is almost regular; it is not deformed by any unusual prominence; the slope towards the summit is at first gradual; but becomes abrupt when it reaches the region of snow. If the rays of the sun fall upon it, it shines in indescribable splendour. The shape of the Little Ararat is almost a perfect cone, only marked by numerous small furrows radiating from the summit; but seen from the top of the Great Ararat, its head appears like the section of a square truncated pyramid, with rocky elevations on the edges and in the middle. Around are situated the monuments of fearful volcanic eruptions; calcined stones, and masses of cinders give witness of the destructive powers which mysteriously work in the interior of the mountain; in 1783, a devastating eruption is recorded to have taken place; so late as in the year 1840, huge rocks were hurled down by a volcanic earthquake, destroyed many lives, and buried whole villages, and their inhabitants; 3,000 houses were thrown down in the district of Sharur alone; and the havoc was greater still in other parts; the banks of the Araxes gaped in cracks 10 to 12 feet wide, and threw out water and great quantities of sand; while the river itself was in many parts quite dry, and in others was in a boiling agitation; the monastery of St. James, and the village Arghuri were among the first places destroyed by the earthquake; they were overwhelmed by the ruins from the mountain; streams of melted snow, ejected from the raging chasm, covered the fields and gardens around; the wide plains of the Araxes bear still witness of the calamity; deep fissures have been left in the surface of the earth; and these awful convulsions lasted more than two months. The volcanic productions which are found at the

southern side of the Caucasus, a distance of 220 versts, are probably violent ejections once borne thither from the Ararat in a formidable explosion. The mound, which evidently once was a volcano, and which is obviously different in its nature from the main body, rises to the height of an imposing mountain. The two peaks of the Ararat are separated by a wild and dark chasm, cutting deeply into the interior of the mountain, filling the spectator with horror and shuddering, containing in its innermost recesses immense masses of never melting ice of the dimensions of enormous towers. And this stupendous and fearful abyss is probably the exhausted crater of the Ararat, become wider than ever since the eruption of 1840, and, since that catastrophe, exposing on its upper sides the white, yellow, and vitreous feldspars of which the mountain consists. Pious hermits seem, in that fearful precipice, to have sought refuge from the cares and vanities of the world; but robbers and outlaws also have here found almost impregnable strongholds, powerful enough to defy the arm of justice. The vegetation on the sides of the mountain is extremely scanty; stones, sand, and lava form their mass. Eagles and hawks soar round its majestic summits. In the hottest season only, the snow melts on the peak of the Little Ararat; and this event is used as a kind of calendar by the agriculturists in the surrounding villages. In September and October it is generally free of its hoary crust. But the Great Ararat is, for about three miles from the summit, in an oblique direction, covered with eternal snow and ice, and, for the greater part of the year, gloomily shrouded in dense and heavy clouds. The summit of this noble mountain forms a slightly convex, almost circular platform, about two hundred paces in circuit. The perpetual ice is unbroken by rock or stone. The prospect from this awful spot is boundless, but desolate; the whole valley of the Araxes seems covered with a grey

stopped; 3. And the waters retired from the earth more and more: and at the end of a hundred and fifty

mist; the town of Erivan is scarcely discernible by the black kernel which it forms; the view to the south is somewhat more distinct; on the western and south-eastern sides appear a great number of mountains with conical summits, and with hollows which indicate their volcanic nature; but it is remarkable, that the Lake Goktschai is visible behind the lofty chain of mountains which enclose it on the south; and lie before the eye like a beautiful dark-blue plain. At the margin, the summit slopes off precipitously, especially on the north-eastern and south-eastern sides. A gentle depression connects this pinnacle with a somewhat lower eminence at a distance of 397 yards. Here it is believed that the ark of Noah rested.

The perils and fatigues of the ascent of this mountain are so considerable, that it was several times unsuccessfully attempted. The rarefaction of the air in the upper part causes violent oppressions of the chest; detached masses of ice and snow frequently roll down, to the greatest danger of the travellers; and huge stones threaten at every moment to crush them; steps must be cut in the ice, and hewn in the rocks of the precipices; and the chasms and abysses, the steepness of some of the rocky tracts, the deep cracks occasionally dividing the ice, and the smoothness of the glaciers, make the experiment one of the utmost risk. The French traveller, Tournefort, undertook the ascent with the same inauspicious result in 1700, as the bashaw of Bayazeed in the beginning of the present century. These disappointments rejoiced the hearts of the Armenians. For, they considered, that the sanctity of the mountain would lose, if its heights were searched by the curiosity of man. It is almost an article of faith with them, that the summit of the Mount Ararat is inaccessible; and they firmly believe, that the ark of Noah still exists on that solemn peak. These convictions have been strengthened by ancient legends, busily spread and confirmed by the Church.

It is reported, that the monk James, who was later patriarch of Nisibis, a contemporary of St. Gregory, wished to see, with his own eyes, the sacred ark; he tried an ascent; from exhaustion he frequently fell asleep; and when he awoke, he invariably found, that he had slipped back to the point from whence he had started. A vision in a dream at last informed him of the impossibility of his purpose; but, as a reward for his zeal, God sent him down a piece of the ark, which is preserved, by the Armenians, as their most precious relic, in the cathedral of Etchmiadzen. — However, in spite of this venerable tradition, the German traveller, Dr. Parrot, after two fruitless attempts, effected an indisputable ascent of the summit of the Greater Ararat, on the 9th of October, 1829; and, five years later, in August, 1834, the traces of Dr. Parrot were followed, and his accounts verified, by the Russian traveller Antornomoff. It is, indeed, not the fault of these two intrepid men, if their reports are disdainfully rejected by the pious Armenians as barefaced impositions. The latest successful ascent was made in the course of 1856, by five English travellers (Maj. Rob. Stuart, Maj. Fraser, Rev. Walter Thurstby, Mr. Theobald, and Mr. Evans), who have considerably enriched our knowledge of these interesting regions. They saw uninjured the oak cross which Professor Abich had, in 1845, fixed about 1,200 feet below the peak of the cone, and the Russian inscription on it was still perfectly legible. But the fact, that the ark was not found on the summit, caused serious uneasiness, even to European scholars; they thought this a very untoward circumstance; and at last entirely renounced the idea, that the ark landed on Mount Ararat; they now firmly assert, that it happened to float merely in its neighbourhood at the end of the 150 days, but that it was then slowly carried along in an eastward direction (comp. xi. 2); and that the real place of its concealment is entirely withdrawn

days the waters decreased. 4. And the ark rested, in the seventh month, on the seventeenth day of the month, over

from human knowledge.—But the words, “the ark rested over the mountains of Ararat,” exclude this conception; and the Hebrew words (וַתָּנַח הַתֵּבָה עַל) do not admit any other interpretation than that of actual cessation of floating. Nor need we despondingly ask, how Noah, his family, and the numberless animals preserved in the ark, were able to effect the dangerous descent, utterly difficult as it proved for many centuries later to persons furnished with all serviceable auxiliaries and implements; the supposition of a miracle is not even necessary; for, according to the text, they left the ark only after it had reached the ground with the gradually subsiding waters.

That the land of Ararat is not distant from the territory of the Euphrates and Tigris is almost certain; for the sons of Sennacherib, after having committed parricide, fled thither, to escape the punishment of their crime (2 Kings xix. 37; Isai. xxxvii. 38; compare Tobit. i. 21); an Armenian tradition relates that they were favourably received by the king Paroyr, who gave them portions of land bordering on Assyria; and if we are permitted to follow the analogy of other ancient traditions concerning the deluge, the rescued family landed at a spot not very remote from the supposed cradle of mankind. From these considerations, we can scarcely object to another locality, which several ancient writers and translators assign to the Ararat, in the Gordizean or Carduchian range (Γόρδίζ), which separates Armenia from Kurdistan. The Armenians called that peak the “Place of Descent” (Ἀποβλήριον); and Josephus maintains, that, even in his time, remains of the ark were shown there by the inhabitants (Antiq. XX. ii. 2); Berosus relates that the people value any part of that structure highly, and use the pieces as safe amulets against mischief, with which account other ancient authors coincide; Nicolaus of Damascus mentions the mountain *Baris* in Armenia,

above Minyas, as the place where the ark of Noah landed (*Joseph. Antiq. I. iii. 5, 6*); and the Mahomedans believe this to have been the mount *Gioud*, or *Dshudi*, a little to the east of Jezireh ibn Omar, on the Tigris (Kor. xi. 46), at the foot of which there is still a village *Tsamanin*, or “the eighty,” because the Moslems believe that not eight, but eighty persons were saved in the ark; at the top of this peak stands a mosque, and here was formerly, a Nestorian convent, “the Monastery of the Ark,” which was destroyed by lightning in the year 776. The wood of the ark was said to have been preserved there to the ninth century. All these localities might, indeed, be taken as the mountain of our text with no less probability than the Ararat above described, except that tradition has not pronounced itself in their favour with such consistent unanimity. But a legend of the Samaritans, no doubt of Arabian origin, which names *Serandib*, or the island of Ceylon, is perfectly out of the question. Not only the arguments in favour of Armenia, to which we have alluded, plead against Ceylon, but also the connection in which “the kingdom of Ararat” is introduced with those of Minni and Ashkenas (in Jerem. li. 27).—The accounts about several other positions of Ararat, as the “white mountain” in Afghanistan, or a peak in Phrygia, or the Caucasus, Imaus, or Himalayah (Tendong in Sikkim), or in the country of Aria, of the Scythians or Allani, have no other source than the desire of the various nations to place that distinguished mountain in their territory (comp. *Josephus, Antiq., I. iii. 5, 6*; *Jerome*, on Isai. xxxvii. 38; *Eusebius, Præp. Evang., ix. 12, 19*; *Moses of Chorenæ, Hist. Armen., p. 361*, ed. Whiston; *Strabo*, xi. p. 528; *D’Herbelot, Biblioth. Orient.*, p. 404; *Assemani, Bibl. Orient.*, ii. 113; *Chardin, Voyag., ii. 158*, ed. Langles; *Ker Porter, Travels*, i. 132, ii. 636; *Morier, Journey*, c. 16; and *Second Journey*, p. 312, 345; *Mannert, Geogr.,*

the mountains of Ararat. 5. And the waters decreased continually until the tenth month: in the tenth *month*, on the first *day* of the month, appeared the tops of the mountains.—6. And it came to pass, at the end of forty days, that Noah opened the window of the ark which he had made: 7. And he sent out the raven; and it went to

v. 192; *Ritter*, *Erdkunde*, ix. 95, x. 76, 486; *Reineggs*, *Description of the Caucasus*, i. 27; *Tournefort*, *Travels*; *Parrot*, *Reise zum Ararat*; *Wahl*, *Asien*, p. 518, 806; *Dr. Hooker*, *Himal. Journ.*, ii. 3).

5. The ark had been raised and borne up above the level of the earth as the waters increased (vii. 17); it had been carried along the surface of the waves as long as they were augmenting in quantity (vii. 18); but it ceased to float as soon as the infusion of new waters ceased to agitate the current of the floods; it rested, in the seventh month, over the mountains of Ararat (viii. 4); it gradually descended as the waters subsided; and, on the first day of the tenth month, it grounded on the peaks of Ararat (viii. 5). The highest points of the mountains, which the waves had overtopped by fifteen cubits (vii. 20), now became visible amidst the dreariness of the universal sea (viii. 5), and afforded a resting-place to the only structure then enclosing living creatures.

6—14. From this lofty elevation, Noah enjoyed a distant prospect over the adjacent countries; for forty days more he saw nothing but endless waves around, and a misty sky, enveloped in grey vapours, above; then, at last, he thought it time to test the condition of the earth; he sent out a raven, which, though delighting in the humid atmosphere, returned periodically to the ark to take its food; but this confirmed to him only that the higher regions were free from the immersing floods; he desired to learn *how far* the water had subsided, and whether it was already *lower* over the earth (ver. 8, *הקלו*); he therefore sent out the dove, probably seven days after the raven; but that more delicate bird found nowhere a resting-place; the whole surface of the earth was

still covered with water; no trace of vegetation or animal life was visible; and the faithfully-guiding instinct led the dove soon back to Noah, who received it again in the ark. The waters were, however, manifestly decreasing; after other seven days the dove was again despatched; it could now stay out nearly a whole day; but towards the evening it returned with a fresh olive-leaf in its mouth, as a cheering proof that the tops, at least, of the trees had emerged from the floods, although the return itself of the freedom-loving bird satisfied him that the earth was not sufficiently restored to its normal condition to yield the necessary food. Another week was enough to work this long-desired effect. The dove was sent out a third time, and returned no more. Not many days later, in the beginning of the first month, the *surface* of the earth was free from the waters (ver. 13, *ורבו*), and on the twenty-seventh day of the second month, the ground itself was perfectly dry (ver. 14, *יבשה*), so that God could now command Noah to leave the ark with all those who had been saved in it.—This is the connection of the narrative; thus understood it is not only clear, but logical and forcible in the highest degree. But nobody can conceal from himself the great resemblance which some traits of this narrative bear to the eastern traditions. In the Chaldean legend also, birds are sent out by Xisuthros, as a means for learning the condition of the earth; several times they returned, but the second time with a clear trace of the rapid subsidence of the waters, and the third time they did not re-appear. It is, therefore, unnecessary, as it is against the spirit of the Mosaic records, to refer the notice of our text to the custom of

and fro, until the waters were dried up from the earth. 8. And he sent out the dove from him, to see if the waters had abated from the face of the ground; 9. But the dove found no rest for the sole of her foot, and she returned to him into the ark, for the waters *were still* on the face of the whole earth: and he stretched out his hand, and took

several very ancient nations, not yet versed in astronomy, to send out in sea-voyages, from time to time, certain birds, by whose flight the direction of the vessel was regulated (*Pliny*, Hist. Nat. vi. 24). God Himself directed Noah's ark; it stood under His immediate protection; the raven and the dove were not set free to indicate the course of the ark, which had already settled on Ararat; and the birds had been taken into the ark for totally different purposes.—It is usual to conceive the raven here as the bird which easily discovers, and greedily feeds on carrion; and to understand the dove and the olive-leaf, as harbingers of restored peace. But this is to be taken with a certain necessary limitation. The raven, the name of which signifies the black bird, or the bird of night (רָעַב, Cant. v. 11), is generally used as a creature of mysterious, if not awful qualities; it belongs, with its whole species, to the unclean and forbidden birds (Lev. xi. 15; Deut. xiv. 14); it fills the air with wild shrieks when it despairingly searches for its scanty food (Ps. cxlvii. 9; Job. xxxviii. 41); but was just for this reason employed to convey miraculous and plentiful food to the prophet (1 Kings xvii. 4, 6); it is cold and loveless to its young; and though it may not, as the ancients believed, forsake its white offspring immediately after their birth, it certainly expels them from the nest, and even from the surrounding places, as soon as they are able to fly, though they may still be too helpless to find their own food (*Aristot.* Anim. ii. 49; *Pliny*, x. 15; *Luc.* xii. 34; *Bochart*, Hieroz. ii. 796); it inhabits the places of the most dreary devastation; it is essential to complete the picture of awful desolation, and it is, in this sense, men-

tioned together with the pelican, the urchin, and the heron, the jackal and the ostrich, the dragon and the vulture (*Isai.* xxxiv. 9—15). It indeed preys upon putrifying corpses (Prov. xxx. 17); and is especially eager to pick out the eyes of the dead (*Catull.* cviii. 5); it attacks sometimes even the eyes of the living (*Buffon*, vii. 29); but our context seems to imply, that the raven sent out by Noah regularly returned for its food to the ark, till the waters had entirely abated.—The dove is, in almost all respects, regarded in a perfectly opposite light. It is lovely to the eye by the silvery brightness of its wings (Ps. lxxviii. 14); it is a clean bird, and the only one which was fit for sacrifices, especially for burnt and expiatory offerings (Lev. v. 7, xii. 6, etc.). This was, perhaps, intended to counteract the general superstition of the Syrians, Phœnicians, and others, who considered the dove as a holy bird, which it was criminal to kill, or to eat (*Xenoph.* Anab. I. iv. 9; *Euseb.* Præp. Evang. viii. 14); its plaintive notes move the softest chords of the heart; and the very grief which they express is soothing to the afflicted soul (*Isai.* xxxviii. 14; lix. 11; Nah. ii. 8); it is far from aggressive; it is the type of suffering innocence, and of that Divine wisdom which enlightens while it purifies (Mat. x. 16; John i. 32); it is frightened from its resting place and pursued; its wings are its only protection; and it seeks refuge from the virulence of the persecutor in the rocks of the mountains, and the clefts of the desert (Psalm lv. 7; Jer. xlviii. 28; Ezekiel vii. 16; Hosea vii. 11; Cant. ii. 14); it is faithful and affectionate, and serves, therefore, to express the fondest love; it is the most endearing, most caressing term for tender and fervent



her, and brought her back to himself into the ark. 10. And he waited yet other seven days; and again he sent out the dove from the ark; 11. And the dove came *back* to him in the evening; and, behold, in her mouth *was* a fresh olive-leaf: and Noah knew that the waters had abated from the earth. 12. And he waited yet other seven

attachment; the most beautiful part of the human face, and that most betraying the passion which burns in the soul, the eye, is compared to doves hovering over water-brooks and bathed in milk (Cant. i. 15; v. 12); "my sister, my friend, my dove, my virtuous bride," is the effusion of a devoted lover's heart (Cant. v. 2; vi. 9); and the people of Israel itself has no more beautiful name, than "the turtle-dove of God" (Psal. lxxiv. 19; compare *Theocrit.* vii. 141; *Pliny*, x. 52; *Ælian*, Anim. iii. 45; *Lucian*, De Dea Syr. 54; *Hygin.*, Fab. 197; *Bochart*, Hieroz. ii. 572; *Creuzer*, Symbol. ii. 70, 77, 174; *Beckstein*, Naturgeschichte, iv. 2).—Hence, it is manifest how appropriately the raven, on the one hand, remained without as the inauspicious witness of solitude and death; while the dove, on the other hand, announced the regeneration of nature, and the animating spirit of life which began again to pervade the general silence. But we have no scriptural evidence for the opinion that the ancient Hebrews regarded olive branches as a symbol of peace and joy; though it is generally known that the classical nations connected with them those ideas (*Virg.*, *Æn.* vi. 230; viii. 116); and though it appears that the later Jews adopted from the Greeks this notion, among many others (2 Maccab. xiv. 4). And yet we cannot deny that the olive-tree bore a sacred character in the eyes of the early Israelites; the holy oil used in the Tabernacle and the Temple, was carefully prepared of the fruit of the olive, and every other fuel for the sacred lamps was rigorously interdicted. It is, besides, a familiar fact, that the olive-tree grows even under the water (*Theophr.* Hist. Plant. iv. 8; *Pliny*, xiii. 50); the greater was, therefore, the

propriety of introducing a branch of that tree as the first indication of the abating floods; and it may be finally remarked, that according to a very ancient notion, the olive-tree was regarded as a type of *fertility*; for Herodotus relates (v. 32), that the Epidaurians, at a time of barrenness of their soil, were commanded by Apollo to erect statues to Damia and Auxesia (that is, Demeter and Persephone), not of brass or stone, but "of the wood of cultivated olive." The great amount of time and care which the restoration of olive plantations requires after a hostile invasion, or agricultural neglect, is stated among the causes of its selection as an emblem of peace (*Wilkins*, Ancient Eg. i. 415). The earth had been destroyed; desolation prevailed throughout the globe as a consequence of the iniquity of man; what messenger of returning happiness could be more appropriate than a dove, the lovely type of purity and atonement through the spirit of God, offering an olive-leaf, the symbol of the renewed fruitfulness of the earth? In this one feature alone we see the whole end of the fearful visitation of the deluge, the relief of man from his internal and external misery; he feels his connection with God as a forgiving father strengthened, and receives the promise of an easier existence; both the sin of Adam, and the awful curse which it had called forth, are to a certain degree removed, or, at least, mitigated. We have given a description of the olive-tree in the commentary on Exodus, p. 482, 483, to which we refer. That the olive-tree grows in Armenia is proved by unquestionable testimony (*Strabo*, xi. 575; compare also xvi. 769; *Horat.*, Od. I. vii. 7; *Virg.*, Georg. ii. 3; *Varro*, Re Rust. i. 55; *Diod. Sic.* i.

days; and sent out the dove; and she returned not again to him any more.—13. And it came to pass in the six hundredth and first year, in the first *month*, on the first *day* of the month, that the waters were dried up from the earth: and Noah removed the covering of the ark, and looked, and, behold, the face of the ground was dry. 14.

17; *Plin.*, Hist. Nat., xv. 2; xvi. 33, 38, 90; xvii. 30; *Colum.* v. 8; *Dioscor.* i. 138; *Theophr.* Plant. i. 15; *Ritter*, Erdkunde xi. 516; and the Travels of Burckhardt and Robinson *passim*). It is said that the olive was a *new creation*; but this does not appear from the text: the waters subsided, the continents emerged, and the vegetation was discovered. Others assert, with as little probability, that it germinated from the *seeds* which the waters had washed to the new continents; but the time was too short for the production of a stem with leaves (comp. *Fairholme*, Geology of Script. p. 379).

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—The infinitives יצוא ושוב qualify the preceding finite verb ויצא (ver. 7), and signify, therefore, the raven went out, namely, repeatedly going and returning; whilst the phrase היו הלך וחזור (ver. 5), is abbreviated instead of ויחזור הלך וחזור, after the analogy of וישבו הלך ושוב (ver. 3; comp. Judg. xiv. 9; Isai. xix. 22; Joel ii. 26, etc.; *Ewald*, Gram., p. 491). The translation of the Septuagint, therefore, καὶ ἐξελθὼν οὐκ ἀνέστρεψεν, which is based on the supposed, but ungrammatical Hebrew reading, ויצא ולא ישוב, is incorrect: the raven was unable to find its food, although it found “rest for its feet.”—It appears that in Hebrew the definite article is frequently used, if the substantive expresses an object which has no distinctive character, and which is not considered materially different from the other individuals of the same species. When Moses fled to Midian, he sat down at “the well” (הבאר, Exod. ii. 15); and from this reason the article in העורב and היונה may be accounted for; every bird of the same species is perfectly known, if we know the species itself (comp. ix. 6:

שפך דם האדם באדם דמו ישפך). We cannot explain “the raven or dove which Noah had taken into the ark,” for he had two of the one and fourteen of the other species.—לעת ערב (ver. 11) may be synonymous with לפנות ערב (xxiv. 63), or it may more exactly denote the time when the sun is disappearing beneath the horizon. The dove returned when night began to spread its gloomy veil over the earth, still immersed in water, in that time when the sociable bird longed to exchange the dreary solitude with the wonted abode under the roof of the ark.—עלה כנף is indubitably a *fresh* leaf, or one which has *recently been plucked*, from כנף, to tear, or tear off; whence is also derived the substantive כנף, young, green foliage, recently cut (*Ezek.* xvii. 9). עלה כנף, is properly only a leaf which has been broken off; and therefore the Septuagint renders simply φύλλον κάψος; but if the notion of plucking is dwelt upon with emphasis, it easily assumes the more distinct meaning of *recently* plucked; for in Hebrew, not unfrequently qualifying terms are omitted, if they can readily be supplied; thus is עריץ often a *tyrannical* lord (*Isai.* xxv. 3; *Ps.* xxxvii. 35; *Job* xv. 20); הנהר and היאור, the *great* river, the Nile and Euphrates; פתח, one who is *easily* open to persuasion, a credulous, or silly man (*Prov.* vii. 7; xiv. 15); רל or אביזן, poor in *spirit*, humble, modest; so that, indeed, עני, עני, are synonymous (*Ps.* ix. 10, 11, 13), etc.—וייחל (ver. 12), fut. Niphal of יחל, is formed like ייחל in Exod. xix. 13 (see our note there); and in ויצא also (ver. 17) the י has been retained in a verb פ”ע (instead of הוצא, which is in the Ketib), although this is rarely the case in the Hiphil; compare הליך (Ps. v. 9) and הליכי;

And in the second month, on the seven and twentieth day of the month, was the earth perfectly dry.—15. And God spoke to Noah, saying, 16. Go out of the ark, thou, and thy wife, and thy sons, and thy sons' wives with thee. 17. Bring out with thee every living creature that is with

(Exod. ii. 9; *Gesen.*, Gram., § 68, note 3; *Ewald*, Gram., § 336, 337. 2).—There is a three-fold climax in the Hebrew expressions here used for the gradual cessation of the floods; *לָק* (ver. 11), *לָק* (ver. 13), and *שָׁב* (ver. 14), to become lower or to retire, to grow dry, and to be dried up (comp. Jer. l. 38; Isai. xix. 5, etc.); so that the verbs *לָק* and *שָׁב*, especially imply a marked difference, which the Septuagint appropriately expresses by rendering *ἐξέλιπε τὸ ὕδωρ* and *ἐξηράνθη ἡ γῆ*.

15—22. The waters had been withdrawn within their banks and shores; the earth had resumed, in many respects, its former appearance; its surface was no longer entirely destitute of vegetable life; the trees put forth their foliage, and the valleys their verdure; the earth was no longer to bear the aspect of desolation and confusion; nowhere was the eye struck by awful indications of a sudden convulsive destruction; the punishment had been suffered, and mercy obliterated the traces of the crime. The globe was ready to receive again its master, and to nourish him, and the numberless tribes of the animal creation. On the command of God, Noah and his family left the ark, together with all the living beings which had been preserved by him to secure new tribes of occupants of the air, the fields, and the forests. All the species of animals were restored to the earth; "every beast, every creeping thing, and every fowl" left the ark, that none of the creatures which were once formed by the Divine will, might be wanting; the deluge was not to interrupt the main course of universal history; all the generations, from the beginning to the latest ages, were to be connected by one unbroken chain: the tree of time was temporarily stripped of its branches and

leaves; but its stem was neither felled nor injured; it was full of its native strength, and destined soon to bloom again in all its former richness and beauty. But yet, a new order of things was to begin; therefore, God again blessed the animals with the promise of fruitfulness, desiring them to spread on the earth, which He delights to see replete with life, and to echo with the sound of joy. The renewal of the dominion of man over nature was reserved to a still more solemn moment. For, the pious Noah, who was deeply impressed with the miracle of his deliverance in the midst of the ruin of the globe, felt the irresistible desire of manifesting his gratitude to the Lord of life and death. He built, and consecrated to His name, an altar, and sacrificed upon it burnt-offerings "of every clean beast, and every clean fowl" (comp. Levit. i. 2, 10, 14). A more magnificent animal offering was never before nor after brought to God. The whole creation contributed to it whatever species was acceptable to Him.—When Noah left the ark, he found that the variety of the animal creatures was in no way smaller than when he had entered it; they were preserved by the love and wisdom of God; and they had even been blessed anew to spread and to multiply; he felt, with all the intensity of a susceptible mind, the overwhelming debt which he owed to God. His sacrifices were, therefore, essentially *thank-offerings*. But he was too clearly aware of his own unworthiness of those infinite benefits; he knew, that the hand of destruction had smitten his fellow-men on account of their iniquity; and he was conscious that the evil propensities of the human heart are too strong to withstand the temptation (ver. 21): therefore, these sacrifices partook, likewise, of the character of *sin-offerings*. They were, then,

thee, of all flesh, *both* of fowl, and of cattle, and of every reptile that creepeth upon the earth; that they may increase abundantly on the earth, and be fruitful, and multiply upon the earth. 18. And Noah went out, and his sons, and his wife, and his sons' wives with him:

offered in that most sacred condition of mind, inexplicably uniting joy and fear, elevation of the soul and contrition of the heart, noble self-consciousness and trembling humility. The strength and the weakness of the human heart are never so wonderfully blended; man sees the light and the shadow of his nature; he attempts the upward flight, but is reminded of his limits. And God accepted the offering of Noah; "He smelled the sweet odour"; and was gratified. Will any one repeat the old objection, that such expressions of external gratification are unworthy of the Deity? If they were of a material or sensuous character, then they would, indeed, be used nowhere with greater impropriety than in this most solemn passage, which forms the connecting link between the world of Adam and that of Noah. But they are far from implying such perverse notions. Their primary meaning might, indeed, have been tinged by the superstition of the time to which their origin belongs. But, at the period of the Pentateuch, they had lost every idolatrous element which might formerly have attached to them. The refinement of the language had kept, in general, pace with the intellectual and moral progress of the nation; but not always were the words altered when the ideas which they express had undergone a change; they assumed gradually, and almost imperceptibly, a nobler and more spiritual meaning; they were not brought into disuse, but accommodated to the new notions; they were not replaced by other words, but filled with another meaning. A misunderstanding was the less possible, the deeper the purer ideas had penetrated into the heart of the people. Among the many phrases which have thus been internally metamorphosed, that which occurs in our

text is one of the most striking instances. The Hebrews might certainly, in the time of their physical and mental degradation, have shared the universal superstition of the heathen world, that the deities "smell the sweet odour" of the sacrifices, and find their delight in it. But when the multitude of gods gave place, in their convictions, to the One invisible and incorporeal God, who includes them all (though the word אֱלֹהִים remained the same), the רִיחַ נִחַח received a different meaning; the "odour" was used as perfectly identical in meaning with *delight* or *pleasure*; this is plain beyond controversy from several later passages; thus the "prince of peace" is represented to have a delight in the fear of God; and this is expressed by the phrase, "his odour is in the fear of God" (והריחו ביראת יי'; Isai. xi. 3); and רִצַּח is clearly used as a synonym of רִצָּה, *to accept with pleasure*, in Amos v. 21, 22 (לֹא אֲרִיחַ בַּעֲצֵרְתִּיכֶם) stands parallel with (מִנְחַתִּיכֶם לֹא אֲרִצָּה). The natural vigour of the language applied easily external functions of the senses to abstract notions and to operations of the mind. It would be bold, indeed, to assert, that the Pentateuch which enforces, with all the energy of which language is capable, the incorporeality and spirituality of God, should attribute to Him qualities of the grossest and most sensuous nature; the theology of the Pentateuch forms a consistent system in which one part cannot be in direct opposition with another; but the nature of God is the foundation of the whole system; we cannot doubt the one without destroying the other (comp. Ps. l. 7—13). On the contrary, רִיחַ recalled naturally רִיחַ, the "sweet odour" of the incense or the burnt sacrifices was the *spirit of God* which hovered round the offerings, as a messenger of rest and peace, and which

19. Every beast, every reptile, and every fowl, *and* whatsoever creepeth upon the earth, after their families, went out of the ark.—20. And Noah built an altar to the Lord; and took of every clean beast, and of every clean fowl,

was hoped to be won or conciliated by the humble piety which had prompted the gift. It is the spirit of God which brought the chaos of matter into order and harmony (Gen. i. 2); which fills and animates His prophets (Hos. ix. 7), and which revives the despondency of an erring heart, or the dry bones of a sunken nation (Ezek. xxxvii. 5, *et seq.*). It is unnecessary to find in the "sweet odour" any other idea, for instance, that of revelation or prayer (so *Behr*, *Symbol.*, i. 461—465): the notion of the spirit of God manifesting itself at the offerings, is sufficiently sublime to find a place in the system of the Mosaic theology. Nor did the New Testament reject that phrase, even in reference to its most sacred idea; for, it says: "Christ has given himself for us as an offering and a sacrifice to God for a *sweet-smelling savour*" (*εἰς ὁσμὴν εὐωδίας*; Ephes. v. 2). Thus, the Divine presence graciously accepted the grand sacrifice of Noah; for, God loves certainly to be praised and worshipped (Ps. xxx. 10, 13; cxv. 17, 18; Isai. xxxviii. 18); but He accepts the prayer and offerings only when they proceed from a pure and hallowed mind (Isa. i. 11—17; Mich. vi. 6; Ps. l. 8, etc.); He saw, therefore, with delight the piety of the only family which had escaped the universal calamity; and He determined never again to expose the earth to so fearful a destruction, but to be mindful of the weakness of the human heart, which, though capable of godlike purity, falls an easy prey to the numberless allurements that surround it. He received the sin-offering of Noah as an atonement for the wickedness of the former generations; the sin of man was no more to be measured after the test of justice, but after that of mercy. God had, during several centuries, judged him after his innate *Divine* attributes; He now intended to view him with due regard to his *human* imperfections; He was

aware, that though the spirit is willing, the flesh is weak. God proclaimed, that man cannot gain salvation by his own righteousness, but by Divine mercy. By this new and all-important doctrine, the love of God shines in higher splendour; but man sinks into deeper dependence; he lives henceforth not in virtue of his own moral excellence, but in consequence of Divine favour. The intellectual eminence which man had attained by partaking of the fruit of knowledge, was far from securing to him "to be like God"; he might, with his reason, penetrate into the mysteries of creation, but his heart is feeble and insufficient, and requires the merciful assistance of God; the former could not avert the catastrophe of the deluge, and the frailty of the latter was now for ever pronounced and acknowledged. However, this very weakness was destined in future to form man's most powerful protection. For he had, by the fall, acquired freedom of will; but his actions had proved, that he cannot, with safety, confide himself to its guidance; for, the dangerous prerogative of liberty requires an unerring judgment, and an undeviating righteousness; the history of the deluge, therefore, humiliates the pride of self-will; but proclaims that although God does not eradicate sin from the heart of man, He regards it not with the severity of a judge, who demands perfect rectitude, but with the love of a father, who indulgently overlooks many offences springing from innate weakness. The deluge had, thus, been necessary, it was indispensable to serve an important end in the government of the moral world; and, though God regretted that it was necessary, He did not "repent" having inflicted it. The fall ended with a curse on the earth, the deluge with the cheering prospect, that it should no more suffer for the sin of man (ver. 21); and if, later, Sodom and Gomorrah were converted into

and offered burnt offerings on the altar. 21. And the Lord smelled the sweet odour; and the Lord said in His heart: I will not again curse the ground any more for man's sake; for the cogitation of man's heart is evil from

dreary deserts, and Palestine was menaced with fearful desolation for the iniquity of its inhabitants, these visitations did not befall the whole globe, but only certain limited parts or districts.

God promised to inflict no other deluge upon the earth; whilst the heathen traditions generally speak of periodical renewals. The Persian legends expect a regular recurrence of the same revolutions after periods of 120 Sari, or 432,000 years. Similar are the views of the Hindoos (see p. 59). Thus, the calamity seems to be merely a physical or cosmic event, resulting from natural agencies, and from the properties inherent in matter; or, is the consequence of the god's caprice and arbitrariness; or of a dark fate, which is personified in the nature of the deity; whilst, in the Hebrew narrative, the deluge bears an entirely and exclusively ethical character; it could only be renewed if again the generations of men were steeped in iniquity, at whatever nearer or more distant period the measure might be full;—but even then, God promised to withhold His punishing hand, and not to devastate the earth again. The Hebrews did not mechanically adopt the prevailing traditions, but modified them organically in harmony with their more exalted views of the attributes of the Eternal, and the mission of man.

As long as the earth stands, that is, in eternity (comp. Dent. xi. 20; see p. 27), the regular change of the seasons shall not again be suspended, as had been the case in the year of the deluge; seedtime shall duly alternate with harvest, cold with heat, summer with winter, and day with night. It is evident, that these words express merely the general idea of the future preservation of a regular order in nature; they do not exactly enumerate all the usual changes which the inhabitants of our planet experience; they do not even

distinctly specify the four seasons of the year; and still less *six* parts, as the Persian and Hindoo legends count; for, summer and winter only are clearly mentioned (קץ וקץ, comp. Ps. lxxiv. 17; Zech. xiv. 8; χειμὼν καὶ θίρος), and although the “seedtime” (זרע) might correspond with autumn, the “harvest” (קציר) is certainly not the spring, but the summer; for, קץ and קציר are, as expressions of time, perfectly identical (comp. Isai. xvi. 9; Jer. xlviii. 32, etc.). Hereto are joined the general terms of “cold and heat” (קרהם); comp. xxxi. 40; Jerem. xxxvi. 30: וקרוב וקרוב), and, in order to complete the picture of regular succession, “day and night” are added, from which words we are, therefore, not justified in inferring that, in the author's opinion, during the year of the flood, the light of the sun was either entirely or generally invisible. The year is, in western Asia, indeed, composed only of two markedly different seasons; the autumn, or rainy season, belongs to the winter; and the spring, or the months of the ripening corn, is reckoned with the summer (see notes on xxvii. 27—29).

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—יָצָה (from יָצָא, like יָצָא the spark, from יָצָא to shine) is properly *rest*; and, as tranquillity or peace of mind was generally deemed the highest happiness, and is, indeed, the end of all religious practices (comp. Job xxi. 9; Isai. xlviii. 22; Ps. cxvi. 7; xxiii. 2; Eccl. iv. 6), it assumed easily the meaning of *comfort* or *delight*; the Sept. translates, therefore, correctly δαμῆν εὐωδίας (comp. Ephea. v. 2), and the Vulgate, odorem suavitatis; and, still more literally, Aquila, in Exod. xxix. 18, δαμῆν εὐαρεστήσεως. Onkelos, always anxious to remove every offensive expression, renders only the general sense, “God accepted with benevolence,” etc. (see *supra*).—God said, לֹא אֶפְסֶה, that is, to Himself, not to Noah; comp. 1 Sam. xxvii. 1; Gen. xiv. 45;

his youth; nor will I again smite any more every living being, as I have done. 22. While the earth remaineth, seedtime and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night shall not cease.

EccI. i. 16; Lam. iii. 21; Sept., *διανοηθείς*; Sym., *πρὸς ταυρόν*. Comp. *Maim.*, Mor. Neb. i. 29. Man is not *sinful* by nature, but *weak*, and open to seduction; *his heart* is not bad, but evil propensities might easily be *raised* in him; he is not necessarily wicked, as if baseness were *inherited* by birth; for, Enoch and Noah were virtuous, and were saved on account of their personal moral excellence; man might *choose* life, and *reject* death (Deut. xxx. 15, 19); he might be pure and innocent (Isai. i. 15—17); “the soul THAT SINNETH, it shall die: the son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son: the righteousness of the righteous shall be upon him, and the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him” (Ezek. xviii. 20, 4). PHYSICAL death alone was, according to the Old Testa-

ment, on account of Adam's sin, inherited from him on all future generations. And in the power of *moral* resistance, the first man was as weak as his descendants; by the fall, he forfeited his innocence, but he lost no extraordinary power for virtue.—The Septuagint renders *קצף* by *εαφ* (as in Pa. lxxiv. 17, and Zech. xiv. 8), which is certainly incorrect; for *קצף* is, originally, the *autumn*, or the season in which the fruits are *gathered* (from *קצר*), and is, therefore, metaphorically applied for the years of full manly vigour (Job xxix. 4: *בְּיָמַי וְרָמַי*, like *εἰρώπα* in Greek; *Pind.*, Isthm., ii. 7, 8; *Nem.* v. 10, etc.); but is, here, used in contradistinction to *קץ*, to express the colder half of the year; and signifies, in some passages, distinctly the *winter* (Prov. xx. 4; Jer. xxxvi. 22; Am. iii. 15).

## SCIENCE AND THE NOACHIAN DELUGE.

### SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE ON CHAPTERS VI. TO VIII.

WE have completed the verbal explanation of the deluge, and endeavoured to elucidate the single facts and ideas which it contains; but this subject is too important not to claim a general consideration as a whole, and too complicated not to require it. Religion, history, and natural philosophy, are equally interested in it; but they are here not allies, but apparently rivals; they seem not to support, but to contradict each other; they attempt individually to usurp the victory over the rest; and there is scarcely a reflecting mind that has not taken part in favour of the one or the other of the claimants. It is our anxious desire to enable our readers to form an independent opinion. We shall allow each of the three parties to state its own case; we ask but two things, attention to the facts, and impartiality in the decision. We introduce, therefore,

### I.—THE HEATHEN TRADITIONS CONCERNING A UNIVERSAL FLOOD.

1. CHALDEAN TRADITION.—The representative of the tenth generation after the first man was Xisuthrus (the son of Otiartes or Ardates), a pious and wise monarch. The god Chronos (or Belus) revealed to him that continual rains, commencing on a certain day, the fifteenth of the month Dæsius, would cause a general deluge, by which mankind would be destroyed. On the command of the deity, Xisuthrus built an immense ship, 3,000 feet in length, and 1,200 feet in breadth; ascended it with his

family, his friends, and every species of quadrupeds, birds, and reptiles, after having loaded it with every possible provision, and sailed towards Armenia. When the rain ceased, he sent out birds to satisfy himself about the condition of the earth. They returned twice, but the second time they had mud on their feet; and the third time they returned to him no more. Xisuthrus, who had by this time grounded upon the side of some Armenian mountain, left the ship, accompanied only by his wife, his daughter, and the pilot. They erected an altar, and offered sacrifices to the gods; but were soon raised to heaven, on account of their exemplary piety. Those who had remained in the ship now left it, also, with many lamentations; but they believed they heard the voice of Xisuthrus admonishing them to persevere in the fear of the gods; after which they settled again in Babylon, from whence they had started, and became the ancestors of a new human population. The ship was thought to be preserved in the highland of Armenia, in the mountain of the Cordyæans; and pieces of bitumen and timber, ostensibly taken from it, were, in later times, used chiefly as amulets.<sup>1</sup> We here select those features principally which offer a resemblance to the Biblical narrative; but the analogies themselves are so obvious, that the attentive reader will at once make in his mind instructive comparisons.

2. INDIAN TRADITION.—The seventh king of the Hindoos was Satyavrata, who reigned in Dravira, a country washed by the waves of the sea. During his reign, an evil demon (Hayagriva) furtively appropriated to himself the holy books (Vedas), which the first Manu<sup>2</sup> had received from Brahman; and the consequence was, that the whole human race sank into a fearful degeneracy, with the exception of the seven saints and the virtuous king, Satyavrata. The divine spirit, Vishnu, once appeared to him in the shape of a fish, and addressed him thus: "In seven days, all the creatures which have offended against me shall be destroyed by a deluge; thou alone shalt be saved in a capacious vessel, miraculously constructed. Take, therefore, all kinds of useful herba, and of esculent grain for food, and one pair of each animal; take also the seven holy men with thee, and your wives. Go into the ark without fear; then thou shalt see god face to face, and all thy questions shall be answered." After seven days, incessant torrents of rain descended, and the ocean gave forth its waves beyond the wonted shores. Satyavrata, trembling for his imminent destruction, yet piously confiding in the promises of the god, and meditating on his attributes, saw a huge boat floating to the shore on the waters. He entered it with the saints, after having executed the divine instructions. Vishnu himself appeared, in the shape of a vast horned fish, and tied the vessel with a great sea-serpent, as with a cable, to his huge horn. He drew it for many years, and landed it, at last, on the highest peak of Mount Himavân. The flood ceased; Vishnu slew the demon, and received the Vedas back; instructed Satyavrata in all heavenly sciences, and appointed him the seventh Manu, under the name of Vaivasvata. From this Manu, the second population of the earth descended in a supernatural manner, and hence man is called *manudsha* (born of Manu, *Mensch*). The Hindoo legend concludes, moreover, with an episode resembling, in almost every particular, that which resulted in the curse of Ham by his father Noah.<sup>3</sup>

3. GREEK TRADITIONS.—The whole human race was corrupted; violence and

<sup>1</sup> Comp. *Josephus*, *Antiq.*, I. iii. 6; *Contr. Apion.*, i. 19; *Eusebius*, *Pr. Evang.*, ix. 11, 12; *Cyrillus*, c. *Julian.*, i. 14; *Syncellus*, *Chronogr.*, p. 30; *Cory*, *Ancient Fragments*, p. 26, *et seq.*; *Fabricius*, *Bibl. Græc.*, xiv. 180.

<sup>2</sup> Surnamed Svayambuva, that is, "issued by the Being that exists by itself."

<sup>3</sup> See the eighth book of the *Bhagvata*; *Burnouf*, *Bhagvata-Pur.*, III. xxxiv.;

*Albr. Weber*, *Indische Studien*, Heft 2; comp. *Jones*, *Works*, iii. 332; i. 287, where the names of the three sons of Manu, or Nich, are given as Scherma, Chama, and Jyapeti; *Frank*, *Vvasa*, p. 134; *Rhode*, *Rel. Bildung der Hind.*, ii. 134; *Asiat. Research.*, i. 230–234, ii. 116; *Wilson*, *Vishnu-Pur.*, x. *Pref.*, p. 21; *Rosenmüller*, *Morgenl.*, i. 26, 27; *Bopp*, *Diluvium*, 1829.



impiety prevailed; oaths were broken; the sacredness of hospitality was shamelessly violated; suppliants were abused, or murdered; and the gods mocked and insulted. Infamy and nefariousness were the delight of the degenerated tribes. Jupiter resolved, therefore, to destroy the whole human race, as far as the earth extends, and Poseidon encircles it with the girdle of the waves. The earth opened all her secret springs, the ocean sent forth its floods, and the skies poured down their endless torrents. All creatures were immersed in the waves, and perished. Deucalion alone, and his wife Pyrrha, both distinguished by their piety, were, in a small boat,<sup>1</sup> which Deucalion had constructed by the advice of his father, Prometheus, carried to the lofty peaks of mount Parnassus,<sup>2</sup> which alone stood out of the floods.<sup>3</sup> They were saved. The waters subsided. The surviving pair sacrificed to Jupiter the flight-giving,<sup>4</sup> and consulted the gods, who again, through them, populated the earth by an extraordinary miracle.<sup>5</sup> This tradition appears in a still more developed form in Lucian.<sup>6</sup> There was a very old temple in Hieropolis, which was universally asserted to have been built by Deucalion, the Scythian, when he had been rescued from the general deluge. For it is related that enormous crimes, prevalent through the whole human race, had provoked the wrath of Jupiter, and caused the destruction of man. Deucalion alone was found wise and pious. He built a large chest, and brought into it his wives and children; and when he was about to enter it, boars, lions, serpents, and all other animals came to him by pairs. Jupiter removed all hostile propensities from their breasts, and they lived together in miraculous concord. The waves carried the chest along till they subsided. After this, an immense gulf opened itself, which only closed after having totally absorbed the waters. This wonderful incident happened in the territory of Hieropolis; and above this gulf, Deucalion erected that ancient temple, after having offered many sacrifices on temporary altars. In commemoration of these events, twice every year water is brought into the temple, not only by the priests, but by a large concourse of strangers from Syria, Arabia, and the countries of the Jordan. This water is fetched from the sea, and then poured out in the temple in such a manner that it descends into the gulf. — The same tradition assumed, indeed, under different hands, a different local character; Hyginus mentions the *Ætna*, in Sicily, as the mountain where Deucalion grounded; the Phrygians relate that *Anakos* (see p. 167) prophesied concerning the approaching flood; and some coins struck under the emperor Septimius Severus, and some of his successors in *Apamea*,<sup>7</sup> and declared genuine by all authorities in numismatics, represent a chest, or ark, floating on the waves, and containing a man and a woman. On the ark a bird is perched, and another is seen approaching, holding a twig with its feet. The same human pair is figured on the dry land, with up-lifted hands; and on several of those pieces even the name *NO* (*ΝΩ*), is clearly visible.<sup>8</sup>—A legend, perhaps, as old as that of Deucalion, though neither so far spread, nor so developed, is that of *Ogyges*, who is mostly called a *Bœotian* antochthon, and the first ruler of the territory of Thebes, called after him *Ogygia*. In his time, the waters of the lake *Copais* are said to have risen in so unusual a degree, that they at last covered the whole surface of the earth, and that *Ogyges* himself directed his vessel on the waves through the air.<sup>9</sup>—Even the

<sup>1</sup> *Ἀρπυξ*.<sup>2</sup> *Παρνασσός*.<sup>3</sup> Or, according to others, to mount *Ætna* (*Hygin.*), or *Athos* (*Servius*).<sup>4</sup> *Φύξις*.<sup>5</sup> *Ovid*, *Metam.* i. 182—415; see *Pindar*, *Olymp.* ix. 37; *Aristot.* *Meteorol.* i. 14; *Plato*, *De Leg.* iii., *init.*; *Pausan.*, x. 6; *Hygin.*, 153; *Serv.*, *Buc.* vi. 41; *Apollod.*, *Bibl.* i. 7; but it may be remarked, that the earlier writers, *Homer*, *Hesiod*, and*Herodotus*, do not mention the flood of Deucalion; comp. *Herod.* ii. 11, 12.<sup>6</sup> *De dea Syr.* xii. xiii.<sup>7</sup> Which was surnamed *Κιβωτός* (*νηπι*).<sup>8</sup> See *Eckhel*, *Doctr. Num.* vet. iii. 32.<sup>9</sup> *L. A. Seneca*, *Quaest. Natur.* iii. 27—30; *Nonnus*, *Dionys.* iii. 96, 304; vi. 206; *Censorin.*, *De die Nat.* xxi.; *Euseb.* *Præp. Evang.* x. 10; *Pausan.*, ix. 5; *Apollon. Rhod.* iii. 1177.

dove of Noah bears an analogy to the dove which Deucalion is reported to have dispatched from his ark, which returned the first time, thus indicating that the stores of rain were not yet exhausted, but which did not come back the second time, and thereby gave proof that the skies had resumed their usual serenity.<sup>10</sup>

4. AMERICAN AND OTHER TRADITIONS.—Humboldt<sup>11</sup> found the tradition of a general deluge vividly entertained among the wild races peopling the regions of the Orinoco; it belongs to the historical reminiscences of almost all the tribes of the Indians of the North-American lakes, and of the inhabitants of Tahiti; but the legends of the Tamanacs are peculiarly interesting. They relate that a man and a woman saved themselves in that fearful catastrophe; they took refuge on a high mountain; and when, after the floods had subsided, they wished to re-people the earth, they cast behind them, over their heads, the fruits of the *Mauritia* palm-tree, from the seeds of which men and women were produced. The analogy to the Greek myth is obvious. On the other hand, the traditions of the Peruvians, Brazilians, Mexicans, Cubans, and others, are so evidently traceable to the Mosaic narrative, or are so entirely fabulous, that, though interesting in themselves, they do not contribute to illustrate our text in any material way;<sup>12</sup> whilst the allusions found in the sacred books of the Chinese and Persians are too indistinct, or unauthentic, to offer any clear parallel;<sup>13</sup> and the Egyptian traditions speak only of repeated calamities inflicted upon the earth by fire and water.<sup>14</sup>

It is unnecessary to observe, that there is scarcely a single feature in the Biblical account which is not discovered in one, or several of the heathen traditions. And the coincidences are not limited to desultory details; they extend to the whole outlines, and the very tenor and spirit of the narrative; it is almost everywhere the sin of man which renders the determination of the all-just judge irrevocable; one pious man is saved, with his family, to form the nucleus of a new population; an ark is introduced, and pairs of the whole animal creation are collected; birds are sent out to ascertain the condition of the earth; an altar is built, and sacrifices are offered. And yet it is certain that none of these accounts are derived from the pages of the Bible;<sup>15</sup> they are independent of each other; their differences are as striking and characteristic as their analogies; they are echoes of a sound which had long vanished away. It would be miraculous to suppose that such a remarkable concurrence is accidental; the legends of the Chaldeans and the Mosaic narrative, bear not only a family likeness, but they have the very appearance of twins. There must indisputably have been a common basis, a universal source. And this source is the general tradition of primitive generations. The harmony between all these accounts is an undeniable guarantee that the tradition is no idle invention; a fiction is individual, not universal; that tradition has, therefore, a historical foundation; it is the result of an event which really happened in the ages of the childhood of mankind; it was altered, adorned, and it may be magnified, by the dissemination; it was tinged with a specifically national colouring by the different nations; it borrowed some characteristic traits from every country in which it was diffused; it assumed the reflex of the various religious

<sup>10</sup> *Plutarch*, De Solert. Animal. § 13.

<sup>11</sup> *Views of Nature*, p. 147, Bohn's ed.

<sup>12</sup> Compare *Clavigero*, Hist. of Mexico, ii. 6; iv. 16, 17, translated by Stollberg; *Asiatic Researches*, iii. 469; *Priault*, *Quæst. Mosaic.*, p. 198—200, 207, 208.

<sup>13</sup> *Des Guignes*, Chou-king, p. 8, 9; *Hyde*, De Rel. Vet. Pers. p. 171.

<sup>14</sup> *Plato*, *Timæus*; *Censorinus*, in Cory's *Fragments*, p. 323; and in general *Rosenmüller*, *Morgenland*, i. 22—38; *Butt-*

*mann*, *Mytholog.* i. 180, *et seq.*; *Link*, *Urwelt*, ii. 78, *et seq.*; *Böhlen*, *Alt. Ind.*, i. 214; ii. 296; *G. Smith*, *Sacred Annals*, i. 324—346; *Harcourt*, *Doct. of the Deluge*.

<sup>15</sup> We reserve a complete proof of this important fact for a future opportunity, when we shall discuss the general question, whether the literatures of other eastern, and of the classical nations, have in any way borrowed from, or are indebted to, the Old Testament.

systems; but though the features were modified, the general character was indestructible, and remained strikingly visible. But in order to arrive at a well-established result, we must examine the testimony of geology, a science which stands in immediate connection with our subject. We return, therefore, once more to that rich and interesting field, every stone of which is a silent witness of millenniums, and an eloquent preceptor of wisdom.

## II.—GEOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS.

WE shall, in the precisest form possible, state the results of modern geology bearing upon the question of a universal deluge, about 1,600 years after the birth of the first human pair.

1. The surface of the earth is, in many vast tracts, covered with accumulations of soil, sand, and gravel; they have no connection with the rock formations of the former ages; and are generally known under the name of *diluvium*, since they are believed to be the result of some vast flood. But these aggregations were indisputably produced by many currents of *different* force, and from *different* directions; they are the result of *different* ages, and are all of a *local* extent; they have, in some cases, been washed away by some new current; they are, in other instances, overlaid by more recent drifts; they are produced by the long action of the floods working from deep waters, by currents, eddies, and tides; they are, in fact, nothing but a part of the ordinary and uninterrupted process by which the continents have gradually formed and been elevated during unnumbered ages.—There is, therefore, no probability whatever that this diluvium is the result of a transitory and general deluge.

2. Cuvier, indeed, agreed with Deluc and Dolmieu, that the surface of our globe underwent a great and sudden revolution, the date of which he referred to a period not much earlier than five or six thousand years ago; he considered the deposits of the diluvium and alluvium, as the completest proof, to the senses, of that inundation; though he was convinced, that this sudden catastrophe was *not universal*.<sup>1</sup> Other geologists adopted the same opinion; they identified the last geological revolution with the deluge of Genesis; and explained all phenomena on this hypothesis. But, the most distinguished of these scholars, and Buckland foremost among them, later retracted this opinion as absolutely untenable, and as perfectly irreconcilable with obvious facts.<sup>2</sup> A temporary deluge could never have produced the geological changes observable in the superficial deposits. The animals whose remains have been discovered in the “mammaliferous crag,” not only of Great Britain, but of Northern Siberia, the elephant, the rhinoceri, the hippopotamus, the hyenas and tigers, cannot have been transported thither by the Flood from the intertropical regions; this is not merely *improbable* on account of the vast distance of four to five thousand miles which separates those respective lands; or on account of the great numbers in which they are found in the same localities; or on account of the remarkable circumstance, that the *shed antlers* of the great Irish elk,<sup>3</sup> which exceeded, in bulk and size, the largest horses, and measured upwards of ten feet in height, occur everywhere, and mostly in an uninjured state, *together with* the bones and skeletons of that animal: but it is rendered *impossible* by the facts, that they are extant in beds of various ages; and still more by the observations of comparative anatomy; for, the latter has shown, beyond a doubt, that those northern animals were very widely different, in their internal structure, and their external provisions, from the same species now living in the southern climes; the difference is greater than between an ass and a horse, or between the dog and the wolf; and it is certain beyond contradiction, that those animals lived and died in the northern countries

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Cuvier, Discours sur les Révolutions de la Surface du Globe, p. 138, 141.

<sup>2</sup> Buckland, Reliquiæ Diluvianæ, p. 237;

Phillips, Outlines of Miner. and Geol., p. 248.

<sup>3</sup> Megaceros Hibernicus.

in which their remains have been found.—It is known, that the cavern of Kirkdale, in Yorkshire, contains the bones and remains of twenty-four species of animals, from the pigeon and the mouse, to the hyena, the hippopotamus, and rhinoceros. But the opening of the cavern is not larger than four feet; the huge bones cannot, therefore, have been washed thither by the tropical waves; they are, besides, almost all of them *gnawed*, and show the clear marks of teeth, especially of hyenas, which in that haunt probably devoured their prey.<sup>4</sup>—The facts, that fossil trees have been found uninjured even in their most delicate and fragile parts; or that fishes have been imbedded in almost perfect preservation, and the familiar cases in the lias formation of Lyme Regis, do not prove, that the rate of deposition of the ancient strata was almost “inconceivably rapid.” Those fossils were, most probably, not directly imbedded in sedimentary deposit, but in consequence of a sudden revolution either aquatic or volcanic; the deposit itself may have been developed, ages before, in an exceedingly slow progress; whilst the trees and animals were suddenly overtaken and crushed by the new strata which covered, and partly buried, the preceding formations.

3. The violent irruptions of water, and the up-heavings proceeding from the interior of the earth, have alternately, and an indefinite number of times, immersed and elevated the same tract of land; every new geological period is marked by such an event; the same part of the earth's surface was more than once sea and dry land; but the last revolution of this kind occurred before the existence of man on earth; in no stratum of the earth, not even the very highest tertiary beds, have remains of human bodies or of human works been discovered; they occur only in the loose sand and gravel which cover the surface. It has, indeed, been alleged, that human bones have been found in earlier rocks.<sup>5</sup> But those instances are uncertain; and have been declared inconclusive by almost all geological authorities. Man was called into being after the earth had carried its development forward to its present state. No deluge destroyed, therefore, a wicked and disobedient race of men.

4. The Biblical narrative relates, that all the species of animals were preserved by Noah, and that they later propagated themselves; it implies, that the deluge was no violent convulsion or catastrophe, that it did not change the aspect of nature; although it destroyed the living beings on the earth, it left no trace of its existence on the surface or in the interior; it was an event of the existing creation; the vegetable kingdom remained, essentially, uninjured; and the soil was soon afterwards fit for cultivation.

An attempt has, indeed, been made to represent the Deluge as an event of the greatest importance for the geological structure of the earth. For, the following theory has been proposed and extensively adopted. The primitive rocks were formed on the first day of Creation, by means of the “light,” which is considered equivalent with *fire*;<sup>6</sup> the deposits of marine animals and shell-fish were formed during the 1,650 years which intervened between the Creation and the deluge; *but all the other geological revolutions and layers are the consequences of the Flood*; the different formations of the stratified rocks of immense thickness and very great variety are the results of *successive smaller convulsions*, both volcanic and aquatic, which took place during the year of the deluge.<sup>7</sup>—But the deluge is, in no part of the Biblical narrative, described as having been attended by “tremendous convulsions,” volcanic eruptions, electric agencies, or violent up-heavings. The vegetable and animal life alone was destroyed upon the earth; but the general surface of the latter remained unaltered; and a very short time sufficed to restore, in every respect, the former order of things; the annihilation of the

<sup>4</sup> Compare *Hugh Miller*, *Testimony of the Rocks*, p. 312—320.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 65.

<sup>6</sup> *Sharon Turner*, *Sacred Hist.*, I. 385; *W. E. Taylor*, *Geology*, p. 79—83.

<sup>7</sup> See *Young*, *Script. Geol.*, 46—61; *Taylor*, *Geol.*, pp. 154, 155.

organic creatures did not materially or lastingly affect the nature of the inorganic part of our globe.

But the theory in question is preposterous in a geological point of view also. For, the fossil remains preserved in these successive stratifications include animals which had enjoyed life during a long series of years; they contain trees, the concentric rings of which indicate the number of years which they had required for their growth; the chemical causes, together with the "volcanic, voltaic, and electric action" to which those marvellous results are ascribed, are not only an arbitrary assumption against the clear statements of the text; but would certainly have succeeded each other in such fearful rapidity and violence, that the preservation of Noah's ark, under such circumstances, would be the most extraordinary miracle which ever suspended the course of nature; the tertiary layers alone are irresistible witnesses of their slow origin and their overwhelming age, and overthrow at once that unnatural and artificial edifice which prejudice and weakness have erected. If it is averred, that all those convulsions were designedly produced by the immediate direction of the Divine omnipotence, we are justified to ask, what was the end and the use of those awful destructions? Why were myriads of majestic animals created, only to be annihilated in terrific haste? Why are no human bones found in the lower strata? Noah took specimens of all animals existing in his time into the ark, for the express purpose of securing the continuance of their species; and yet, the various layers enclose many species which are at present extinct: for, the opinion, that they ceased to exist after the Noachian deluge, is equally against the tenor of the Bible. It is, therefore, but a fanciful conception to suppose, that the continents of the earth were depressed to the depth of the present ocean's bed; that, after the deluge, a new bed was sunk for the ocean; whilst the former bed of the sea, either wholly or partially, constitutes the present continents and islands. The Noachian flood was intended to annihilate the human race, not to mark a new epoch in the geological history of our planet. All those conjectures are merely invented in order to prove, at all hazards, a preconceived opinion, both against the clear words of the Scriptures, and the facts of the positive sciences. — It is painful to see how even sober minds throw themselves into a hopeless struggle; they attempt to combine what judgment and reason will never be able to unite; they will not consent to yield, even if concession after concession should be wrested from them; they prefer to defy reason with narrow-minded obstinacy; and weave a tissue of contradictions, alike incapable to support the truth of religion, and to elevate the dignity of science.

5. The older lateral cones of Mount *Ætna* are, after a moderate computation, at least twelve thousand years old; they are composed of the ordinary incoherent materials; and yet, they show in no part marks of denudation; they retain in integrity their original shape; a devastating deluge cannot, therefore, have passed over them within that period.

6. In the centre of France, in the provinces of *Auvergne* and *Languedoc*, are still the remains of several hundred volcanic hills and mountains. The craters, some of which are higher than that of the *Vesuvius*, ejected immense masses of lava to the heights of fifty, one hundred, and many more feet, and spreading over many miles of area. Distant periods separate the different eruptions. Distinct mineral formations, and an abundance of petrified vegetable and animal life, bespeak an epoch far anterior to the present condition of our planet. And yet, since these volcanoes ceased to flow, rivers have worked their way through that vast depth of lava; they have penetrated through basalt rocks one hundred and fifty feet in height, and have even considerably entered into the granite rocks beneath. The time required for such operation is immeasurably slow. Centuries are required to mark the least perceptible progress. The whole period which was necessary for the rivers to overcome that hard and compact mass, is large almost beyond the conception of man; all our measures of chronology are insuff-

scient; and the mind stands amazed at the notion of eternal time. That extraordinary region contains rocks, consisting of laminated formations of siliceous deposits; one of the rocks is sixty feet in thickness; and a moderate calculation shows, that at least 18,000 years were required to produce that single pile. All these formations, therefore, are far more remote than the date of the Noachian flood; they show not the slightest trace of having been affected or disturbed by any general deluge; their progress has been slow, but uninterrupted; even the pumice-stone, and other loose and light substances, with which many of those hills and the cones of the volcanic craters are covered, and which would have been washed away by the action of a flood, have remained entirely untouched.<sup>1</sup>

Geological evidence denies, therefore, the possibility of a universal deluge, both in general, and especially within the last five thousand years. But we have seen above, that an historical tradition must necessarily be acknowledged as the basis of our narrative; the unanimity in the legends of the most different nations demands that supposition; and we do not see that geology excludes it. Though human bones have not been excavated in the stratified beds, those which occur in the alluvial sands are sufficient to show the possibility of a revolution on the earth's surface during the existence of man. It is in no way improbable to conjecture, that within the limited number of millenniums during which man inhabits the earth, its surface suffered one of those changes which have, in former periods, been repeated innumerable times, and which are imperceptibly preparing themselves in the silent womb of time. A local deluge may have swept away the inhabitants of a large district; this territory was, perhaps, believed to have been the only one yet peopled on the surface of the globe; a few only survived; and the persons so providentially delivered from a general ruin preserved the memory of the event, which the innate religious sentiment of man soon ennobled with higher motives, and rendered subservient to fruitful lessons of virtue and morality.

But in advocating the originally local character of the tradition, we are far from maintaining that the Bible represents it as such. Some interpreters have, indeed, forced the Hebrew narrative into this meaning. They have thereby violated all the rules of a sound philology. They have distorted the spirit of the language, and disregarded the dictates of common sense. It is impossible to read the narrative of our chapter without being irresistibly impressed that the *whole* earth was destined for destruction. This is so evident throughout the whole of the description, that it is unnecessary to adduce single instances. Such expressions as, "*all* the mountains were covered by the floods,"<sup>2</sup> are asserted to mean a *great part* of them. But all the passages which have been collected to prove that application of the term *all* in Hebrew, are far from being conclusive analogies (see notes on Exod. ix. 6, and x. 5). In our case the universality does not lie in the words merely, but in the tenor of the whole narrative. *All* flesh had corrupted its way before the Lord upon the earth (vi. 12); therefore the *whole* human race was to be destroyed with the earth (vi. 13). We need not even urge the reasons adduced by others, that if the flood had been local, it would have been unnecessary to encumber the ark with birds so widely diffused as the raven and the dove; or that, if the waters rose fifteen cubits above the highest mountains of the then inhabited countries, their level would have been sufficient to give universality to the deluge. These arguments, whether borne out by the natural sciences or not, are

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Cuvier, Discours sur les Révolutions de la Surface du Globe; Buckland, Reliquiæ Diluvianæ; and Bridgewater Treatise; De la Beche, Geological Manual, p. 172, et seq.; Murchison, Silurian System, obapt. xxxvi.; Hitchcock, Geology of

Massachusetts, p. 148, et seq.; W. J. Hamilton, Tour in Asia Minor, ii. 386; Lyell, Principles of Geology, iv. 219; Pye Smith, Geol. and Script., p. 90—149; Hugh Miller, Testimony of the Rocks, p. 306—350.

<sup>2</sup> vii. 19; כל ההרים כל.

unnecessary. The text admits of no other acceptation, but a universal flood. It is difficult to know to what extent the earth was at the time of the deluge inhabited by man; whether the population was limited, and whether the prevailing violence and warfare had incessantly tended to diminish it. The text speaks of the *whole* earth, and of *all* creation. It evidently pre-supposes that the whole of its surface was peopled by human beings; for God intended to destroy the whole earth on account of man's iniquity. The supposition of the local character of the Noachian deluge, is analogous to the preposterous assertion, that the first chapters of Genesis do not treat of the creation of heaven and earth, but of the formation of some limited district by an internal convulsion of our planet. Thus the Creation and the deluge would belong to almost the same class of geological events; for the submergence of the dry land, and the rise of the floods, stand in the relation of cause and effect; a creation and a deluge are inseparable occurrences. Nothing but utter perplexity could have brought intelligent minds to maintain such untenable views. For we find among its supporters a Matthew Poole, a Stillingfleet, and a Le Clerc; and J. Pye Smith, Hitchcock, Hugh Miller, and others, have followed in their deceptive traces.<sup>1</sup> It required, on the part of the advocates of a local deluge, but one hazardous step more, actually to assign for it a precise region, either in the southern part of Western Asia, or in the plains of Armenia,<sup>2</sup> or in a "trench-like strip of country that communicated between the Caspian and the Gulf of Finland."<sup>3</sup>—We deem it necessary to add that, although we think local revolutions, at some remote period of man's past history, not impossible, the Bible does not speak of a *depression of the land*, but of the *rising of the floods* above their usual and normal level; for it is a common error, not only to defend that opinion, but to go still farther, and to assert that, by the deluge *the sea and the land changed places*, so that the old land became ocean, and *vice versâ*, and to impute to this circumstance the impossibility of identifying the rivers, and of ascertaining the site of Paradise, and of discovering the remains of the perished race of men. Nothing is more clearly opposed to the Scriptural narrative than these groundless suppositions.<sup>4</sup>

The question then stands thus: Geology teaches the impossibility of a universal deluge since the last 6,000 years, but does not exclude a partial destruction of the earth's surface within that period. The Biblical text, on the other hand, demands the supposition of a universal deluge, and absolutely excludes a partial flood. How is this difficulty to be reconciled? The only solution possible is by consistently carrying out the principle of Biblical interpretation, which has hitherto guided us. We acknowledge the historical connection between the Hebrews and the other eastern nations. We admit an analogy between the writings of the former and the traditions of the latter; but we distinguish between the form and the spirit; between the materials and the ideas, for the embodiment of which they were employed. The Old Testament does not show the ancient Hebrews as superior to their contemporaries in secular knowledge. They were not above them in the physical sciences; they shared, in positive learning, nearly all their notions, and a great portion of their errors. But they surpassed them infinitely in religious contemplation; they alone shook off the fetters of superstition; they conquered idolatry, and rose to the purest notions concerning the attributes of God and the duties of man. The religious lessons, therefore, which the history of the Noachian deluge discloses, are its chief value, and form its only remarkable difference from the many similar traditions of ancient tribes; and they are by no means affected by the question, whether the deluge was partial or universal. The Biblical narrative is based upon a historical fact. But this

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Geol. and Script., p. 264—283; Testim. of the Rocks, p. 288—350.

<sup>2</sup> Hamilton.

<sup>3</sup> Hugh Miller, Test. of the Rocks, p. 375.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 208.

fact was, in the course of time, amplified and adorned, till it was, in the period of the author of the Pentateuch, generally augmented into a universal flood; he employed the materials in the form in which they had become the common legendary property of nations; but, with his usual wisdom and comprehensiveness of mind, he worked them out into a powerful link of his grand religious system; they became, in his hand, the foundation of a new covenant between God and man.

### III.—GENERAL DIFFICULTIES.

BUT the literal interpretation of the Biblical narrative presents other and great difficulties, which have not been urged by sceptics alone; nor are they of recent date; they have, at a very early period, been acknowledged, not without anxiety and sorrow, by strong pillars of the Church; they have sometimes been argued away by every effort of pious ingenuity, but they have as frequently been abandoned as insolvable mysteries. We shall mention the chief of those difficulties.

1. The waters are represented to have covered the earth to the height of fifteen cubits above the tops of the mountains (vii. 20; viii. 5). This would require, at least, eight times the aggregate quantity of water contained in all the seas and oceans of the earth. But the rain can, even if the clouds at once discharge all their stores, cause a water-sheet of only a few inches in thickness; and the sea might spread its floods over the earth, but it does not thereby increase the actual amount of water. It has, indeed, been replied to this objection, that the water of the oceans, even independently of the rain, was sufficient to immerse the highest mountains; for it is said that the antediluvian peaks were not by far so high as those of the present era, and that the tremendous convulsions of the deluge were the originating causes of the highest mountains, as the Chimborazo, Hecla, and the Himalayan range. But the total erroneousness of this opinion has above been proved.<sup>5</sup>

2. The sudden addition of so great a mass of water would materially change the action of gravity upon the earth; the nutation of the axis would be varied; and not only the orbit of our planet, but the whole solar system must be deranged.

3. The ark was to contain one pair of every species of unclean animals, and seven pairs of every clean species. Now there are already known upwards of 1,600 species of Mammalia, 6,200 of birds, 600 of reptiles, 5,000 of conchylia, besides the almost endless number of insects, vermes, and infusoria.<sup>6</sup> The ark, though of large dimensions, even granted that Noah was able to build it, and that the animals did not multiply during the deluge, was far from being capacious enough to receive all those creatures, together with the enormous quantity of food necessary for the extent of a whole year.<sup>7</sup> It has been maintained, that the Biblical text speaks only of a limited number of *useful and domesticated* animals, which lived in the immediate vicinity of Noah, or in the small district then inhabited by man. But this assertion forms a part of that unwarranted opinion concerning a local deluge, which we have above attempted to refute.

4. Most animals can live in a certain zone only; they perish if suddenly transported into an ungenial climate. It would imply a perversion of all laws of physiology, to suppose that the thousands of animals coming from remote regions, could be preserved in the ark without injury to life or vigour. Many of the insects have no wings, many live but a few days, or even a few hours after they have obtained their wings; it is beyond our comprehension how they could, after the flood, have reached the distant clime suitable to their existence. The original centres of distribution were necessarily more than one, since every great continent has its own peculiar fauna, which occupied

<sup>5</sup> pp. 208, 210.

<sup>6</sup> Comp. *Johnston*, Physical Atlas, 1856.

<sup>7</sup> See several computations on the

dimensions of the Ark in *Hugh Miller's* Testim. of the Rocks, p. 320—322.



the circles round those centres in ages long anterior to the deluge.<sup>1</sup> But the miracles required to produce all those wonderful effects are a gratuitous supposition.

5. It is a matter of great difficulty to understand how the large quantity of meat necessary for the subsistence of so many flesh-eating animals could be preserved for a twelvemonth. To obviate this objection, another miracle has been invented on which the Bible is perfectly silent, namely, that those animals, during this time, entirely changed their nature, and were satisfied with vegetable food. But even the herbivorous animals, in many instances, live only on a restricted number of plants, which again occur only in limited, and often remote localities.

6. A very great part of the fishes, which are never mentioned in our narrative, because they were believed to have remained uninjured by the deluge, could not live in the water, the nature of which was so materially altered by the enormous mixture of rain and sea-floods. Salt water, if suddenly introduced into fresh, destroys the inhabitants of the latter, and many of the marine fishes and mollusks can only live in salt water. It has been conjectured, that the spawn of the fishes might have been preserved even if the living individuals perished; but the spawn would, in a universal deluge, have lost its vitality, or have been developed into fishes long before the expiration of the year; so that these individuals also would have perished.<sup>2</sup>

7. There are trees still existing older than the date of the Noachian deluge.<sup>3</sup> If they had been submersed in water, they would scarcely, even had they outlived that catastrophe, have maintained the strength necessary to carry their existence through so many millenniums. Of the hundred thousand species of known plants, very few would survive submersion for a whole year; at least three-fourths of them would necessarily have perished in a universal deluge. It is agreed by all botanical authorities, that though partial inundations of rivers do not long or materially change the vegetation of a region, the infusion of great quantities of *salt-water* destroys it entirely for long periods.<sup>4</sup> But the earth produced the olive-tree and the vine immediately after the cessation of the deluge.

We have faithfully stated some of the obvious difficulties, omitting the great number of minor objections which have been raised from the time of Origen; we search after truth, and are determined to examine without prejudice. We now entreat our readers to weigh calmly the arguments and facts here produced; the general tradition of all nations guarantees the historical character of a deluge, but geology denies its universality; this circumstance, added to the combined weight of the internal and unanswerable discrepancies, makes it manifest that the Biblical narrative, with regard to the *facts*, is to be estimated like other analogous traditions of the ancient writers; though the *religious truths* which it contains, belong to the most important parts of the Biblical canon.

This will be still more obvious, if we review some of the theories which have been proposed for the justification of the Biblical account of the Noachian deluge. It has been asserted, that the earth once approached another heavenly body so near that it lost a great portion of its atmosphere by the attraction of the latter; the consequence was a diminished degree of heat, so that the circumpolar ice extended far into the temperate zone; a greater evaporation, and the more frequent fall of rain, naturally ensued; a change to a higher temperature produced a sudden thaw; a large quantity of water was set free; the polar floods moved towards the equator, and a large inundation followed of necessity. This theory is deemed sufficient to account for the remains of the huge "antediluvian" animals in Siberia and elsewhere, for the present lower degree of heat on the earth, the greater frequency of rain, and the shorter duration of human

<sup>1</sup> *Hugh Miller*, p. 331—337.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 337, 338.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 9.

<sup>4</sup> *Candolle*, *Géogr. Botanique Raisonnée*, ii. 1061.

life.—This is considered to be an illustration of the Biblical narrative of the deluge! It explains none of all the difficulties which have been enumerated, and adds a great number of others of equal weight.—The violent fluctuations of temperature are in opposition both to experience, and to the probable theory of the gradual and regular refrigeration of our planet; nor is it possible to understand a law which would set limits to the abnormal process supposed. How was Noah alone saved? How could the animals survive? The rain is represented as a secondary cause only; and where does the text allude to the fictitious primary cause of the approximation of the earth to another star?—Others, also, have traced the theory of the deluge to purely physical causes, but have thereby, at the best, proved some *possible* occurrences, without in the least illustrating or explaining our text;<sup>5</sup> they have, for instance, asserted a change in the direction of the terrestrial axis; the approach of a great comet to the earth; the fall of immense meteoric bodies on our planet, together with the immersion of a large continent, and the contemporary action of mighty volcanic concussions.—Buttmann considered our narrative to be of Egyptian origin; he believed, that a hieroglyphic picture represented Xisuthrus, or the deity of Sirius, at the approach of the inundation of the Nile, entering a vessel with his family and cattle, and exhorting the people of the country to do the same; and that this picture was later interpreted as a historical event.<sup>6</sup> Let every reader decide what degree of soundness and probability can be awarded to this phantastical conjecture.—These opinions may suffice as specimens.

Some modern critics have started the supposition, that the Mosaic history of the flood is, in fact, nothing more than a copy of the annual inundations of certain rivers, but magnified in an extraordinary degree. This novel opinion, first stated by Volney and Buttmann, by Rosenmüller, Schumann, and Credner, was more fully developed by Bohlen; it was adopted, as a whole, by Tuch; and was, by many, hailed as the true solution of all difficulties concerning the deluge. It is maintained, that Homer and Hesiod do not mention general floods, simply because Asia Minor contains no inundating rivers; and that, from similar reasons, Sanchoniathon and the Persian writers omit them; it is added, that in Media, which was considered as the original locality of our event, the winter begins in October with violent showers of rain, which last sometimes forty days, and often even eight weeks; that, at the same time, the snow melts on the Armenian mountains; the Euphrates and the Tigris are suddenly swelled, not unfrequently cover the whole area of Mesopotamia, cause great destruction of property, and render a great number of canals necessary: after these torrents of rain, the time of sowing commences, and the corn ripens at the end of March. All this is asserted to be contained in the Biblical account of the deluge; for, on the seventeenth day of the second month,<sup>7</sup> the rain commenced;<sup>8</sup> it continued forty days and forty nights; the flood lasted 150 days,<sup>9</sup> or five months of thirty days each, to the month of Nisan, when the "later rain" generally occurs; and it was finished on the 27th day of the second month; so that it comprised, in all, a full solar year of 365 days, namely, seven months of thirty, and five of thirty-one days. To crown this theory, it is added, that, in Babylon, Nabonassar introduced the solar year in B.C. 747, but that Mesopotamia was unknown to the Hebrews before the exile; and that, therefore, this part of the Pentateuch cannot have been written before that time. But a few remarks will suffice to show the utter groundlessness of this opinion, and the fallacy of its conclusions.—1. The Hebrew year begins, in no part of the Bible, with Tishri; Nisan is everywhere the first, and Tishri the seventh month; only after the adoption of the Chaldean calendar, Tishri was the beginning of the year; and the second Book of the Maccabees

<sup>5</sup> Comp. Picot, Museum Hag., i. 165; Schubert, Gesch. der Natur, i. 551; A. Wagner, Gesch. der Urwelt, p. 530.

<sup>6</sup> Mytholog., i. 180, *et seq.*

<sup>7</sup> Marheshvan, כִּסְלִי or October.

<sup>8</sup> vii. 11.

<sup>9</sup> vii. 24.

(B.C. 180) is the earliest work extant in which it is so considered.<sup>1</sup> Although it was only at the exodus from Egypt that the spring was appointed as the commencement of the year, the Book of Genesis already adopts the same chronology, as the only one familiar to the author of the Pentateuch, and to his contemporary readers. — Even Tuch, who gives his full assent to Bohlen's view, is, by his natural good sense, compelled to acknowledge these historical facts, and, therefore, to modify the entire calculation of his predecessor. But, if the year begins with Nisan, the whole analogy with the annual inundation of the Euphrates and Tigris is destroyed; for, the second month, when the rain of the flood began, corresponds with April and May, the most beautiful part of the year, when the sky smiles in unclouded serenity, and the summer unfolds its brightest treasures. It did not escape Bohlen's sagacity, that the supposition of Nisan as the beginning of the year is fatal to his theory; he endeavoured, therefore, with all his eloquence and ingenuity, to establish the claims of Tishri as the first Biblical month. But he could not but fail. The facts speak with indisputable decision. It is, therefore, but an unimportant coincidence, that the eighth month, *חב*, has some resemblance in sound, and is connected in etymology, with *חבול*; and the authority of Josephus, who calls Marheshvan the month in which the flood began, is insufficient against the Scriptural evidence; and that coincidence is necessarily disregarded by those who urge, that the inundations of the Euphrates and Tigris are more general in March and April than in October and November. — 2. The dates introduced in our narrative are by no means distinct enough to prove a year of exactly 365 days. The only accurate numbers are: on the 17th day of the second month the flood began;<sup>2</sup> the rain lasted 40 days;<sup>3</sup> the waters rose altogether 150 days;<sup>4</sup> on the first day of the tenth month, they had decreased so far as to make the tops of the mountains visible; they were almost dried up on the first day of the first month, and Noah left the ark on the 27th day of the second month.<sup>5</sup> But, how many days elapsed till the peaks of the mountains re-appeared? and how many days intervened from this time to the first day of the first month? The text does not inform us on these points; conjecture seized, therefore, this space as its own. Nothing but the tenacious desire of upholding a preconceived theory could dictate the assertion, that our text describes a year of just seven months of 30, and of five of 31 days. So far, indeed, is this from being certain, that Credner, who is favourable to this opinion, finds, in our narrative, the mythic year of 360 days, or of twelve equal months of 30 days;<sup>6</sup> that Tiele calculates a lunar leap-year of 384 days; and that many other imaginary numbers have been deduced.<sup>7</sup> — But, 3., even granted, that 365 days could be proved as the whole duration of the deluge, the text would compel us to suppose the lunar, not the solar, year. For, the flood began on the *seventeenth* day of the second month, and its effects had entirely vanished on the *seven and twentieth* day of the second month in the succeeding year. It would, hence, follow, that the time from the *seventeenth* to the *seventeenth*, that is, a complete year, comprised 355 days; and that, therefore, the chronology on which the history of the deluge is based, is the ordinary lunar year. This was so vividly felt by ancient and modern interpreters, that they considered the statement of the *twenty-seventh*<sup>8</sup> as a mistake, and altered it into the number *seventeen*; and the Septuagint and Josephus place the beginning of the flood at the *twenty-seventh* day of the month.<sup>9</sup> But it is unnecessary to add, that these corrections are indefensible; that, although the lunar year, which was in exclusive use among the Hebrews during the Biblical times, has 355 days, the duration of the flood was believed to have been 365 days; and we can

<sup>1</sup> See our note on Exod. xii. 2.

<sup>2</sup> vii. 11.

<sup>3</sup> vii. 12.

<sup>4</sup> viii. 3, 4.

<sup>5</sup> viii. 14.

<sup>6</sup> Comment. on Joel, p. 207—220; and so Priaulz, *Questiones Mosaiscæ*, p. 212.

<sup>7</sup> Comp. Bengel, *Ordo tempor.*, p. 46.

<sup>8</sup> In viii. 14.

<sup>9</sup> vii. 11; Antiq., I. iii. 3; and Vulgate, in viii. 4.

as little find an astrological element here as in Enoch's life of 365 days. It is, however, not impossible, that the Hebrews were, at an early period, acquainted with the solar year of 365 days, which was in use among the Egyptians,<sup>10</sup> and which the agricultural character of their chief festivals compelled them to take into account. But the week of seven days, on which even the history of Creation is based, predominates throughout the narrative of the deluge.<sup>11</sup>—4. The theory of Bohlen would, at the best, only explain the Hebrew account of the flood; it is extravagant and absurd to imagine, that all the various tribes throughout the ancient world shaped their traditions concerning a deluge after annual inundations of a principal river in their respective territory; this would suppose a coincidence against all analogy and almost possibility; it would ascribe to the most different nations the same manner of observation, and the very same general application of a limited physical phenomenon.

Not the regularly recurring inundations of rivers, but one great geological revolution on the earth's surface forms the basis of the uniform traditions concerning a universal deluge.

## CHAPTER IX.

1. And God blessed Noah and his sons, and said to them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and fill the earth. 2. And

1—4. The animal creation had received the Divine blessing; the stability of the earth had been guaranteed; it now remained to pronounce a benediction over them for whose sake both the animal tribes and the earth had been preserved. Noah had proved himself worthy of the Divine love, which, moreover, was promised henceforth to hold precedence over iron-handed justice; and the mercy of God shone upon him and his house. The history of man starts with Noah from a second beginning; it was, therefore, necessary to renew his dominion over the brute creation; and this is done in almost the same, but rather more energetic terms, than those applied in the corresponding act at the time of Adam (i. 28). The fear and terror of man shall be upon the beasts and fowls, and the fishes shall be delivered up into his hands. These strong expressions easily prepare us for the very striking change which now took place in the relation between men and beasts. Hitherto, man had been ordained to rule over the animals, and to apply them for his use; but he had no authority over their lives, except for sacrifices, and, of course, if he was forced to repel their attacks; he was assigned to live

exclusively on the vegetable produce, although he was thereby exposed to a perpetual struggle with the reluctant soil. It was, however, believed, that the Adamites in their universal degeneracy were not satisfied to use the milk, or the wool, or the labour of the animals; they longed after their flesh also: and how should generations, among which the murder of fellow-men was a familiar crime, refrain from killing those beings over which they believed themselves to possess an unlimited right? This appetite, once awakened, could not easily be eradicated; the custom had, through many centuries, taken too deep a root; it was, therefore, again an act of Divine compassion over human weakness, legally to allow animal food, the enjoyment of which would, without this sanction, for ever have been a crime. Thus, the permission to kill animals has remained as a standing monument of the inveterate depravity of the antediluvian generations; it is a concession made to man, because "the cogitation of his heart is evil from his youth"; it is the inheritance from an age of violence; and, though violence can, in itself, never assume the character of innocence, it ceases, according to our passage,

<sup>10</sup> *Herod.*, ii. 4; *Diod. Sic.*, i. 50.

<sup>11</sup> vii. 10; viii. 10, 12.

the fear of you and the dread of you shall be upon every beast of the earth, and upon every fowl of the air, on all that moveth *upon* the earth, and on all the fishes of the

at least to be a sin against the Divine will. However, we are here also not left without an allusion to disclose to us the true meaning of that permission. Every living creature was allowed for food, like the herbs in former times (see i. 29); but—the flesh *with its soul*, that is, its blood, shall not be eaten (ver. 4). The animals are not unrestrictedly permitted like vegetable food; they are not considered as mere objects; they are living beings, *endowed with a soul* which is to be respected, and which is holy, since it proceeds from God; and, as the blood was considered to contain the principle of life (Lev. xvii. 11, 14; Deut. xii. 23), it was rigorously forbidden on penalty of death (comp. Lev. iii. 17; vii. 23, 26; xvii. 10; xix. 26); which prohibition is repeated in the New Testament among the essential laws (Acts xv. 20, 29; xxi. 25; comp. *Joseph.*, *Antiq.*, I. iii. 8). The eating of the blood of animals was, indeed, considered equivalent to murder, and was visited with the most awful Divine judgments (Lev. xvii. 10; Ezek. xxxiii. 25; 1 Sam. xiv. 32; comp. note on Exod. xxii. 30). Thus, at least one faint reminiscence was left to recall the original inviolability of every animal life; it is the glimmering spark which may once be rekindled to a full flame; and this will take place in the Messianic times, when even the beasts of prey will cease to feed by murder, but will eat grass like the ox and the lamb (see pp. 78, 79, 124).

Originally, when the fruits and herbs were destined for the food of man, the grass was left for the subsistence of the animals (i. 29, 30). But, while it is related, that later, as a consequence of increasing degeneracy, man consumed the flesh of animals also, and that this change was confirmed by God; the author is entirely silent with regard to the period when, in his opinion, the animals ceased to content themselves with vegetable productions, and began to devour the flesh of other

animals. This is the only deficiency in this part of his composition, otherwise so complete. Many have thought themselves at liberty to conjecture, that he considered the sanguinary nature of the animals to have been a consequence of the fall of man. But, though this opinion is not against the spirit of the Old Testament (comp. p. 174), we must repeat, that the remotest allusion is wanting to prove it (see p. 130). It would, moreover, compel us to the supposition, that the organisation of the carnivorous animals was, before the fall, widely different from that which they at present possess; a supposition against which the natural sciences would rise with a unanimous protest. The account of the Creation once finished, the Bible pursues exclusively the history of man; and the animals, for their own sake, engage its attention again, only when it portrays the ideal future, with its universal peace and perfect happiness (Isai. xi. 7; lxv. 25). We may add the doctrine of the Zend Books, that, at the end of time, men will cease to eat meat; they will live upon fruit and milk alone; after a short period, they will exchange milk for water; till, at last, they will require no physical food whatever. This analogy is interesting in more than one respect.

As Moses expressly permitted the flesh of animals, we are justified in seeking, in this ordinance, a practical religious idea; his laws are almost invariably enjoined in clear and conscious opposition to pagan abuses; his precepts, besides their positive value, are arrows directed against superstition. A chief reason of animal worship among the Egyptians, and later among the Pythagoreans, was the belief of the transmigration of souls, which, it was supposed, pass into the bodies of animals, and are, after the lapse of many years only, permitted to re-enter a human form; hence, it was an abomination to kill animals, and to eat their flesh; and, hence, the most

sea; into your hand are they delivered. 3. Every moving thing that liveth shall be to you for food; as the green herb I give you all *things*. 4. Only flesh with its soul,

scrupulous attention was bestowed upon them; and, though in Egypt not all animals were sacred in the same district, yet there was scarcely an animal which was not worshipped in some part of the country. Astrology, also, was connected with animal-worship; for, to each planet an animal was dedicated, which was considered to be chiefly connected with that heavenly body; and the veneration for animals thus became still more intense, dangerous, and fanatical (compare *Herodot.*, ii. 65).—Nor are the other reasons, which ancient writers assign for animal-worship, less absurd and objectionable; one, which seems to have obtained great currency, was, that the gods, when once compelled to flee before the attack of the giants, assumed the forms of various animals, and that gratitude induced them, later, to command their veneration and worship (*Ovid*, *Met.*, v. 326—331; *Diod. Sic.*, i. 86—90; *Plut.*, *De Is. et Osir.*, 72).—If some animals are of special service and utility to some countries; if, for instance, the ibis kills the winged serpents (*Herod.*, ii. 75; comp. *Pliny*, x. 31), and the ichneumon destroys the eggs of the crocodile (*Diod.*, i. 87, 88): the Bible denies that this gives man a right to declare them as Divine beings; to assign whole provinces for their sustenance; to offer to them voluntary gifts in gold and silver; to collect alms for them; to bathe and to anoint them; to cover them with rich garments, and to place them on luxurious cushions; to erect for them magnificent temples, and to scent the air which they inhale with the most costly perfumes; to bewail their death more than that of a man; to punish those who kill them as impious murderers, and to visit even their undesigned destruction; to embalm their bodies, and to entomb them in beautiful sarcophagi with lavish expence. The beasts are, according to the Mosaic doctrine, beings that owe the breath of their life to the omnipotence of God; to Him they are

indebted for all their instincts; and, if these serve the use and advantage of man, they fulfil merely their natural destiny; and the honour belongs to Him alone who has endowed them with those wonderful powers.—It was necessary, to eradicate the obnoxious superstition of animal-worship, which had spread in many repulsive forms; and to impress upon the Hebrews, that the soul of man, whose prototype is God Himself, can never be so degraded as to dwell in the body of an animal; that it returns to God who has given it; and that, therefore, *for such reason*, the animals deserve no regard. The desire of enjoining this important doctrine, may have induced the prudent legislator to yield the more readily to the encroaching custom of eating animal food.—The very command, that man should *subject* the animals to himself, and rule over them (i. 28), excludes the idea of animal-worship; the lords cannot lower themselves to be slaves; those who decide over the destiny of the beasts, cannot expect from them their fate; and, in order to be humane to animals, it is not necessary to raise them to the rank of gods. Thus, the creation offers other collateral truths of the highest importance; the earth, the water, the sun, and the stars are all created things, called into being by the sole command and will of God; it was, therefore, impossible to deify or to worship them.—But the prohibition, not to eat “the flesh with its blood,” is not directed against eating *raw* meat, unprepared by the application of fire: although some barbarous nations freely consumed meat and fish raw, as is still customary among some tribes of Syria and Abyssinia, the Esquimaux and the Samoiedes, it cannot be proved, that such a usage prevailed among the Israelites at the time of the promulgation of the Pentateuch: and if a law, intended to eradicate it, had been necessary, it would not have been given in an

*which is its blood, you shall not eat.*—5. And surely your blood for your lives shall I require; at the hand of every

obscure and hidden allusion, but in a clear and intelligible form.

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—The verb **אָחַז** is (in ver. 2) first construed with **לָךְ**, and then, in the same sense, with **אֵל**, so that the concluding words, “into your hands they are given,” wind up the sentence with particular emphasis. A similar change of the prepositions, though with a slight modification of the sense, occurs in Exod. ix. 14.—In the words **וְהָיָה דָּמָם** (ver. 4), **וְהָיָה** is the apposition; it explains the less distinct word **דָּמָם**, which is, however, energetically placed first, to express, that, though the life of the animal may be taken away, that part which contains or represents it, must not be consumed by man. The translation of Saadiah, therefore: “in its blood, that is, its soul,” weakens the sense; whilst the rendering of several modern expositors: “whilst it still lives and bleeds,” mistakes the meaning, and reminds almost of the savage custom of some barbarous nations, to cut off parts of the living animals, and to eat them; though a prohibition of this practice forms one of the so-called “seven laws of the children of Noah” (see Comm. on Exod., p. 433), dated back, by several Rabbinical authorities, to the time of Adam (Talm., Sanh., 56a; 59a; *Maimon.*, Hilch. Melach., ix. 1; Cusari, i. 84).

5—7. But though God declared man the ruler over the animals, he did not allow him dominion over his fellow-creatures. He did not sanction any form of slavery; “Man over man he made not lord: such title to Himself reserving, human left from human free.” If, therefore, bloodshed practised against animals was permitted on account of human “hard-heartedness,” the whole severity of the Divine wrath was poured out against him who kills a fellow-man. The blood of a human being cries for revenge to heaven (iv. 10; Heb. xii. 24); the soul of the slain raises its voice (Job. xxiv. 12; Revel. vi. 9); the blood of the innocent victims hangs at the skirts of the mur-

derer's garments (Jer. ii. 34); the blood is identical with the life of the individual itself (Pa. xciv. 21; Matt. xxiii. 35). This view was not unfamiliar to other ancient nations; for in the Egyptian hieroglyphics, the hawk, which was believed to feed upon blood alone, represents the human soul (Horapollo i. 7); Aristotle considered the blood as the seat of the soul (*De Anim.* i. 2); whilst Empedocles limited it to the blood of the heart (*αἷμα πρὸς καρδίαν*); Virgil speaks of an effusion of the “purple soul” (*purpuream vomit ille animam*; *Æn.* ix. 349); it was the doctrine of Critias, that blood is the soul; and of Pythagoras, that the soul is nourished by the blood. The vital principle, or the *soul* (**נֶפֶשׁ**), lies in an unsubstantial breath; it is invisible; and moves the organism after laws which will eternally remain a secret, known to the Creator alone: but as its visible representative, the *blood* was considered, in which the physical power is concentrated: for a diminution of blood is attended with a decrease of the vital powers, and at last with dissolution and death. The breath is purely spiritual, and comes from God; the blood is a physical element, of earthly material; the former is indestructible, and escapes, when the latter “is shed;” but as it has once been the medium through which the vigour of the soul manifested itself, it is an object of sacredness, and is, not inappropriately, itself called the *soul* (*Lev.* xvii. 11; compare *Maimon.*, Mor. Neb. i. 41, and the notes of Munk in *loc.*). But it is remarkable, that the Bible never attributes to the blood a higher mental power, nor does it ever identify the blood with the *spirit* (**רוּחַ**), but invariably represents it as the principle of *physical* life (**חַיָּה**; see pp. 106, 107). Blood would defile the earth if it remained unpunished (see notes on Exod. xx. 13; xxi. 12—14); not only a man who has murdered must suffer death, but a beast also, which in the fury of its nature has shed human blood, must be

beast shall I require it, and at the hand of man; at the hand of the brother of every one shall I require the life

removed from the earth (see note on Exod. xxi. 28—31); the principle, that "he who sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed," is of universal application, and admits of no exception; for the murder of a man is the destruction of one who bears the Divine image: it is a crime against the majesty of God Himself. This is the inexorable retaliation of the Mosaic law. It was dictated both by justice and necessity; and this severity was, in the age of Noah, the more indispensable for the safety of the human race, as in general the exercise of mercy had been proclaimed by God. But let us pursue that ordinance more deeply, and try to seize its internal motive.

The criminal code of Moses knew only two principal modes of punishment, a pecuniary fine and capital punishment: imprisonment, with or without hard labour, was never resorted to. Prisons for public offenders were nowhere ordered by Moses, though they were, in later periods, introduced by the arbitrariness of the kings; and detention of an accused till the judicial decision was pronounced, is once mentioned in the Pentateuch (Lev. xxiv. 12). In so primitive a legislation as that of Moses, the complicated and expensive system of incarceration could find no place; the maintenance of prisons would have required a perfectly different organization; they were utterly impossible in the forty years of the wandering life in the desert; and the example of Moses was in this, as in many other respects, the guiding principle for succeeding generations (see *Michaelis*, *Mosaisches Recht*, v. 45; *Winer*, *Bibl. Wörterb.* i. 402). Now, the punishment of murder by a pecuniary fine, which is admitted by the Mohammedan law, would not only be revolting to all feelings of justice, but it would be extremely dangerous for the safety of society, it would destroy the equality of the rich and the poor before the law, and would necessarily lead to a fatal deterioration of public morality.

The stability of the state demands that an insidious murderer should be removed and made innocuous; it would be a fatal offence against the first elements of civil government, not to prevent so dangerous a criminal to repeat his nefarious violence. But since a pecuniary fine is utterly objectionable, there remained, *for the Mosaic system*, no other alternative but death. But the principles pervading the Law are not rigid and inflexible; they were applied after their spirit rather than their letter, and they were adapted to the nature of the individual cases. A few observations will raise this opinion beyond a doubt. Strict measure for measure is the fundamental idea of the penal code of the Pentateuch; and yet it is certain that the law of "eye for eye, tooth for tooth," etc., was clearly understood to mean, that pecuniary compensation was exacted for the mutilation of a member (see notes on Exod. xxi. 22—25). Involuntary homicide was not punished with death, as among the Arabs; here the severe rule, "he who sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed," found no application; a safe flight was permitted to the cities of refuge, which approach, indeed, in their nature, the nearest to imprisonment, although the stay in those cities was not deemed ignominious, but the effect of an inscrutable Divine decree (see notes on Exod. xxi. 12—14). It is, therefore, perfectly in accordance with the spirit of the Mosaic law, to suppose that capital punishment would have been changed into some other mode of removing the criminal from society, if such expedient had existed, or had been in harmony with the popular notions. For we must remind the reader, that the civil laws of Moses generally reform old institutions, rather than create new ones. It is, for instance, unquestionable, that although Moses was strongly averse to the barbarous custom of revenge of blood, he did not deem it possible to abolish it, but was contented with bringing it into



of man. 6. Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed: for in the image of God made He man.

reasonable limits (see Com. on Exodus, p. 393). Sometimes he exercised this principle of conformation even in purely moral laws, as, for instance, by not interdicting polygamy, though clearly and emphatically representing monogamy as the highest form of matrimony (see Com. on Exod. p. 370). Further, the Mosaic laws, though severe in *punishing*, never intend to *take revenge*. Hence it follows, that though the introduction of imprisonment, which had been so hateful to them in the Egyptian legislation (comp. Gen. xxxix. 20; xl. 3, etc.), would have been abhorrent to their national sentiments, it would in every respect have been efficient. For it frees the citizens from the dangerous presence of a felon, and is a continued and deterring punishment for an atrocious crime. Excluded from the contact with the world, toiling in unceasing fatigues, which perpetually remind him of his misdeed, and clearly conscious of the horror with which his name is regarded, the imprisoned murderer suffers greater torments than an instantaneous death, necessarily facilitated by the progress of humanity, can possibly inflict. Nor is the retaliation wanting which is certainly expressed in our text (ver. 6). Liberty is, according to the Mosaic conceptions, the seal of our Divine nature; to serve no other master but God alone, was the glory of the Hebrew citizen; those who preferred slavery were branded with a mark of ignominy; they lost, thereby, that Divine stamp; they were degraded and deprived of every higher claim. Slavish imprisonment, therefore, is essentially also a forfeiture of the Divine image, and would be an equivalent and appropriate punishment of the offender, who by malice and violence has destroyed the Divine image in a fellow-man.

We have proposed this opinion after carefully weighing its details; for no more important legal question agitates the present generation than that regarding capital

punishment; and we leave it to the reflecting reader to judge how far, according to the arguments here brought forward, the Mosaic law is decisive for or against it. The stress of the prohibition expressed in our text seems to lie on quite a different point. In many ancient polities, the punishment for murder was left to the vengeance of the kinsmen of the victim, because their zeal was supposed to be more efficient than any vigilance on the part of the state could be (see on xxvii. 42—49; and on Exod. xxi. 12—14). But, the relatives might, in some instances, be base, or indifferent, or bribed by the assassin; in such cases, even the authorities had no right to take cognisance of the crime; and the murderer remained unpunished and unmolested. Moses wished to prevent such enormities; he proclaimed as a decided principle, that every murder must be avenged; that no blood must remain unatoned; the murderer must, in all cases, suffer the deserved punishment, whether the relatives take the initiative or not.—After the diminution of the human race by murderous atrocity has been interdicted in the most solemn terms, as it would counteract the Divine blessing, the promise of a rapid increase is repeated with an abundance of synonymous expressions (ver. 7); which “covenant” was not forgotten in later times (Lev. xxvi. 9).

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—אֶת דַּמְּךָ לְנַפְשְׁךָ אֲדַרֵּשׁ (ver. 5) must be understood: “I shall demand back your blood for your lives,” of which you might be violently deprived; that is, the murder of a human being shall be revenged by the blood of the murderer. As in the preceding verse, so here also, דָּם and נֶפֶשׁ are used as nearly synonymous; and, therefore, the principle here expressed is plainly, “blood for blood,” or “life for life.” The verb אֲדַרֵּשׁ is applied in the same sense in xlii. 22; Ps. ix. 13. Very various translations of these words have been offered by former interpreters; but they are either forced in grammar or in meaning; for in-

7. And you; be fruitful and multiply; increase abundantly on the earth, and multiply thereon.—8. And God

stance, "the blood of your souls" (Sept., Syr., Vulg., *Rosenm., Maurer*); but לנפשותיכם cannot be taken as a genitive after דםכם, a substantive with a suffix (*Gesenius*, Gr., § 112. b, and *Ewald*, Gr., § 515, do not quote one analogous instance); or "I shall demand your blood from your souls" (Samarit., *Saad.*, which would require סנפפשתיכם, so that this verse would contain a prohibition of *suicide*, as Rabbinical writers have maintained, but against the tenor of our passage (comp. Com. on Exod., p. 367, 368); or, "I shall revenge your blood for your lives," that is, for your safety or protection (*Gesenius*, *Schumann*, *Tuch*; but, in the passages which are quoted in support of this translation, Deut. iv. 15, and Josh. xxiii. 11, the phrase ונשמתם לנפשותיכם is simply equivalent with השמרו לכם, Deut. iv. 16, "take heed").—Not less disputed are the words סיר איש אחיו אדרש ונ'. But we have several parallel passages, from which this use of איש is perfectly clear. 1. Gen. xlii. 25, ולהשיב כספיהם איש אל שקו, means evidently: "and to return their money into the sack of each of them"; and, 2. Num. xvii. 17: איש את שמו תכתוב, "thou shalt write the name of each of them on his staff." After this analogy, the quoted words of our text signify: "from the hand of the brother of every one I shall demand the soul of man." The position of איש at the commencement is not only emphatical, but describes the perfect universality of this law; and אה brother, has a wider signification, not only denoting a relative (xiii. 8; xiv. 16; xxiv. 48; xxix. 12, 15), but one of the Hebrew nation, which is considered as one loving family, the children of the same father (Exod. ii. 11; Deut. xv. 2, 3; Mal. ii. 10); and even any man, to whatever nation he might belong (Lev. xix. 17; xxv. 25, 36, 47; Ps. xlix. 8; Isai. lxvi. 20). Therefore, the words: "I shall demand the soul of man from the brother of every one," do not only allude to the custom of avenger of blood, according to which the nearest

relative of the victim was bound to pursue the murderer, but to the legal punishment inflicted by the ordinary authorities. The other translations of סיר איש אחיו אדרש which have been offered, are objectionable; namely, "from the hand of his brother," so that איש would be pleonastically added, as in xiii. 8, or Lev. xxi. 9 (comp. Sept., *ἐκ χειρὸς ἀνθρώπου ἀδελφοῦ*); but this is inadmissible, on account of the suffix in אחיו; or, "from the hand of a man, who is his brother," so that איש would be in contradistinction to חיה, as in Exod. xi. 7; but, thus, we should have two successive appositions, the first of which, סיר האדם, would be singularly languid, for אדם and איש are here perfectly synonymous; or, "from the hand of anybody, his brother," but this would not only be abrupt, but mislead to an incorrect sense; for, the murderer is no outlaw, but his punishment devolves either on the judge, or the kinsman of the slain; or simply, "from the hand of anybody" (Samar., Syr., Vulg.), so that איש אחיו would be identical with איש ואחיו (Ezek. iv. 7), which is not only objectionable for the reason just mentioned, but also because the correct reading is אחיו, not ואחיו; or, "from the hand of the man who sheds his brother's blood" (*Onkel.*, *Saad.*), which is a paraphrase rather than a translation.—באדם (ver. 6), which is to be connected with the following part of the verse, is emphatically placed first (*Gesen.*, Gram., § 142. 2; *Ewald*, Gram., § 565), to enjoin that murder is to be visited on earth by man; and that the punishment is not, as in other cases, to be left to Divine retribution. The Persian law permits the avenger of blood to pardon the convicted and insidious murderer; this perverse leniency was criminal according to the Mosaic code.—The subject belonging to עשה is אלהים, which is not repeated, since it precedes immediately in the genitive case; Sept., *ἐποίησα*; Vulg., *factus est*.

8—17. The last traces of the universal flood had disappeared; Noah had testified

spoke to Noah, and to his sons with him, saying, 9. And, behold, I establish My covenant with you, and with your seed after you; 10. And with every living creature that is with you, of the fowl, of the cattle, and of every beast of the earth with you; from all that go out of the ark, to every living being of the earth. 11. And I shall establish My covenant with you; and no more shall all flesh be

his piety and gratitude by a magnificent sacrifice, which God had accepted with benevolence; solemn blessings had been pronounced upon the animal creation and upon the human race, and sacred duties were enforced as the first conditions for the permanence and happiness of regenerated society. God had even promised, that He would never again punish the earth with a similar calamity, but that henceforward the regular course of nature should be uninterruptedly preserved (viii. 21, 22). The covenant between God and man was thus concluded; and nothing was left but to *ratify* it. This gracious act is now performed with repeated and heart-cheering promises; and the Divine love, which is in future to preside over human destinies, sends its first genial rays. The animals are naturally included in this beautiful deed of conciliation; they had also been smitten by God's anger; they are now to share His mercy: the earth, man, and animals, are bound together in a mysterious but indestructible tie. But it might seem, that a covenant is reciprocal; that, therefore, God granted these promises only in return for certain pledges on the part of the human family; and it has been asserted, that the laws just enjoined, regarding the blood of animals, and murder (vers. 4—6), form the duties of man, the observance of which alone secures the perpetuity of the covenant. But this opinion rests on a misconception of the spirit of this section. The great principle which it teaches is, that God's mercy watches benignly over human affairs; that it gives all blessings, although man may not deserve them on account of his sins; His justice has been merged in His love; He knows the weakness of human nature, and

is, therefore, aware how little He can expect from its energy; but He is also conscious of its Divine longings, and does not fear any more an unnatural or permanent aberration from the path of rectitude. He confides in the power of the human mind, and has compassion with the frailty of the human heart, which He knows cannot long revolt against the gently commanding voice of virtue. Individuals may degenerate into monsters, but mankind in general cannot obliterate the Divine image impressed on every countenance. God, therefore, demanded no counter-promise or pledge when He concluded, through Noah, His covenant with the *whole human race*; although He made His covenant with *individuals or single nations* strictly dependent on their piety and obedience (xvii. 1, 2). This distinction is clear in itself, and is obvious in many Biblical passages. When the prophet Isaiah (liv. 8, 9) dilates upon God's unceasing mercy towards Israel, and promises its final redemption, he continues: "For this is as the waters of Noah to me; for, as I have sworn that the waters of Noah shall no more come over the earth, so have I sworn no more to be angry or wroth with thee." God extends here to Israel the same unlimited grace which He had guaranteed to mankind in general, in the confident hope, that His people would no more forget Him and His Law (comp. Ezek. xxxvii. 24—26). For, their land had been converted into a desert, and the people had been carried into captivity, because they had neglected His precepts, or "destroyed the eternal covenant" (Isa. xxiv. 5), which they had made with God when He revealed, and they had promised to keep, the Law, or the "Book of the

annihilated by the waters of a flood; nor shall there any more be a flood to destroy the earth. 12. And God said, This is the sign of the covenant which I give between Me and you, and every living creature that is with you, for eternal generations: 13. I have set My bow in the clouds, and it shall be for a sign of a covenant between Me and the earth. 14. And it shall come to pass, when

Covenant" (סֵּמֶךְ הַבְּרִית, Exod. xxiv. 7). In this alliance between God and Israel there was, indeed, reciprocity; and it was dissolved as soon as the latter ceased to walk in the ways of piety. — The "covenant" of God is frequently only the kindness which He bestows; thus, when He intended to destroy the earth by water, He "made a covenant with Noah" (vi. 18), which implied a promise of deliverance from the floods; and, in our passage, God does not only make a covenant with the human family, but also "with every living creature, of the fowl, of the cattle, and of every beast of the earth" (ver. 10), a sufficient proof, that the promises of the Noachic covenant were not reciprocal. It is, then, not only eternal (viii. 22), but universal; it applies to the whole earth; it is made with all living beings; some parts of this planet's surface may be desolated by the Divine anger; tribes may be extirpated, and nations be dispersed; but "all flesh shall no more be destroyed" (vers. 11, 16, 17).

And the rainbow shall serve as the sign (תּוֹכַח) of this perpetual covenant. Well might a reflecting mind look with wonder at the marvellous arch, which in magic swiftness, and in more magic colours, encompasses the still cloud-covered part of heaven; whilst the radiant sun sends his glorious beams from the other part, already restored to its usual serenity. Its beauty delights the eye, whilst its grandeur elevates the mind; it teaches the omnipotence of God, but still more His love; when the flashes of lightning have ceased, and the roaring of the tempest is silent, its chaste brilliancy falls like morning dew on the desponding heart; admiration and grati-

tude mingle in the breast; and when the pearly bow then appears, like an eternal bridge, to connect heaven and earth, the soul rises on the soft wings of veneration, disturbed by no doubt, and awed by no fear, to those regions where love and beauty never cease.—Almost all ancient nations, therefore, have connected religious ideas with the appearance of the rainbow. The Greeks considered it generally as the path on which Iris, the messenger of the king and queen of Olympus, travelled from heaven to earth (*Serv. Æn.* v. 610); Homer describes it as fixed in the clouds to be a sign (*ρίπαρ*) to man, either of war or of icy winter (*Il.* xi. 27, 28; xvii. 547, 548). But Iris herself was very frequently identified with the rainbow, and she was considered to be the daughter of Thaumás (*Wonder*) by *Electra* (*Brightness*), the daughter of *Oceanus* (*Hes.*, *Theog.*, 265), which parentage describes appropriately the nature and origin of the rainbow. Her usual epithets are "swift-footed" (*ἀλλόπονος*), and "gold-winged" (*χρυσόπτερος*); and the probable etymology of her name (from *είρω*, to join or unite), points either to the external, or, perhaps, to the internal connection between earth and heaven, between man and the deity; and thus she is the conciliating, the peace-restoring goddess (she is represented with the herald-staff in her left hand); and Iris is kindred with *Irene* (*εἰρήνη*; comp. *Virg.*, *Æn.* iv. 694; v. 606; ix. 2; *Ovid, Metam.* i. 270; xi. 585; *Val. Flacc.*, vii. 188).—The Persians seem likewise to have connected the office of divine messenger with that phenomenon; for an old picture represents a winged boy on a rainbow, and before him kneels an old

I bring clouds over the earth, and the bow is seen in the clouds: 15. I shall remember My covenant, which is between Me and you and every living creature of all flesh; and the water shall no more become a flood to destroy all flesh. 16. And if the bow is in the clouds, I shall look upon it, to remember the eternal covenant between God and every living creature of all flesh that is upon the

man in a posture of worship (*Stollberg*, *Gesch. der Rel.* i. 64). The Hindoos describe the rainbow as a weapon in the hands of Indras, with which he hurls flashing darts upon the impious giants, and the Chinese consider it as foreboding troubles and misfortunes on earth; but the former regard it as also the symbol of peace, which appears to man when the combat of the heavens is silenced (*Bohlen*, *Alt. Ind.* i. 237). And the old Scandinavians regard it as a bridge which the gods constructed to unite heaven and earth (*Rosenmüller*, *Morgenl.* i. 44; *Mentzel*, *Mythol. Forsch.*, p. 285). These analogies are sufficient to prove the generality with which higher notions were attached to the rainbow; they account for its application in the Pentateuch to a very remarkable purpose; they explain why the New Testament represented the rainbow as an attribute of the Divine throne (*Revel.* iv. 3), or of angels sent as messengers upon the earth (*Revel.* x. 1); but they are likewise clear enough to manifest in this point also the great superiority of Biblical conceptions. In the Mosaic narrative every superstitious element is banished; it serves no other end but to remind God of His merciful promise never again to destroy the earth and its inhabitants; it is indeed appointed more for God than for the sake of man; God sees it, and remembers thus the everlasting covenant with the earth; and if the men are rejoiced at the sight of that beautiful phenomenon, it is merely because it gives them the certainty that the covenant is not forgotten; when torrents of rain begin to inundate the earth, and the thunder rolls through the heavy air, when lowering clouds conceal the light

of the orb of day, and the heart of man begins to despond and to tremble, the rainbow appears suddenly like a thought from a better world; it announces the peace of nature, and the renewal of the eternal promise. And this implies another proof that the Noachian covenant imposed no obligations upon man, and that it was a pure act of mercy. For the Pentateuch records three other covenants of God; one with every individual, and its sign is the circumcision; one with all Israel as a nation, the symbol of which is the Pesach; and one with all mankind, represented by the Sabbath (see *Com. on Exod.* p. 356). But in all these three instances, the sign involves duties to be performed by man; whereas the rainbow is a sign in which God alone acts; it is a sign rather analogous to the leprous hand of Moses, or to the staff which was converted into a serpent (*Exod.* iv. 8), or to the heavenly flame which supernaturally consumed Gideon's offering (*Jud.* vi. 17, 21); or the miraculous sign (נִסְיָאֵן) which the man of God gave to Jeroboam in Bethel by breaking the altar and withering his hand (*1 Kings* xiii. 1—5); but with this difference, that *there* the omnipotence of God, and *here* His love is to be testified by it. But the first sign, the rainbow, is universal like the last, the Sabbath: they are both given to all mankind; but there is this vast distinction between them, that the former assures man only of His *external* safety, whilst the latter is a chief means of his *spiritual* salvation; and the fact that the latter enables man to obtain the Divine grace by his own pious exertion, renders it infinitely more important for the true ends of religion. As material existence is the basis of all

earth. 17. And God said to Noah, This is the sign of the covenant which I have established between Me and all flesh that is upon the earth.—18. And the sons of Noah, who went out of the ark, were Shem, and Ham, and Japheth: and Ham is the father of Canaan. 19. These are the three sons of Noah: and of them was the whole earth overspread.—20. And Noah began to be a husband-

spiritual life, the rainbow was first given as a guarantee of the former; and then only the latter is secured by a systematic succession of religious covenants, a personal, national, and universal one, manifestly widening their circumference, and exalting their aim as they follow. Such is the admirable harmony of Biblical theology.—The words, “*I have given* (נתתי) my bow in the cloud,” seem to imply that the rainbow existed before the time of Noah, but that it was then instituted to serve as a mark of Divine promise; the beautiful phenomenon was endowed with a new meaning; the wondrous enigma received a solution satisfactory to the Hebrew mind; and the sterile admiration for a marvel of nature was converted into a deep religious sentiment, combining the three heavenly sisters, faith and love and hope.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—The copula ו, in וְאֵל (ver. 8), connects the following promise closely with that immediately preceding (in ver. 7). The increase of man on earth, and the assurance that this progress will never again be interrupted are appropriately coupled. That particle is, therefore, far from pointing to the duties to be enjoined on man, like those contained in vers. 4—6; for, as we have shown, this covenant is one of Divine love purely, and imposes no obligation on man. — בְּעוֹלָם (ver. 10) means as in vii. 21, “belonging to fowls.”—The words לְכָל—לְכָל, are to be translated, “from all that go out of the ark to every living being of the earth”; so that חַיָּה is identical with נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה (ii. 19), and refers to the fishes which were not included in the ark. But they do not imply that God’s promises are extended both to the animals

of Noah’s time, and those of later ages. Such assurance would have been unnecessary, as the destiny of the animals is everywhere in our text connected with that of the human race (see ver. 9).—We cannot accede to the usual rendering of the last words of our verse, “in fact, all (לְכָל) the beasts of the earth,” so that לְ sums up the preceding details (see Ewald, Gram. § 544. 2. d; comp. Levit. xi. 42); for לְכָל would thus be utterly abrupt, whilst it evidently belongs to לְכָל. The ancient versions are here extremely indistinct.—The stress in ver. 11 lies on the notion of *destruction*; God will no more destroy the earth (see viii. 21, 22); and the flood is mentioned as the means of devastation only because the pledge was given after such calamity. But later it was believed, that this promise excludes only an annihilation by water, without guaranteeing the non-destruction by other means, as, for instance, by fire (2 Peter iii. 7); for it was adopted as a dogma, that at the end of time a new heaven and a new earth would replace the existing creation (see p. 27).—וְעוֹלָם (ver. 14) stands instead of וְעוֹלָם, the omitted dagesh forte being compensated by a chateph petach, as in וְעוֹלָם instead of וְעוֹלָם (Ezek. xxxv. 7, 9).

18—27. Scarcely had the remnants of the human race received the promises of peace and mercy, when the weakness of the human mind again broke out into sin and revolt; the conciliation between God and man was but of short duration; and the blessing was too soon succeeded by a severe curse. The piety of Noah was not inherited by the youngest of his three sons. Ham, the father of Canaan, was of a frivolous and impure disposition; his

man, and he planted a vineyard: 21. And he drank of the wine, and was drunken; and he was uncovered within his tent. 22. And Ham, the father of Canaan, saw the nakedness of his father, and told it his two brothers

heart was indifferent to the first dictates of morality, and he defied the holy laws of filial reverence. His two elder brothers, Shem and Japheth, felt a profound horror against this unnatural impiety; and without inveighing against their degenerate brother, they performed, with a considerate regard, the duty which filial respect imposed. Divine justice demanded the punishment of the wicked son; and Noah, filled with the spirit of God, pronounced a lasting malediction against Ham. Degradation and servitude should be the lot of his descendants, whilst the progeny of his virtuous brothers should share the government over them.

These are the outlines of this strange episode full of historical interest. The principal question of importance is, in what sense, and when, have the prophecies of Noah been fulfilled? It strikes the mind at first sight, that although Ham committed the crime, the curse fell upon his son Canaan, and upon Canaan alone. Why do the descendants suffer for the transgressions of the sire? And if this principle is acted upon, why are not the other Hamites also — for instance, the Egyptians, Babylonians, and Assyrians — included in the imprecation? The only satisfactory answer to these questions, from the Biblical point of view, can be derived from the correct understanding of that important phrase in the second commandment, that God visits the iniquity of the fathers on the children to the third and fourth generation, to THOSE WHO HATE HIM (comp. notes on Exod. xx. 4—6). Hence it follows, that the Canaanites alone, of all the Hamites, were considered impious and wicked; that their destruction was decreed as soon as “the measure of their iniquity was full” (Gen. xv. 16, compare Lev. xviii. 24—30); and that they suffered both for their own sin, and that of the founder of their race.

And the long-suffering of God did not hasten their perdition; He allowed them to grow and to prosper during the ten generations from Noah to Abraham, and the five following centuries, from Abraham to Joshua; their fields and vineyards yielded abundant harvests, and their land was full of strong and populous cities; but their evil deeds accumulated, and they forfeited the land which their vices had contaminated (comp. x. 15—19). The other descendants of Ham, though sunk in idolatrous worship, and blind to the knowledge of God, were believed less criminally guilty of violence and misdeeds against their fellow-men; their social and political life was deemed less perverse; and, indeed, they mostly outlived the existence of the Hebrew monarchy. Even so, not all the Shemites, but only the Hebrews, were included in the blessing of Noah. It is not our task to examine whether that prophecy against the Canaanites sprang from national antipathy; we have no right to suppose, in the Hebrew traditions, the motives of invidiousness, hatred, and prejudice; it is clear, beyond a doubt, that a high moral principle pervades these narratives; it is the justice of God, which punishes, not with arbitrariness, but from the necessity of His pure nature, which cannot allow wickedness and wanton cruelty to enjoy a long and undisputed triumph.

But Canaan should not only fall into the hands of Shem, that is, the people of Israel, but also into those of Japheth (ver. 27). The earlier history of northern and western Asia has been preserved to us too fragmentary a state to enable us to point to the exact allusion of our text. But it seems to us, that vigorous Armenian tribes came down from their mountainous tracts in search of more genial abodes, or were perhaps compelled to leave their land by foreign invasions;

without. 23. And Shem and Japheth took a garment, and laid it upon both their shoulders, and went backward, and covered the nakedness of their father; and their faces were backward, and they did not see their father's naked-

and as they were, in the south, opposed by the formidable arms of the Babylonians or Assyrians, they turned to the south-west, immigrated into Canaan, where they met with less powerful resistance from the weaker and less warlike tribes, made themselves masters of that part of the country which the Israelites had not occupied, and lived in peace and harmony with the Hebrew conquerors, with whom they were united by the common interest of keeping the dissatisfied Canaanites in obedience. At what period this happened it is impossible to decide: but there is no reason to doubt that the subjugation of Canaan by the Israelites here referred to, is that effected by Joshua and his immediate successors; it is, however, not less certain that the conquest of Canaan by the Israelites was never complete; that heathens remained scattered through the land, sufficient in number to offer frequent and powerful resistance to the Hebrews; and the history of the Judges, as well as that of the Kings, is full of obstinate struggles with the remnants of the Canaanites; while nothing is more probable than that the northern and eastern parts of Palestine were occupied by East-Asiatic conquerors, or Japhethites, against whom the Hebrews felt no national animosity, whose courage inspired them with respect, and with whom they lived, therefore, in peace and concord. Thus, we believe, both the blessing and the curse which Noah pronounced find their easy explanation, and we avoid the various extravagant conjectures into which the characteristic twilight of prophetic speech has allured fantastic critics. For some find here an allusion to the conquest of Canaan by Greeks and Romans (*Clervius*); others to the enmity between the Phœnicians and Israelites, who were, in the time of Jeremiah, attacked by the Scythians (*Bohlen*); others still, see here nothing

less than the prediction of the Messianic time, when the descendants of Japheth would join the Israelites in the worship of the Eternal, and when both would equally consider Jerusalem as their spiritual centre (*Tuch*; and similarly *Jonathan*, and many Fathers of the Church): but in the connection of our narrative, this beautiful idea, which forms one of the loftiest conceptions of the prophets, would be deprived of its essential grandeur; in the times of the Messiah, no people will be excluded from the knowledge of God; *all* the nations of the earth will flock to Zion (*Isa. ii. 2—4*); all will there bow down before the Lord (*Zechar. xiv. 16; viii. 20—23*); and all the families of the earth will acknowledge His dominion (*Ps. xxii. 28*; comp. even *Gen. xii. 3*); it will be a glorious time, when God will exclaim: "Blessed is my people Egypt, and the work of my hands Assyria, and my inheritance Israel" (*Isai. xix. 25; Zech. ix. 7*); all thralldom will be removed; and a curse, like that here pronounced against Canaan, will weigh upon no nation. The words of Noah are, then, indeed introduced as prophetic; but, as far as they regard Japheth, they have no reference to religious, but to temporal blessings. This will be still more apparent, if we make one remark more upon this portion of our chapter. It proceeds evidently from the pen of the Jehovist; it is inserted by him to prepare the reader here already for the future glory of Israel; he approaches nearer to one of the chief ends of the Pentateuch; and he proves that the origin of Israel's ascendancy and of Canaan's degradation dates so far back as the family of the second founder of the human race. The antiquity of this event is calculated to add a powerful weight to the claims of the Hebrews, which it was deemed necessary to urge, even at this early stage of the earth's regeneration. Thus, this episode is in perfect harmony with the suc-



ness. 24. And when Noah awoke from his wine, he learnt what his younger son had done to him. 25. And he said,

Cursed be Canaan;

A servant of servants shall he be to his brethren.

ceeding portions of the Pentateuch; but it is, also, in complete accordance with the preceding sections; though it presupposes the history of the flood (ver. 20), it in no way modifies it; there are no difficulties to be removed, nor contradictions to be reconciled. And if the *spirit* of this narrative is considered more severe; if here the most rigorous justice reigns instead of the indulgent mercy, which refreshingly breathes through the history of the Noachian covenant: we must remember, that the real destinies of the Canaanites were scarcely less rigid than the curses here pronounced against them; that prophecy embodies fore-shadowed history; and that the one necessarily bears the character of the other. This narrative is conceived in the same spirit which dictated the history of the expulsion of Ishmael (xxi. 9—21), and the transfer of the birth-right from Esau to Jacob (xxv. 23, 29—34); and it is a fore-runner of the more distinct and specified promises which God made to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, concerning the possession of Canaan by their descendants (xii. 7; xiii. 15; xv. 7; xxii. 17, etc.), and of the grand blessings which Balaam was forced to proclaim upon Israel (Num. xxiii., xxiv.). It is true, that this narrative is exclusively national; for even the descendants of Japheth are, in this prophecy, not treated with the same free benevolence as the Israelites; only the God who blesses *Israel* is called *Jehovah*, whilst the protector of the Japhethites is *Elohim* (ver. 27); the idolators were not deemed worthy of the guardianship of the former; it is only the God of gods, not the Holy One who watches over them; just as the name of *Jehovah* was scrupulously avoided in the mouth of the serpent (iii. 1, 3, 5). But nobody can justly urge this narrower character of the episode as a reproach; the Israelites were clearly conscious of the infinite superiority of an

ardent belief in one eternal God over the perverse veneration of a multitude of mute and powerless idols; we cannot brand this vivid conviction with the names of haughtiness or self-sufficiency; if the Bible commands man "*to know his God*" (1 Chr. xxviii. 9), it teaches, at the same time, not only to despise, but to abhor the "non-entities" (עלילים) which the heathens call gods. Idolators may attain the same degree of external prosperity as the worshippers of the true God; their territories may be extended, and their commerce flourish; but the latter only will enjoy that happy peace of mind, and that communion with the eternal Spirit, which raises human felicity above the fluctuations of chance and fortune.—And let us here observe against the thousand modern misconceptions, that the God of Moses also is tolerant, and not exclusive; He is the God of mankind as well as of Israel; He is not "an idol which forbids other idols" (!); He is the Lord, not of a family, nor a nation, but of the world; *all men* are His children, *one* couple are the ancestors of all races and tribes; all are equally acceptable to Him, as long as they remain faithful to His service. But this principle could not be abandoned; tolerance, if carried further, is indifference; the permission, which the doctrine of the Hindoos gives, of serving any idol, is not love, but weakness; he who values truth, must disdain falsehood. It is, indeed, philosophically true, that whatever image or idol a man may worship, it is the great God who inspires him with that faith, and to whom thus indirectly the devotion is offered (*Wilkins*, *Bhagavad-Gita*, vii.; *W. von Humboldt*, *Kavi Sprache*, Einl., § 4); but it is practically perverse to admit this as a religious principle; it destroys in fact, every system of faith, and is powerless to exclude the grossest abuses. It is enough, if the gates of truth are opened

26. And he said,

Blessed be the Lord God of Shem;  
And Canaan shall be his servant.

27. God will enlarge Japheth;

for all nations; the sanctuary of the Old Testament is capacious enough for all the children of men; whoever is thirsty is invited to hasten to the fountain, and to refresh himself (Isai. lv. 1). But God does not condemn the erring souls; He pities their weakness; He does not, like the Persian Ormuzd, hate all strangers as creatures and instruments of the evil spirits; He does not regard them as impure abominations (or *kharfesters*); He does not consider the whole world as infested with *dæms* or infernal demons in human form, who swarm over the earth, and fill every crevice like water, lie in wait to harm the believer, to ensnare his soul, and to tempt him to perdition. Even the heathens bear the image of the one good God; they have gone astray, but they are no seducers; even in their deepest depravity, there remains in them a trace of their heavenly origin; God certainly chose Israel as His inheritance, but the whole world belongs to Him (Exod. xix. 5); and all nations will one day join Israel in the worship of God. These are the doctrines of the Old Testament.

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—The question which we have above treated, why Canaan suffered for the sin of Ham, has induced ancient and modern translators to render, in ver. 22: "And Ham and Canaan saw"; or to read, in vers. 25—27, "Ham" instead of "Canaan," or "Ham the father of Canaan"; or to understand, in ver. 24, בְּנוֹ הַקָּטָן as "his grand-son." Those alterations are as unwarranted as they are unnecessary; and the translation by grand-son offends against the usage of the Hebrew language; for, if there are more than two sons, בֶּן נָדָב is the eldest, בֶּן קַטָּן the youngest son (comp. 1 Sam. xvii. 13, 14). The Sept. renders here, *ὁ νεώτερος*.—The repeated introduction of Noah's three sons (ver. 18) refers back to the genealogical notice in v. 22, whilst the

remark in ver. 19 anticipates a fact which the next chapters relate in detail. — נִפְצָה הָאָרֶץ, "*the earth was dispersed*" (ver. 19), as in x. 25, נִפְלְנָה הָאָרֶץ, instead of *the inhabitants of the earth*; or in x. 5 נִפְרְדוּ אֵי הַנְּיוּיִם (comp. x. 18, 32; Isai. xxxiii. 3; 1 Sam. xiii. 11); and, therefore, the Sept. renders διασάρασαν ἐν τῇ γῇ; and the Vulg., *disseminatum est omne genus hominum*. Similarly it is said, in iii. 17, "in sorrow thou shalt eat it" (viz., the earth, תֹּאכַלֶּנָּה, instead of "its produce."—יִחַל נָח וְכ'—(ver. 20), "and Noah began to be a husbandman"; for הָחַל and the opposite הִתָּם are immediately connected with the predicate, like הָיָה, of which they are modifications (comp. 1 Sam. iii. 2; Isai. xxxiii. 1), although הָחַל לְהַיָּו is also used (x. 8). Those words do not, however, imply, that Noah was the first agriculturist on earth; they merely express, that he commenced soon after the deluge to apply himself again to the occupation which his family had before pursued (v. 29); they do not even compel us to suppose, that the vine was not cultivated before Noah's time; the planting of a vineyard seems mentioned only in order to account for the intoxication of Noah; for, the fact that Noah did not eat the grapes, but "drank the wine," shows, that he must have been familiar with the use and treatment of that fruit.—Besides, we have above shown, that the deluge changed in no manner the condition of the earth; it destroyed no old creation, and produced no new one; it was merely a suspension, a temporary alteration of the organic life which peoples and adorns the globe; we must, therefore, suppose, that the vine existed long before the flood, and that Noah resumed only what had been temporarily interrupted by that catastrophe.—It may be added, that the Egyptians attribute the invention of the wine to Osiris, the Phenicians and Greeks

And he will dwell in the tents of Shem;  
And Canaan shall be his servant.—

to Bacchus, and the Romans to Saturn.—The religion of Moses is not a religion of ascetic austerity; a cheerful and happy enjoyment of the blessings of the earth is among the rewards of a pious life; Canaan is a land of milk and honey; a land in which the choicest grains and the most delicious fruit abounded; the only condition which the Mosaic system imposes upon the Israelite is, never to forget that he owes all these enjoyments, not to his own merits or his own exertions, but to the beneficence of God, to whom he was, therefore, commanded to offer the firstlings of his produce. Fasting, self-castigation, and gloomy abstinence, were the result of later degeneracy, produced either by national misery, or by contact with other countries.

Nowhere does the vine grow spontaneously in such abundance and excellence as in the region of the Ararat, in Armenia, and the eastern Pontus; but, very probably, the cultivation of the vine was, in remote antiquity, invented by one nation, and then spread to the other countries; for thus only can the remarkable circumstance be accounted for, that wine bears the same name in almost all eastern and western languages (יין, *olvon*, *vinum*, Eth. *vain*, Aram. *gini*, etc.; comp. *Ewald*, *Isr. Gesch.*, i. 362).

אֶהְיֶה, equivalent with אָהָל; comp. סִנְתָה (xlix. 11); סִנָּה (Ps. x. 9), etc.—That among a nation, which, although frequently infested and led astray by corrupting example, or by the heat of its own passions, was keenly alive to the dictates of chastity and purity of manners, and the highest pride of which was to be a holy people and a nation of priests, the sin of Ham was regarded with feelings of horror and disgust, requires scarcely a confirmation or a proof (comp. Hab. ii. 16; Hos. ii. 12; Ezek. xvi. 37; Isai. iii. 17; xlvii. 3; Lament. iv. 21; see notes on Exod. xx. 13; xxii. 16, 16). If we thereto add, that the offence was committed against him whom the children were taught to regard as the

representative of Divine authority, we can understand the vehemence with which Noah denounced that conduct, and the weight which was attached to the curse.—וַיֹּדֶעַ (ver. 22) and he told it; for וַיֹּדֶעַ is indubitably a transitive verb; compare וַיִּשְׁמַע, in xxxv. 22, and note on iv. 8 (p. 140).—יין is intoxication by wine, as in 1 Sam. i. 14; xxv. 37.—The structure of the three poetical verses, 25 to 27, is perfectly symmetrical; first, the curse of Canaan (ver. 25) is introduced, then the blessing of Shem (ver. 26), and of Japheth (ver. 27), so, however, that the chief idea concerning the future subjection of Canaan, under the dominion of his brothers, returns emphatically in the three verses. However, Noah does not pronounce a simple blessing on the Shemites, but rising with a holy enthusiasm, he utters a praise of the God of Israel, to whom alone belongs the glory of the chosen nation; Israel's only greatness consists in being the people of God; and the blessing of Israel is imperceptibly changed into a grateful acknowledgment of God's mercy (comp. xiv. 20). The Hebrews are the peculiar treasure of God (Exod. xix. 5); but God is the protector and guardian of Israel; both are bound together by mutual love; and a praise of the God of Shem implies a benediction of Shem.—עַבְדֵי עֲבָדִים is not only the meanest, but also the permanent slave, destined never to recover his liberty; whence the Sept. translates *παῖς οἰκίτης*, which implies the notion of hereditary servitude (see on Exod., p. 381).—לְכָן (ver. 26) refers to שָׁמָּה, which here means the Shemites, as Canaan also includes his descendants.—יִפְתָּח (obviously an intentional alliteration to פֶּתַח) is the Hiphil of פָּתַח, in the meaning of פָּתַח, to open, to spread or extend (comp. Prov. xx. 19), like הִרְחִיב in xxvi. 22; the Sept. translates, therefore, *παραύραι*; the Vulg. dilatet. That verb may here include the figural meaning of "bestowing prosperity," for the roots signifying wideness or openness, are used for happiness and

28. And Noah lived after the flood three hundred and fifty years. 29. And all the days of Noah were nine hundred and fifty years: and he died.

ease; whilst those which express straitness or narrowness assume the meaning of misery and oppression (comp. צרה, מצוקה, רוחה; Ps. iv. 2: בצר הרחבת לי; Exod. viii. 11; Koran, Sur. ix. 25). But the external extension of their territory is also predicted; this is evident from the succeeding words: "and he may dwell in the tents of Shem"; from the distant north and east shall their abodes reach to the coast of the western, or Mediterranean sea. — The subject belonging to יִשְׁכֵן, "and he shall dwell," is Japheth, not God, as several ancient translators render, who explain, that although God will favour the worldly prosperity of Japheth, He will reserve His spiritual blessings for Israel alone, among whom He will dwell. This acceptation is not only rendered impossible by the context, which requires an unrestricted benediction of Japheth, not even limited by any

allusion to a superior happiness of Shem; but by the words, "in the tents of Shem," which are applicable to men, but not to God (comp. 1 Chron. v. 10; Zechar. xii. 7; Mat. ii. 12), who, though His abode was once "in a tent between curtains" (2 Sam. vii. 2), does not live "in tents," and who, when occupying the holy Tabernacle, or the Temple, is יְהוָה, not אֱלֹהִים (see *supra*). שֵׁם is, therefore, not an appellative, but proper noun; and שֵׁם אֱלֹהִים signifies the "tents of Shem," not the "tents of celebrity," or the "famous dwellings" (so Gesenius, Vater, and others; compare vi. 4). — The two last verses, stating the age which Noah attained, complete the genealogy of the fifth chapter, and form the conclusion of the first great epoch of Biblical history. — The pretended "grave of the prophet Noah" is said to be at the little village Kerak, in the region of the Lebanon (*Burckhardt, Travels, i. 42*).

## V.—THE GENEALOGY OF NATIONS.

### CHAPTER X.

**SUMMARY.**—The descendants of Noah spread on the surface of the earth, and became the ancestors of nations, or the founders of empires. For the reader's greater convenience, we give here a synoptic view of the results to which we have arrived concerning the geographical or ethnographic meanings of the names.

#### I. JAPHETH, representing the nations of the north and west.

##### 1. GOMER—The *Bactrians* (Xorapoi); Mountain nations.

1. Ashkenaz—*Rhagae* ('Payai), in Great Media.
2. Riphath—*Ehipæan mountains*.
3. Togarmah—*Taurica* (Crimea).

##### II. MAGOG—The *Scythians*.

##### III. MADAI—The *Medes*.

##### IV. JAVAN—*Greece*; Maritime Countries.

1. Eliahah—*Hellas*.
2. Tarshish—*Tartessus*, in Spain.
3. Kittim—*Cyprus*.
4. Dodanim—The *Dawnians*, in Italy.

##### V. TUBAL—The *Tibareni*, } in Northern Armenia.

##### VI. MESHECH—The *Moschi*, }

##### VII. TIRAS—The *Chain of the Taurus*.

## II. HAM, including the nations of the south.

## I. CUSH—Tribes of Southern Africa and Arabia.

1. Seba—*Meroe*, in Ethiopia.
2. Havilah—*Near the Arabian Gulf*.
3. Sabtah—*The Astabori*, near the river Tacazze.
4. Raamah—*Regma*, in Arabia.
  - a) Sheba—*Saba*, in Arabia Felix.
  - b) Dedan—*On the north-west coast of the Arabian Gulf, and near the Persian Gulf*.
5. Sabtechah—*In Ethiopia*; perhaps Nigritia.
6. Babel—*Babylon*.
7. Erech—*Orchoe*, on the Euphrates.
8. Accad—*Tel Nimroud*, or Akkerkuf, north-east of Babylon.
9. Calneh—*A town in Chalonitis* (perhaps Ctesiphon), on the Tigris.
10. Nineveh—*Nineveh*, on the Tigris.
11. Rehoboth Ir—*Probably on the eastern banks of the Euphrates*.
12. Calah—*Kalah Sherghat*, fifty-five miles south of Mosul.
13. Resen—*Nimroud*, seventeen miles south of Mosul.

## II. MIZRAIM—Egypt.

1. Ludim—*Letus*, or *Letopolis*, in Lower Egypt.
2. Ananim—*Perhaps Cynopolis*, the town of *Anubis*, in Middle Egypt.
3. Lehabim—*The Libyans*.
4. Naphtuhim—*Napata*, in the north of Meroe.
5. Pathrusim—*Upper Egypt*, or *Thebais*.
6. Casluhim—*Chemnis*, or *Panopolis*.
  - a) Philistim—*Philistines*.
7. Capthorim—*Coptos*, in the Upper Thebaid.

III. PHUT—*Phaiat*, or *Libya*, near Egypt; or, perhaps, Buto, in the Delta.IV. CANAAN—*Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and *Palestine*.

1. Sidon—*Sidon*, in Phœnicia.
2. Heth—*The Hittites*, near Hebron, Bethel, etc.
3. The Jebusite—*In and around Jerusalem*.
4. The Amorite—*On both sides of the Jordan*.
5. The Girgasite—*In the centre of Palestine*.
6. The Hivite—*In Shechem and Gibeon, and near the Hermon*.
7. The Arkite—*Arca*, in Phœnicia, at the north-west foot of the Lebanon.
8. The Sinite—*Sinnas*, near Arca.
9. The Arvadite—*The island Aradus*, at the northern coast of Phœnicia.
10. The Zemarite—*Simyra*, twenty-four miles south-east of Antardus.
11. Hamath—*Epiphania*, in Syria, on the Orontes.

## III. SHEM, representing the central parts of the ancient world.

I. ELAM—*Elymais*, in Persia.II. ASSHUR—*Assyria*.III. ARPHAXAD—*Arrhaphachitis*, in North Assyria.

1. Salah—*Along the eastern banks of the Tigris*.
2. Eber—*In the west of the Tigris and Euphrates*.
  - a) Peleg—*In various parts of Arabia Deserta*.
  - b) Joktan—*Kachtan*, in the north of Nedaheran.
    1. Almodad—*In Arabia Deserta*.
    2. Sheleph—*The Salapeni*, in Arabia Felix.
    3. Hazarmaveth—*Hadramaut*, in the South of Arabia.
    4. Jerah—*The coast and mountain of the Moon*, near Hadramaut.
    5. Hadoram—*Likewise adjoining Hadramaut*, on the coast.
    6. Uzal—*Sanaa*, the capital of Yemen.
    7. Diklah
    8. Obal
    9. Abimael
- Uncertain.
10. Sheba—*The Sabaeans*, in the eastern parts of Arabia.
11. Ophir—*On the southern or south-eastern coast of Arabia*.
12. Havilah—*Near the Persian Gulf*.
13. Jobab—*In Arabia Deserta*.

IV. LUD—*The Lydians*, originally living in the highlands of Armenia.V. ARAM—*Aramæa*, including Northern Mesopotamia, Syria, and districts of Arabia.

1. Uz—*Ausitis*, in the northern parts of Arabia Deserta.
2. Hul—Perhaps *Golan*, in the east of the Jordan.
3. Gether—Perhaps *Geshur*, on the Orontes.
4. Mash—The *Mysians*.

We now insert at once the translation of the whole chapter, in order to be enabled to give the general exposition of this important section in a more convenient form.

## CHAPTER X.

1. Now these are the generations of the sons of Noah; Shem, Ham, and Japheth: and to them were sons born after the flood.

2. The sons of Japheth: Gomer, and Magog, and Madai, and Javan, and Tubal, and Meshech, and Tiras.—3. And the sons of Gomer: Ashkenaz, and Riphath, and Togarmah.—4. And the sons of Javan: Elishah, and Tarshish, Kittim, and Dodanim.—5. By these the isles of the nations were spread in their lands; every one after its tongue, after their families, in their nations.

6. And the sons of Ham: Cush, and Mizraim, and Phut, and Canaan.—7. And the sons of Cush: Seba, and Havilah, and Sabtah, and Raamah, and Sabtechah. And the sons of Raamah: Sheba, and Dedan. 8. And Cush begat Nimrod; he began to be a mighty man on the earth. 9. He was *also* a mighty hunter before the Lord: therefore it is said, Like Nimrod the mighty hunter before the Lord. 10. And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar. 11. Out of that land he went forth to Asshur, and built Nineveh, and Rehoboth Ir, and Calah, 12. And Resen between Nineveh and Calah; that is the great city.—13. And Mizraim begat Ludim, and Anamim, and Lehabim; and Naphtuhim, 14. And Pathrusim, and Casluhim (out of whom came Philistim), and Caphtorim.—15. And Canaan begat Sidon his firstborn, and Heth, 16. And the Jebusite, and the Amorite, and the Girgashite, 17. And the Hivite, and the Arkite, and the Sinite, 18. And the Arvadite, and the Zemarite, and the Hamathite: and afterwards were the families of the Canaanites spread abroad. 19. And the border of the Canaanites was from

Sidon towards Gerar to Gaza; towards Sodom, and Gomorrah, and Admah, and Zeboim, to Lasha. 20. These *are* the sons of Ham, after their families, after their tongues, in the countries, *and* in their nations.

21. To Shem also, the father of all the children of Eber, the elder brother of Japheth, were *children* born. 22. The children of Shem *are*: Elam, and Asshur, and Arphaxad, Lud, and Aram.—23. And the children of Aram: Uz, and Hul, and Gether, and Mash.—24. And Arphaxad begat Salah; and Salah begat Eber. 25. And to Eber two sons were born: the name of the one *was* Peleg, for in his days the earth was divided; and his brother's name *was* Joktan. 26. And Joktan begat Almodad, and Sheleph, and Hazarmaveth, and Jerah, 27. And Hadoram, and Uzal, and Diklah, 28. And Obal, and Abimael, and Sheba, 29. And Ophir, and Havilah, and Jobab: all these *were* the sons of Joktan. 30. And their abode was from Mesha towards Sephar, *to* the mount of the east.—31. These *are* the sons of Shem, after their families, after their tongues, in their lands, after their nations.

32. These *are* the families of the sons of Noah, after their generations, in their nations: and by these were the nations spread on the earth after the flood.

---

#### THE GENEALOGY OF NATIONS.

ONE couple had been the origin of the human families; one family was preserved to people the earth anew, when the former inhabitants were destroyed; and all the various nations which live scattered in the different parts of the globe, are the descendants of that one family. It was impossible to point with greater force to the beautiful doctrine of the unity of mankind; but such stress was necessary for the injunction of the all-important principle of universal love; the more so, as this principle stands in direct antagonism with the notions then prevailing among heathens; it destroys at once the fables regarding numberless autochthonic tribes, the direct offspring of their native soil, and regarding each other with pride, contempt, or enmity. According to the Bible, the inhabitants of the different zones form one large family; they are the children of the same patriarch: "These are the generations of the sons of Noah, Shem, Ham, and Japheth, and sons were born to them after the flood." They proceeded all from the same centre, whence they spread over the surface of the earth; and for a long time they were, moreover, united by the powerful bond of one universal language (xi. 1). Even the curse of Canaan seems here forgotten; no word reminds the reader, that he was a rejected member in the family of nations; on the contrary, no other tribe is enumerated with such complete detail as that of Canaan (vers. 15—19): nothing disturbs the harmony of this grand genealogy. The division into the descendants of the

three sons of Noah cannot, therefore, allude to three chief *races* of mankind, traceable to a different origin; nor even to the obvious variety of colour (black, red, and white or yellow), since the Ethiopians and Assyrians, for instance, are represented as descending from the same branch: it expresses the fact, that although there always remain indications of the common origin of the human family, the various members formed, at their propagation, three great groups of nations, more closely connected with each other by more contiguous abodes, and greater similarity of language; but that this separation is not so complete or decided, that an ultimate re-union of all nations should be impossible. In this one idea alone, the genealogy of our chapter bears the proof of its genuine and independent Hebrew character; it is not borrowed from other historical documents, because the history of no other nation has so distinctly united the beginning and end of human destinies; and because the entire arrangement is so thoroughly systematic, that it is evidently adapted to the context in which it is introduced. It is true, the Hindoos also connected all the nations of which they had the least knowledge, with their own history; but they traced the other nations to illegitimate alliances between different castes, and regarded them all as impure rebels (Mann, x., 22, 24). Indeed, this list is without a parallel in the whole range of ancient literature. It may be interesting to examine, from what sources the Hebrews derived such extensive geographical knowledge as that embodied in this remarkable list. But this question forms part of a far more comprehensive enquiry on the sources of the Pentateuch, which we must postpone to a future occasion. It is, perhaps, one of the surest signs and of the greatest prerogatives of genius, to be able to combine large philosophical views with completeness and accuracy of detail, and to furnish the proof, that the free creations of the intellect are neither fettered nor impeded by the persevering efforts of industry. The author of the Pentateuch proposed to himself the solution of more than one great philosophical and moral problem; but he felt, that abstract truth, expressed in an abstruse form, would fail to sink deeply into the minds of those whom it was his desire to enlighten; and the more he was penetrated with the importance of an idea, the greater must naturally have been his anxiety to surround it with a distinct and concrete form, by developing it into the fullest possible detail. Now, the Pentateuch is so designed, that, although tending to describe the history and the laws of the Hebrews, it does not exclude the origin of the other nations, nor does it forget to assign to them their relative position in the history of the world; for this reason partly, it commences with a cosmogony, and hence it enumerates the whole circle of the nations known or important at that time. However, the *form* of this composition is again kindred with that employed by other ancient nations for similar ends. The earliest historiography consists almost entirely of genealogies; they are most frequently the medium of explaining the connection and descent of tribes and nations; an ancestor is made the founder of a town or an empire, and his sons represent the later colonies or depending countries of that power; the first part of Greek history is based upon these principles, and the Hindoo traditions derive from them a great part of their precision. The Dorians and Æolians, the Ionians and Achæans, are traced back to a Dorus and Æolus, an Ion and Achæus; the town of Memphis to a daughter of the Nile bearing that name, the wife of Epaphus; and Libya to her daughter. It may be questioned, whether a son of Canaan was called Sidon (ver. 15); but it is certain, that our author considered the Sidonians as a younger branch of the Canaanites. It is necessary to bear in mind this circumstance; for we see simple proper nouns mixed with collective nouns; the sons of Javan, for instance, were "Elishah and Tarshish, the Kittim and Dodanim" (ver. 4); and we find that names, invariably applied as countries, are here introduced as names of persons; as, Havilah and Ophir (ver. 29).

This list forms an organic part of the composition of Genesis; it is a direct continuation of the preceding section; it alludes repeatedly to the deluge which had just



taken place;<sup>1</sup> and, thus, impresses effectually, that all the present inhabitants of the earth are born under the covenant of grace which God had concluded with Noah for all generations.

### I.—THE JAPHETHITES. VRS. 2—5.

Although Japheth is the youngest son of Noah, his descendants are introduced first, in order to pass from the genealogy of the eldest son, Shem, at once to the patriarchs who lead to Abraham, the first great founder of monotheism.<sup>2</sup> The three sons are, in all other passages, enumerated in the order of Shem, Ham, and Japheth;<sup>3</sup> and Shem is distinctly called the elder brother of Japheth.<sup>4</sup> In the face of the Biblical statements we cannot attach much weight to the account of Arabic writers, that Japheth was the eldest son of Noah; especially as they indulge in many extravagant fables, relating, for instance, that Noah gave him a mysterious stone, long preserved in the possession of the Mongolians, on which the holy name of God was written, and which furnished him with the power to call down rain from the skies at his pleasure. They consider him as an inspired prophet, and as the ancestor of the Turks, and call him, therefore, Aboulturk; they ascribe to him, in general, eleven sons, by whom he became the sire of as many tribes or nations, the most celebrated of which are, the Chinese, the Goths or Scythians, the Russians, and the Turcomans.<sup>5</sup> It is easy to discover, in these traditions, a desire to connect the known empires of a far later period with one of the sons of Noah, and thus to secure for them a place in the universal system of nations. — The authentic abodes of the Japhethites are, according to the names mentioned in our verses, in the northern and western parts of the ancient world, comprising the countries from the Mediterranean Sea and the European coasts to northern Asia beyond the Taurus.<sup>6</sup> This wide extent of territory is evidently implied in the very name *Japheth*,<sup>7</sup> in our text considered of Shemitic origin, and, in the mind of the Hebrew author, scarcely bearing any connection with the Greek Iapetus, with whom some modern critics have attempted to identify him.<sup>8</sup>

1. GOMER (גֹּמֶר). Its general position is perfectly certain; for Ezekiel<sup>9</sup> remarks that the allies of the mighty northern king Gog included Gomer and Togarmah, "at the sides of the north," and our chapter<sup>10</sup> mentions Togarmah among the sons of Gomer. We may conclude, from these circumstances, that his descendants dwelt in the most distant northern regions known to the ancient Hebrews; and we may infer from the first place which Gomer occupies in this list, that they were considered as one of the most ancient nations of the north. These conditions are realised if we identify them with the *Chomari*,<sup>11</sup> a nation in Bactriana, near the Oxus, mentioned by Ptolemy.<sup>12</sup> Bactria is one of the oldest countries which progressed towards a regular political organisation; Bactra, its chief town, was generally regarded as one of the oldest cities in the world, and the town Balkh, which is supposed to occupy its site, is still called by the Orientals, "the mother of cities";<sup>13</sup> it was at an early period known even to distant countries; and Bacchus is said to have visited it;<sup>14</sup> Bactria was, both by the prowess of its inhabitants, and its numerous mountain fastnesses, long protected against subjugation; and repeated attacks of the mighty kings of Babylon and

<sup>1</sup> vers. 1, 5, 25, 32.

<sup>2</sup> x. 10—32.

<sup>3</sup> v. 32; vi. 10; vii. 13; 1 Chron. i. 4.

<sup>4</sup> ver. 21; comp. ix. 26, 27.

<sup>5</sup> Compare *D'Herbelot*, *Bibl. Orient.*, p. 470; *Hottinger*, *Histor. Orient.*, p. 37.

<sup>6</sup> Not, however, including the African tribes, as some ancient interpreters maintained.

<sup>7</sup> גִּפְתִּי, instead of גִּפְתִּי, from גִּפְתִּי to spread or extend; comp. ix. 27; not from גִּפְתִּי to be beautiful.

<sup>8</sup> Bochart, *Phaleg*, iii. 1; *Buttmann*, *Mythol.*, i. 222; *Hasse*, *Entdeck.*, ii. 131.

<sup>9</sup> xxxviii. 6.

<sup>10</sup> ver. 3.

<sup>11</sup> *Xouapoli*.

<sup>12</sup> VI. xi. 6.

<sup>13</sup> *Burnes*, *Bokhara*, i. 237.

<sup>14</sup> *Eurip.*, *Bacch.* 15.

Assyria were fruitless.<sup>15</sup> Even under the Persian kings, Bactria formed an important satrapy, and always distinguished itself by its excellent cavalry. We may add the remark of Herodotus,<sup>16</sup> that the head-dress of the Bactrians, which is one of the most characteristic parts of Oriental attire, resembled very much that of the Medes, who follow almost immediately as the next descendants of Japheth. If we consider that not even the earlier Assyrian monarchs proceeded farther to the north than Bactria, we shall find it but natural that in this first ethnographic attempt of the Hebrews, it is enumerated among the most northern countries, especially as its dominions extended beyond the range of the Paropamisus or Hindoo Coosh.<sup>17</sup>—The opinion now generally adopted is, that Gomer is the ancestor of the *Cimmerians*,<sup>18</sup> whose chief abodes were the *Crimea* (said to be derived from Gomer by transposition of the letters), and around the Black and Caspian seas, who made invasions into all parts of Asia, but were, at the end of the sixth century, compelled by the Scythians to emigrate, when they occupied parts of Lydia, till they were from thence expelled by the King Alyattes (in B.C. 533). But in Homer<sup>19</sup> the Cimmerians appear rather as a people of the far-west than the north, at the extremity of the deep Oceanus; they live in a lonely land and gloomy cells, which the sun never visits with its cheering rays. Some ancient authors believe Cimmeria, therefore, to have been Spain, and Strabo considers that people identical with the *Cimbri*.<sup>20</sup>—With still less probability Josephus decides for the Galatians; Saadiah for the Turks; Bochart, misguided by a very unhappy etymology, for Phrygia;<sup>21</sup> Wahl for Cappadocia;<sup>22</sup> Rennell for the Calmucks;<sup>23</sup> and the Arabic writers, who call Gomer the seventh son of Japheth, for the regions of the river Volga. We find that Schulthess, in his learned work, “*Das Paradies*,”<sup>24</sup> has likewise expressed his opinion in favour of the Chomari, without, however, being guided by the reasons above stated, which render the conjecture more conclusive. The sons of Gomer are:—

1. *Ashkenaz* (אֲשְׁכְנַז). As this tribe is<sup>25</sup> coupled with Ararat and Minni, who were to join an alliance for the destruction of Babylon, we must seek Ashkenaz in the neighbourhood of the Caspian sea; and as Josephus<sup>26</sup> identifies its inhabitants with the *Rhigines*,<sup>27</sup> we have no hesitation in declaring Ashkenaz identical with the great and ancient town Rhagae, one day's journey to the south of the Caspian sea, in the eastern part of Great Media.<sup>28</sup> This situation of Ashkenaz seems, indeed, to have been preserved as a tradition, since the Arabian translator explains, in the passage of Jeremiah, “those who live near the Caspian sea,” and Jonathan renders *Adiabene*,<sup>29</sup> the Assyrian province. The name itself seems to be of Assyrian origin.<sup>30</sup> The whole territory round Rhagae is extremely high and cold; and the elevations extend almost without interruption to Matiane and Armenia, although the valleys are here remarkably fertile and blooming. The aspect of this part of Asia is, therefore, very analogous to that of Parthia, which we have identified with Gomer; and we are, therefore, of opinion that the descendants of Gomer were regarded strictly as *the inhabitants of the mountain lands*; and were, as such, considered peculiarly warlike, brave, and hardy; they are, in fact, scarcely mentioned in any other but military connection. Rhagae was several times destroyed, but successively rebuilt by Greek and later kings; and at present its ruins are still extant at Rhey, not far from Teheran, and have attracted

<sup>15</sup> *Diod. Sic.*, i. 47; ii. 5, 26; *Justin.*, i. 2.

<sup>16</sup> vii. 64.

<sup>17</sup> *Strabo*, xi. 511, 576.

<sup>18</sup> *Κιμνίους*.

<sup>19</sup> *Odyss.* xi. 13–19.

<sup>20</sup> About the Cimmerians see, further, *Herod.*, i. 6, 15, 16, 103; iv. 1, 11, *et seq.*; *Strabo*, i. 20, 61; ii. 309; xi. 494.

<sup>21</sup> *Phaleg.*, iii. 81.

<sup>22</sup> *Asien*, i. p. 274.

<sup>23</sup> *Geogr. Syst. of Herod.*, p. 112.

<sup>24</sup> p. 176. <sup>25</sup> In *Jerem.* li. 27.

<sup>26</sup> *Antiq. I.* vi. 1.

<sup>27</sup> *Ῥηγίνες*.

<sup>28</sup> *Arrian*, *Exp. Al.* iii. 20; *Strabo*, xi. 514, 524; *Tobit.* i. 14.

<sup>29</sup> *הֲרִיב*.

<sup>30</sup> *Gesen.*, *Thesaur.*, p. 159.

the attention of many modern travellers.<sup>1</sup>—Bochart<sup>2</sup> takes Ashkenaz for the bay and lake Ascanius, in Bithynia,<sup>3</sup> or the town Ascania, in Phrygia minor;<sup>4</sup> Calmet, for the Ascantes, on the Tanais and Black Sea;<sup>5</sup> Schultheß<sup>6</sup> for Astaunitis, near Ararat; Hasse<sup>7</sup> for Axenus, the ancient name of the Black Sea, instead of the later Pontus Euxinus.<sup>8</sup> But all these conjectures are either merely based on a vague resemblance of sounds, or they are in connection with an objectionable supposition concerning Gomer; or they are derived from disputed classical passages; the Biblical statement, moreover, which combines them with Ararat, excludes distant western situations. The opinion of the Rabbins, who take Ashkenaz for Germany, as they identify the Phœnician town Zarephat<sup>9</sup> with Gaul, and Sepharad<sup>10</sup> with Spain, requires only to be mentioned.

2. *Riphath* (רִפְתָּךְ). The Rhipæan mountains<sup>11</sup> were considered by the ancient geographers as forming the extreme northern border of the earth, covered with eternal snow, containing the caverns from which the icy northern blasts<sup>12</sup> issue, and belonging to the land of the Hyperboreans. But they extend southward to the Caspian sea, run towards the chain of the Caucasus, and are most probably that western branch of the Ural mountains in which the Don (Tanaïs) rises. The knowledge of the ancients with regard to the extreme boundaries of the earth was very limited; in the want of accurate and scientific researches, they exerted their imagination, and fictions were circulated instead of facts; the columns of Hercules and the gardens of the Hesperides in the far west, the Hyperboreans in the north, and the Anthropophagi in the south, are some features of their fabulous geography. Though Bactria was historically and distinctly known to the Hebrews as the most northern country, they were but dimly acquainted with the Ural mountains by vague traditions and inaccurate accounts of some enterprising travellers who had ventured into those uninviting tracts. If, therefore, Gomer is Bactria, it is more than probable that Riphath designates those regions of the Rhipæan mountains, the inhabitants of which were regarded as colonists of the powerful Bactrian empire. Thus we have again mountain tribes as the descendants of Gomer.—We content ourselves with alluding, without comment, to the other opinions proposed about Riphath. Josephus takes it for Paphlagonia; Bochart for Rhebasus, a river in Bithynia which flows into the Black Sea; Hasse, for the Carpathian mountains; Schultheß, for the Rhibii in the east of the Caspian sea; Volney, for the Niphates in Armenia.<sup>13</sup>

3. *Togarmah* (תֹּגַרְמָה).<sup>14</sup> To the north and west of the Caspian Sea lived the wild and warlike Sarmatian tribes; they extended their excursions frequently as far as the coast of the Black Sea and the Sea of Asov, but were, on the frontiers of the Tauric Peninsula (the Crimea) bravely opposed by a nation which had from very early times held possession of that region, and who are known under the name of the *Tauri*, a Scythian tribe. With this Tauric Peninsula<sup>15</sup> we identify the Togarmah of our text. Except in the corresponding list of the Book of Chronicles, it occurs only in two other passages throughout the Old Testament, but both are so characteristic that

<sup>1</sup> Ker Porter, Trav. i. 358.

<sup>2</sup> Phaleg. iii. 9. <sup>3</sup> Strabo, xii. 563.

<sup>4</sup> Arrian, Exp. Alex. i. 31.

<sup>5</sup> Plin., vi. 7. <sup>6</sup> Paradise, p. 178.

<sup>7</sup> Entdeckungen, i. 19.

<sup>8</sup> Plin. iv. 24.

<sup>9</sup> זָרְפָּת, 1 Kings xvii. 9, 10; Obad. 20; comp. Luke iv. 26.

<sup>10</sup> סְפָרַד, Obad. 20.

<sup>11</sup> Περαια ὄρη. <sup>12</sup> ὕμραι.

<sup>13</sup> About the Rhipæan mountains, comp. Strabo, vii. 295, 299; Ptolem., III. v. 15, 19; Mel., i. 19; Virgil, Georg. i. 240; iii. 381; Propert., l. vi. 3; Sil. Ital., xi. 459;

Plin., iv. 26; vi. 14. In 1 Chron. i. 6, the name רִפְתָּךְ is written רִפְתָּךְ; but although the former reading seems to have been older and more frequently used, it is not quite necessary to regard רִפְתָּךְ as a corrupt reading; ר and ר seem to have had a certain affinity, and both letters are sometimes used one for the other; as, for instance, in meridies, instead of medices; the roots רָחַץ and רָחַץ, and רָחַץ and רָחַץ are cognate; compare Gesen., Thea. p. 1244.

<sup>14</sup> Sept. Θοργαμά.

<sup>15</sup> ἡ Ταυρικὴ.

they permit distinct inferences and conclusions. It is, on the one hand, mentioned as a well-armed and military nation of the distant north, ready and prepared to join Gomer and other valiant nations in the expeditions of Gog;<sup>16</sup> and it appears, on the other hand, as a peaceful agricultural tribe, breeding noble horses and mules, and sending them to the Tyrian market, then the great centre of commerce.<sup>17</sup> Now we have the testimony of Strabo, that the inhabitants of the Tauric peninsula were divided into two very different classes; the more northern part was nomadic; disposed to war, though not to robbery; averse to the cultivation of the soil, and therefore letting out its territory for a settled, but moderate tribute. The southern population, on the contrary, was almost exclusively engaged in husbandry; they were considered more civilized and mild, but addicted to gain; they navigated the sea, but did not abstain from piracy, nor from other acts of injustice and rapacity. It is obvious from these notices that the nomadic Taurians, though wild and rude, were regarded as honest and just, whilst the agriculturists and merchants were morally not viewed in so favourable a light. The same difference is transparent in the two passages of Ezekiel; not without a certain pointed slight are the nations coupled with Togarmah called "traders in human souls and brassen wares";<sup>18</sup> and the nations which by their commerce contributed to the greatness of Tyre, are prophetically included in the ruin which awaited the proud city.<sup>19</sup> The Tauric peninsula further abounded in horses, which, though small, were very spirited, and not easily broken; the northern nomadic tribes even lived chiefly upon the flesh of horses and cheese of mares' milk; and wild asses were plentiful in the plains. And if we hereto add, that the land, though in the south full of fertile valleys, yielding thirty-fold even without great agricultural skill, and allowing the exportation of enormous supplies of corn to various parts of Asia and of Greece, was yet regarded as rugged and mountainous, and indeed is so in a peculiar degree in the northern part; that the Taurians were early known to the Asiatic nations, either by their military invasions or their commerce; that the transition of the names Taurica,<sup>20</sup> Togarmah,<sup>21</sup> and Crimea,<sup>22</sup> offers an easy etymological explanation; and that the descendants of Japheth comprise both the north and the west, and therefore unite Asia and Europe: we can neither be surprised that the Taurians should be considered as akin with the Bactrians, nor doubt that Togarmah is identical with the peninsula which they chiefly inhabited.<sup>23</sup> Already in the time of the Trojan war, a temple dedicated to a goddess corresponding to the Greek Diana, was celebrated in this peninsula; and it was to these shores that Iphigenia was carried when on the point of being sacrificed to the goddess.—The greater part of the commentators defend the opinion that Togarmah is a province in Armenia, but can only support it by feeble arguments;<sup>24</sup> Josephus explains it by Phrygia; Bochart by Cappadocia; Haase by the Sarmates; Schulthees by Tochari; whilst others have proposed still more untenable conjectures, considering Togarmah to be the Turcs or Tartars.

II. **ΜΑΓΟΓ (MAGOG).** The prophet Ezekiel speaks of the people of Magog with an emphasis and copiousness which prove at once its importance, and the vastness of its dominions. Its tributaries are, Roah, Meshech, and Tubal; and its allies, the Persians, Ethiopians and Lybians, Gomer and Togarmah, nations brave and mighty; but Magog surpasses them all.<sup>25</sup> The prophet predicted, that Gog, the king of Magog, would, from his northern habitation, march down to the land of Israel; his enormous troops would inundate the plains, and occupy the mountains; like a tempest and a cloud,

<sup>16</sup> Ezek. xxxviii. 6.

<sup>17</sup> Ib. xxvii. 14.

<sup>18</sup> Ib. xxvii. 13.

<sup>19</sup> ver. 27.

<sup>20</sup> Ταυρικη.

<sup>21</sup> ΤΑΓΑΡΜΑ.

<sup>22</sup> Krim.

<sup>23</sup> Comp. Herod., iv. 3, 99; Strabo, vii. 308—312.

<sup>24</sup> See, for instance, Tisch., Genes., p. 207; Rosdiger, in Gesen. Thesaur., p. 1493; Bohlen, Gen. p. 119.

<sup>25</sup> Ezek. xxxviii. 1—6.

they would come over the land. Their avaricious desire would be directed against the treasures of the rich; booty would be their aim, and with barbarous violence would they satisfy their thirst of gold and silver.<sup>1</sup> But God would declare a fearful judgment against them; the earth would tremble, the mountains be destroyed, and the walls overthrown; the sword of the friend would rage against the friend; pestilence, torrents of rain, hail, and fire would spread dismay and havoc among the people of Gog, and all the nations which serve his pride.<sup>2</sup> Then the birds and beasts of prey would come and feast upon their carcases, eating their flesh, and drinking their blood; devouring the horses, the heroes, and the princes till they were surfeited.<sup>3</sup> And the Israelites would come out, and burn the weapons of the impious heathens, their shields and bucklers, their bows and arrows; for seven years they would be occupied in destroying them, and would, during all this time, require no wood of the field or of the forest for their domestic use.<sup>4</sup> Then they would bury the stupendous piles of corpses; seven months would hardly suffice; and whole valleys on the east side of the Lake of Genezareth would be filled with the graves of Magog.<sup>5</sup> Then the land would be purified, and Israel be restored to its pristine peace and glory.—It is obvious, that this is an ideal prophecy; it refers to events which have, in their literal sense, not been fulfilled; indeed, the text itself places their occurrence in the “latter days”;<sup>6</sup> it describes them as having, in a similar manner, been predicted by preceding prophets;<sup>7</sup> and, in the Revelation of St. John, their realization is fixed at that distant future when Satan, after having been bound for a thousand years, is again let loose from his infernal pit.<sup>8</sup> But yet, ideal prophecies occurring in the Bible have invariably a historical basis; there are real events which occasioned, and serve to illustrate, the distant occurrences. It is, therefore, beforehand an obvious conjecture, that Magog are the *Scythians*, of whose aggressive invasions ancient writers relate chiefly the following facts. Whilst Cyaxares, the king of Media, grand-son of Dejoces, was besieging Nineveh,<sup>9</sup> the Scythians, pursuing the Cimmerians, had entered Asia, and devastated the territories of the Medes; Cyaxares hastened to oppose them, but was completely defeated, and the Scythians became masters of Asia. They proceeded through Palestine towards Egypt, but the king Psammetichus<sup>10</sup> prevailed upon them, by rich presents, to advance no further. They returned to Ascalon, where they pillaged the most ancient temple of the Celestial Venus. They governed over Asia during twenty-eight years, “everything was overthrown by their licentiousness and neglect”; they exacted an enormous tribute, and plundered the wealth of their victims. Inebriated by these successes, they abandoned themselves to luxury and revelry, and were thus defeated by Cyaxares in a fearful carnage, and expelled from Asia.<sup>11</sup> These facts are, we believe, a sufficient basis for the grand prophecies of Ezekiel; the descriptions of Magog, their armies, their allies, their avarice, and their ultimate destruction, are clearly the magnifying mirror of these Scythian events. It is, indeed, remarkable, that these wild hordes did not inflict upon Palestine the devastations universally anticipated with horror; if they were induced by presents to keep away from Egypt, what withheld them from satisfying their rapacity in the feeble and exhausted land of Israel? This was deemed an obvious act of Divine mercy; and the almost miraculous exemption from the destructive sword forms the foundation of the prophet’s enthusiastic hopes. It is the sagacious conjecture of a modern critic, that the Scythians were, by the eclipses of the moon which terrified Asia in the year 621,<sup>12</sup> induced to leave Palestine from superstitious fear; and that several

<sup>1</sup> Ezek. xxxviii. 7—13.    <sup>2</sup> *Ib.* 14—23.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* xxxix. 1—8, 17—20.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* vers. 9, 10.    <sup>5</sup> *Ib.* 11—16.

<sup>6</sup> בְּאַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים, *ib.* xxxviii. 16, 8.

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.* xxxviii. 17.

<sup>8</sup> Revel. xx. 8.

<sup>9</sup> In B.C. 624, during the reign of Josiah king of Judah.

<sup>10</sup> B.C. 656—611.

<sup>11</sup> About B.C. 600; see *Herod.*, i. 10. —106.

<sup>12</sup> On the 22nd of April.

exhortations of the prophet Jeremiah, not to be afraid of the signs of heaven,<sup>13</sup> refer to this phenomenon.<sup>14</sup> However this may be, the deliverance of the Israelites was naturally ascribed to the direct interference of God; although the Biblical historians entirely pass over the invasion of the Scythians, prophets and poets availed themselves of the terror which their formidable presence inspired, to kindle the religious fire of their indolent compatriots into a purer flame; they described their invasion as a threatening scourge which might be averted by a complete return to the God of Israel. A higher religious sentiment seems, indeed, to have, in these times of consternation, pervaded the people; and the reforms of the pious king Josiah were its noble first-fruits.<sup>15</sup> Nor did the Scythian hosts quit Palestine without leaving a trace of their superiority. The large and ancient town Bethshean,<sup>16</sup> situated in the west of the Jordan, at the south-eastern extremity of the plain Esdraelon,<sup>17</sup> belonging originally to the tribe of Manasseh, and later to Galilee, or to the Decapolis of Syria, or to Coelesyria, received the name of Scythopolis; because, as Pliny<sup>18</sup> remarks, "a Scythian colony was established here"; and was to later times inhabited by a mixed population of Hebrews and heathens.<sup>19</sup>—All circumstances conspire, therefore, to render the identification of Magog with the Scythians probable. And this probability is almost raised to a certainty by the traditions of the ancient writers. Josephus explains Magog by the Scythians. Jerome states, that the Jews of his time unanimously considered Magog as the wild and numberless Scythians, which extended from the Caucasus and the Sea of Azov to the Caspian Sea and to India. Theodoretus calls Gog and Magog Scythian tribes. According to the Syrian tradition, Tartary, and the countries in the east of it, were the dominions of Magog; and the Arabians assign the same regions to the two chief Scythian tribes, Gog and Magog.<sup>20</sup> But Magog seems to have been used in the same extensive sense as the Greek Scythia, and to have, like the latter, embraced most of the various nomadic nations which inhabited the regions beyond Media and the Caucasian Mountains, indefinitely to the north and east; and which, because individually little known, were comprised in one general term; it is, therefore, very hazardous to specify one people as the Magog of our text.<sup>21</sup>—The king of Magog is generally called Gog, which seems to have been an appellative name, like Pharaoh, Cæsar, and similar titles; it corresponds with the Turkish Chak, the Tartarian Kak, and the Mongolian Gog.—But, in later periods, Gog was coupled as a nation with Magog; so it occurs in the New Testament,<sup>22</sup> and very frequently in Arabic writers. The etymology of מִגּוֹג is so uncertain, that it is advisable to refrain from conjectures. Bohlen explains: "the great mountain," or the Caucasian Wall behind which Alexander the Great drove the Hyperboreans; a conception with which Jerome was already familiar, and which was further developed by the Arabians.<sup>23</sup> Extensive ruins of this wall, which, probably, extended from the Caspian to the Black Sea, are still extant under the same name, and have been carefully examined.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Jer. x. 2.

<sup>14</sup> *Hitzig*, Psalms, ii. 78; comp. *Almagest*, v. 14.

<sup>15</sup> Jerem. iii.—vi.; Ps. xxxiii.; comp. *Ewald*, *Gesch.*, iii. 391, 422.

<sup>16</sup> בֵּית שֶׁאֲנַן.

<sup>17</sup> 600 stadia north-east of Jerusalem, and 120 stadia south of Tiberias.

<sup>18</sup> v. 16.

<sup>19</sup> *Joseph.*, Vit., 6.

<sup>20</sup> Comp. *Assemani*, *Biblioth. Orient.*, III. ii. 16, 18, 20; *Herbelot*, *Bibl. Orient.*, sub Jagiounge and Magiounge; and about several later fables, for instance, that Magog is Antiochus Epiphanes, or Alexander the Great, see *Rosenmüller*, *Schol.* on

*Ezek.* xxxviii. 2; comp., also, *Bochart*, *Phaleg*, p. 212; *Michaelis*, *Specileg.*, i. 28.

<sup>21</sup> As, for instance, the Massagetæ. About the Scythians in general, their division, descent, and history, see *Smith*, *Dict. of Greek and Rom. Geogr.*, ii. 936—945.

<sup>22</sup> *Revel.* xx. 8.

<sup>23</sup> *Comp. Koran*, xviii. 94; xxi. 96.

<sup>24</sup> See *Gmelin*, *Journey through Russia*, iii. 12; *Ker Porter*, *Travels*, ii. 520; *Ritter*, *Erdkunde*, ii. 834. For other but very precarious suppositions about the identity of Magog, see *Rosenmüller*, *Bibl. Geogr.*, i. 240—245.

III. MADAI (מַדַּי). These are unquestionably the *Medi*, or inhabitants of *Media*, which signifies, perhaps, the empire of the middle (*Madhya*), because it was believed to be situated in the centre of Asia.<sup>1</sup> The extent of Media is very uncertain; ancient writers comprise under this name frequently all the countries in the east of the Tigris along the Caspian Sea to Ariana and Bactriana; and this vast area has been divided into three parts: 1. the northern and eastern districts; 2. Media Atropatene; and 3. Media Magna, which comprised the blooming plains between the Carduchian mountains and Mount Zagros in the west, and Mount Coronus in the north, and which reached as far south as Elymais and Susiana, and as far east as Aria or Parthia.<sup>2</sup> We may hence account for the omission of Persia in this genealogical list, which was included in the land of the Medi. Sometimes, however, the boundaries of Media are more restricted, and Media Magna alone is considered as the territory of the Medi.<sup>3</sup> They were during a long period subject to the Assyrian empire; in fact, their first mention in the Bible shows them as forming a satrapy of Shalmaneser;<sup>4</sup> but they felt the ignominy of the hateful yoke, for they are described as having originally been a high-spirited people, skilled in the use of the bow, delighting in warfare, and famous for their horsemanship;<sup>5</sup> they broke out in an open revolt, and proclaimed their independence.<sup>6</sup> According to Herodotus,<sup>7</sup> their first chosen king was Dejoces,<sup>8</sup> who was followed by Phraortes<sup>9</sup> and Cyaxares;<sup>10</sup> the latter, after having repelled the invasion of the Scythians, destroyed Nineveh; but under his successor, Astyages,<sup>11</sup> the supremacy was transferred to the Persians under Cyrus the Great;<sup>12</sup> the Medes were incorporated in the Persian empire;<sup>13</sup> and the name Madai was, therefore, from this time, frequently used instead of Persia;<sup>14</sup> or both names are mentioned together, sometimes Persia and sometimes Media occupying the first place.<sup>15</sup>

IV. JAVAN (יָוָן) denotes properly *Ionia*, the celebrated Greek colony in Asia Minor, and is, in this limited sense, used in several passages of the Old Testament.<sup>16</sup> The Ionians engaged in extensive commercial undertakings, and frequented the markets of Tyre;<sup>17</sup> but in later times Hebrew captives were by Assyrian kings sold into Ionia,<sup>18</sup> where they seem, however, to have been so degradingly treated, that the prophet Zechariah announced the approaching day of revenge.<sup>19</sup> But the name of Ionians was very generally given to all the Greeks, not by the Hebrews only,<sup>20</sup> but also by most of the other Asiatics, who naturally identified the Asiatic colony with the more distant mother country.<sup>21</sup> But in our passage, Javan is used in a still more extensive sense, embracing all the western islands of the Mediterranean sea; this acceptance is evident from the abodes of the younger branches enumerated in the fourth verse. יָוָן is, therefore, identical with the Greek *Iáων*, the Sanscrit *Javana*, the cuneiform name *Yundá*, and with *Jounan* on the inscription of Rosetta.<sup>22</sup> The descendants of Javan are:—

1. *Elishah* (אֵלִישָׁה). It is certain, almost beyond a doubt, that this is the Hebrew name for *Hellas*. If Javan is the generic name for all Greeks, it is natural that the European Hellens should be mentioned in the first place among Javan's progeny, al-

<sup>1</sup> *Polyb.*, v. 44; see p. 25; it is, however, read *Mada* on the cuneiform inscriptions.

<sup>2</sup> *Ptolem.*, VI. ii. 1, 3; *Strabo*, xi. 522—526.

<sup>3</sup> *Pliny*, vi. 14. <sup>4</sup> 2 Kings xvii. 6.

<sup>5</sup> *Isai.* xiii. 18; *Herod.*, vii. 62; *Strabo*, xi. 525.

<sup>6</sup> *Diod. Sic.*, ii. 2.

<sup>7</sup> i. 95, *et seq.*

<sup>8</sup> B.C. 710—657.

<sup>9</sup> B.C. 657—635.

<sup>10</sup> B.C. 635—595.

<sup>11</sup> B.C. 595—560.

<sup>12</sup> *Comp. Strabo*, xi. 524; *Diod.* ii. 24, 32; *Euseb.*, Chron. Armen. i. 101.

<sup>13</sup> *Herod.*, i. 129; *Diod.*, ii. 34; *Just.*, i. 6.

<sup>14</sup> *Isai.* xiii. 17; *Jer.* xxv. 25.

<sup>15</sup> *Esth.* i. 3; *Dan.* v. 28; viii. 20.

<sup>16</sup> *Isai.* lxvi. 19; *Ezek.* xxvii. 13.

<sup>17</sup> *Ezek.*, *loc. cit.*; *comp. Hom.*, II. xiii. 685; *Strabo*, xiv. 632—650.

<sup>18</sup> *Joel* iv. 6.

<sup>19</sup> ix. 13.

<sup>20</sup> *Dan.* viii. 21.

<sup>21</sup> *Aristoph.*, *Acharn.* 104; *Æsch.*, *Pers.* 176, 561; *comp. Gesen.*, *Thea.* p. 587.

<sup>22</sup> *Comp. also Lassen*, *Keilschrift*, p. 89; *Pott*, *Etymol. Forschungen* i. 41.

though the Greek legends make Ion the descendant of Hellen. In Ezekiel<sup>22</sup> Elishah is introduced as an island from which purple stuffs were imported into Phœnicia; and we possess the testimony of ancient writers, that on the coasts of Peloponnesus, and of many Greek islands, the shell-fish, the juice of which yields the much valued purple colours, were most abundantly found.<sup>24</sup> This is another reason for explaining Elishah for Greece and her islands generally, instead of limiting it to the province of Elis, as several critics have done. Phœnician inscriptions which have been found in Athens prove an early commercial intercourse between the Greeks and the Syrian coasts. The opinions, therefore, that Elishah is Æolia, or Carthage, or Arabia, or Italy, are quite improbable.

2. *Tarshish* (תַּרְשִׁישׁ). It is remarkable that the position of this place was as much disputed among the ancient translators as it is almost universally agreed upon among modern critics. The Septuagint and Vulgate explained it either distinctly by Carthage, or more vaguely by Africa; Josephus, Targum Jonathan, and Saadiah, by Tarsus in Cilicia; and sometimes the interpreters render it by *the sea*. The opinion of Eusebius, however, was that Tarshish was in Iberia or Spain; and this acceptance, now almost generally adopted, is alone confirmed by an accurate examination of various notices occurring throughout the Old Testament. Tarshish is represented as a rich country, governed by its own independent kings, and able to send valuable presents;<sup>25</sup> abounding especially in silver, iron, tin, and lead;<sup>26</sup> a precious stone, probably the chrysolite, chiefly found in those districts, bore the name of tarshish;<sup>27</sup> it was situated near other renowned islands, and was itself washed by the waves of the sea;<sup>28</sup> it was therefore accessible by navigation, which was extensively carried on by the Phœnicians and other nations on large famous ships, which were the models for the vessels of commerce in general, and were therefore known under the name of "vessels of Tarshish;"<sup>29</sup> the port from which they started was Joppa, on the coast of Palestine,<sup>30</sup> not from Ezion-geber, a port of the Gulf of Akabah.<sup>31</sup> It requires only some comparison with the accounts which Greek writers furnish about the Spanish Tartessus,<sup>32</sup> which Polybius (iii. 24) writes Tarseion,<sup>33</sup> to perceive its identity with Tarshish. It is universally known that the Phœnicians entertained a lively commerce with Spain, whence they imported a large amount of gold, silver, lead, and iron;<sup>34</sup> but no part of the peninsula was more famous for its opulence than Tartessus, the wealth of which passed into a proverb.<sup>35</sup> The exact site of Tartessus was, however, unknown even in the time of Strabo, who states the then general belief that it was situated on that piece of land between the two outlets of the river Guadalquivir (Bætis), which bore also the name of the "silver-bedded Tartessus." In fact, the whole district of Andalusia, which the Turdetani then inhabited, was called Tartessus, and it is most probable that the Tarshish of our text is intended to denote the whole of Spain so far as it was known to the Hebrews, just as Javan is used to designate all the Greeks.<sup>36</sup> We can, therefore, neither admit another Tartessus in India, to which the vessels sailed from Ezion-geber, nor accede to the opinion, that Tarshish was situated in Ethiopia, or on the coast of Africa, as some travellers, tempted by a vague uncertainty of sounds,

<sup>22</sup> xxvii. 7.

<sup>24</sup> Pausan., III. xxi. 6; Hor., Od. II. xviii. 7; Pliny, ix. 40; xxi. 22; compare Bochart, Geogr. p. 176.

<sup>25</sup> Ps. lxxii. 10; Isai. lxvi. 19.

<sup>26</sup> Jer. x. 9; Ezek. xxvii. 12, 25.

<sup>27</sup> Exod. xxviii. 20.

<sup>28</sup> Isai. lx. 9; comp. Ovid, Metam. xiv. 416.

<sup>29</sup> 1 Kings x. 22; xxii. 49; Isai. ii. 16.

<sup>30</sup> Jon. i. 3; iv. 2.

<sup>31</sup> For the notice in 2 Chron. xx. 36, 37, must be explained by 1 Kings xxii. 49; comp. Vitringa, on Isai. ii. 16; Gesen., Thes., p. 1316.

<sup>32</sup> Ταρσηνός. <sup>33</sup> Ταρσηνόν.

<sup>34</sup> Comp. Diod. Sic., v. 35—38; Strabo, iii. 147—149; Pliny, iii. 4.

<sup>35</sup> Strabo, iii. 157.

<sup>36</sup> Comp. Bochart, Phaleg., iii. 7; Michaelis, Specil., i. 82; Bredow, Histor. Untern., ii. 260.



have asserted in spite of the cogent arguments in favour of the Spanish Tartessus. The latter opinions are the more objectionable as they entirely disregard the fact that, according to our text, Tarshish belongs to the Japhethites, and must, therefore, be sought in the northern or western parts of the ancient world. Although Tartessus is, by the Greek writers, distinctly called a Phœnician colony,<sup>1</sup> and is in some parts of the Old Testament also represented as such,<sup>2</sup> it is here brought into connection with Greece, because Javan was, evidently, like the classical Hesperia, used for all the western continents of Europe, on the shores of the Mediterranean. But some of the Greek tribes, as the Phœceans, undertook early voyages to Tartessus; the Samians arrived here with a heavy cargo and realised unprecedented profits;<sup>3</sup> and the Phœceans met with a very hospitable reception from the King of the Tartessians, who urged them even to settle in his territory.<sup>4</sup>

3. *Kittim* (כִּיִּתִּים). One of the most ancient towns on the island of Cyprus was Citium;<sup>5</sup> it was situated on the south-eastern coast of the island, possessed a harbour which could be closed; and ruins of its walls and houses, and of an extensive theatre, are still extant in the neighbourhood of Larnika; and on examination of these remains, copious Phœnician inscriptions have been discovered on the foundation stones.<sup>6</sup> Thus, it is at once evident that Citium, like Amathus, and other Cyprian towns, was a Phœnician colony; as indeed Herodotus<sup>7</sup> mentions among the very mixed population of Cyprus, the Phœnicians also; and it is intelligible why it is here introduced immediately after Tartessus, with which it bears more than one analogy. It furnished to the Tyrians, on the one hand, very valuable articles of import, especially timber for the construction of ships;<sup>8</sup> the Cyprian copper had attained a general reputation;<sup>9</sup> the mines yielded gold and silver, and among the precious stones for which that rich island was celebrated, were the smaragd and emerald, the red jasper and agate, and perhaps the diamond;<sup>10</sup> and it abounded also in oil, wine and honey.<sup>11</sup> But Cyprus was, on the other hand, a convenient station for the Phœnicians in their more distant western expeditions;<sup>12</sup> just as Spain was the station for their excursions to the Britannic islands, from whence they shipped tin (stannum).<sup>13</sup> The inhabitants of Citium are called by the Romans Citisei,<sup>14</sup> by the Greek writers Kitisei,<sup>15</sup> and are evidently identical with our Kittim. But it is certain that in later periods the term Kittim was extended to many islands and shores of the Mediterranean, as Rhodes, Greece, and Sicily,<sup>16</sup> to Italy, and even to Macedonia; it is, therefore, most probable that it is to be taken here generally for the island of Cyprus, which, both by its products and by its natural position, was of paramount importance to the Phœnicians, but, as a western island, is here also comprised among the possessions of the Javanites.<sup>17</sup> In later periods, the intercourse between Cyprus and Greece was most active; the Greeks occupied a great portion of the soil and adopted many of its religious rites, whilst the dependence of the island upon Phœnicia seems to date from a very early time;<sup>18</sup> in fact both the character of the inhabitants, and the nature of their Divine worship, as the orgiastic adoration of Astarte, bore entirely the eastern, and more especially the Phœnician stamp. The explanation of Kittim by Cyprus is fully corroborated by

<sup>1</sup> *Arrian*, ii. 16.

<sup>2</sup> *Isaiah* xxxiii. 1, 6, 10.

<sup>3</sup> *Herod.*, iv. 152.

<sup>4</sup> *Herod.*, i. 163.

<sup>5</sup> *Κίτιον* or *Κίττιον*; *Pliny*, v. 35; *Strab.*, xiv. 682, 683.

<sup>6</sup> *Gesen.*, Monum. Phœn., p. 120—153.

<sup>7</sup> vii. 90.

<sup>8</sup> *Ezek.* xxvii. 6.

<sup>9</sup> *Pliny*, xii. 60.

<sup>10</sup> "Adamas vergens in serium colorem"; *Pliny*, xxxvii. 15, 17, 22, 54.

<sup>11</sup> *Strabo*, xiv. 684; *Pliny*, xi. 14.

<sup>12</sup> *Isai.* xxiii. 1, 6.

<sup>13</sup> *Strabo*, iii. 147.

<sup>14</sup> *Cicero*, *De Finib.*, iv. 20.

<sup>15</sup> *Κίττιαι* or *Κίττιοι*.

<sup>16</sup> *Joseph.*, *Antiq.*, I. vi. 1; *Epiphani.*, *Adv. Hær.*, xxx. 25; 1 *Macc.* i. 1; *Dan.* xi. 30.

<sup>17</sup> *Num.* xxiv. 24; *Jerem.* ii. 10.

<sup>18</sup> *Joseph.*, *Antiq.*, VIII. v. 3; *C. Ap.* i. 18.

ancient traditions; it is so understood by Josephus, Epiphanius, and Jerome; and on ancient inscriptions the singular form also occurs.<sup>19</sup> The interpretations by Africa, or China, or Arabia, or India, or the Canaanitish tribe of the Hittites, are therefore unquestionably erroneous.

4. The *Dodanim* (דֹּדָנִים) are the last descendants of Javan here mentioned. If this genealogical list, which has been acknowledged as one of the most important documents of ancient geography, has the least claim to completeness or order, it will be at once granted, that Italy cannot be omitted among the countries assigned to the Javanites. If Greece and Spain are distinctly mentioned in Elishah and Tarshish, if the islands of the Mediterranean Sea are represented by Kittim, the Dodanim are, in our opinion, no others than the Daunii,<sup>20</sup> who formed the most ancient population of Apulia, and who were, therefore, by ancient geographers used to designate, like the Iapygians, the whole south-eastern portion of Italy, including Calabria. The Daunians were, like many other inhabitants of southern Italy, a Pelasgian race; they preserved long among themselves Greek customs and arts; their coins bear pure Greek inscriptions, and their bronzes and painted vases betray Greek imitation; this historical fact was embodied in the early legend of the settlement of Diomedes in these regions; and it is certain, that they occupied chiefly the great plains on the coast of Apulia; here they founded a great number of cities, built harbours, and, probably, carried on both piracy and sea-commerce; they cultivated the soil, on which, in spite of the extreme aridity of its pastures in summer, they grew wheat and olives with eminent success; they, further, reared horses and sheep; and the wool of the latter was celebrated for its peculiar fineness, and formed an important article of commerce.<sup>21</sup> If we assume, therefore, here also one portion of the peninsula to denote its whole extent, and take Daunia for Italy, we have an appropriate explanation of the territory of Dodanim, which must be regarded as peopled by Greek settlements, and must be situated on the shores of the Western Sea. For the latter reason alone, it is impossible that Dodanim should be *Dodona*, the inland Epirotic town, with the famous Oracle of Jupiter.<sup>22</sup> But neither the translation of the Septuagint by *Rhodians*, nor the omission of Dodanim by Josephus, nor the reading of *Rodanim* (רֹדָנִים), occurring in many codices of the first Book of Chronicles (i. 7), and in the Samaritan version, are conclusive proofs, that the latter is the original and correct reading. If this, however, could be proved, then there could, indeed, be scarcely any doubt, that the Rodanim are the inhabitants of the island of Rhodes, which Epiphanius also couples with Cyprus, which was, at an early period, inhabited by Phœnicians and Greeks, and the inhabitants of which undertook distant navigations already at the beginning of Greek history.<sup>23</sup> Gesenius, who, in the first part of his *Thesaurus* (p. 322), is in favour of the reading of Rodanim, gives, in the second part (p. 1266), the preference to the received text, but explains Dodanim as a contraction from Dardanim (דַּרְדָּנִים), whom he supposes to be the *Dardanians* or *Trojans*.<sup>24</sup> But the enmities between the Greeks and Trojans were too protracted and too well known, to render the derivation of the latter from the former in any way probable.

v. and vi. TUBAL (טֹבַל) and MESHECH (מֶשֶׁךְ) are frequently mentioned together in the Old Testament, either as warlike nations, destined to be the terror of the world,<sup>25</sup> or as the tributaries of the mighty king of the Scythians, Magog, whose chief pride and support they formed.<sup>26</sup> They must, therefore, like the latter, be northern tribes, whose renown was magnified by the distance of their abodes. Tubal is, indeed,

<sup>19</sup> אִישׁ כְּתִי, and Κιττός; Boekh, Corp. Inscr., 523.

<sup>20</sup> Δαύνιοι.

<sup>21</sup> Strabo, vi. 277, 284; Pliny, viii. 48; Pol., v. 88.

<sup>22</sup> Strabo, vii. 327—329.

<sup>23</sup> Strabo, pp. 67, 115, 624, 673.

<sup>24</sup> Compare, also, Monum. Phœn. p. 432.

<sup>25</sup> Ezek. xxxii. 26.

<sup>26</sup> Ezek. xxxviii. 2, 3; xxxix. 1.

introduced as a remote nation to which the fame of Israel's glory has never reached.<sup>1</sup> Now, as Meshech has been identified with the Moschi, a Colchian tribe, extending along the south-eastern shores of the Black Sea, between the sources of the Phasis and those of the Cyrus, and bordered on the south by the lofty and wood-covered chain of the Armenian mountains, now called Tchildir; and as the Moschi were, at least during the Persian epoch, in a military and political respect, united with the Tibareni,<sup>2</sup> a tribe likewise in the south-east of the Euxine Sea, and between the Chalybes and Trebizond: it was natural to find in the *Tibareni* the descendants of Tubal.<sup>3</sup> The difference of the names Tubal and Tibar is only in appearance, for the liquids *l* and *r* are not unfrequently used for each other; as, in the Greek Beliar for Belial, Sarad for Saled, and in other instances.<sup>4</sup> Tubal and Meshech are, further, mentioned by the prophet Ezekiel, as providing the Tyrian market with copper and with slaves.<sup>5</sup> Now, copper is most abundant in the mountains of northern Armenia; and the fine tribes of the Pontus and Cappadocia, as at present those of Georgia and Mingrelia, furnished the Asiatic markets and the harems with the most beautiful slaves.<sup>6</sup> Nor have those races changed the wildness and rapacity of their character; and, as the Psalmist deeply commiserated the destiny of those who have the misfortune to dwell as strangers or captives among these barbarous hordes,<sup>7</sup> just so might modern travellers dread the contact of people, "whose greatest ambition it is to be deemed the most cunning and most distinguished robbers."<sup>8</sup> The mountains of the Moschi connect the Anti-Taurus with the Caucasus; they consist chiefly of limestone with volcanic rocks and some granite; they run nearly south-west along the deep valley of Ajirah in the district of Tchildir.<sup>9</sup> The Septuagint writes *Μουσχοι*, and the Vulgate *Musoch*, which pronunciation is nearer to Moschi, whilst the name *Μεσχίη*, which was given to the southern part of Georgia, is more similar to Meshech. If we hereto add, that Josephus<sup>10</sup> explains Tubal by *Iberes* (*Ἰβηρες*), a tribe inhabiting a territory strictly contiguous to the Moschi, between the Black and Caspian Seas, and the rivers Cyrus and Araxes, and, likewise, reaching down to the Armenian mountains,<sup>11</sup> we shall scarcely be much mistaken if we suppose the two tribes Tubal and Meshech, so habitually named together, to represent the whole region of northern Armenia, from the sources of the Tigris and Euphrates to the Euxine Sea, and comprising the provinces of Albania and Iberia westward to Pontus. That the Iberes of Josephus cannot be sought in Spain, as Jerome believed, is evident;<sup>12</sup> and it is scarcely probable, that Meshech is the old Cappadocian town Mazaka (*Μάζακα*), which would be too restricted for the evidently powerful tribe which is denoted by that name.

VII. The last branch of the Japhethites is *TIRAS* (*Τῖρας*), a name which occurs in no other passage. The context requires a land not distant from Armenia. Now, it is plausibly asserted that the nations of Mashoash and Toersha, which are found on Egyptian monuments, and which are described as resembling each other in physiognomy and habits,<sup>13</sup> are identical with Meshech and Tiras. If this is the case, Tiras must be near the Moschi; and then nothing is more natural than to identify Tiras with the great Asiatic mountain-chain of *Taurus*. We have observed in the preceding notice, that the Moschian mountains extend south-west till they join to the chain of the Anti-Taurus. Separated from the latter only by the plains of Cappadocia and Lycaonia,

<sup>1</sup> Isai. lxvi. 19.

<sup>2</sup> *Τυβαρηνοί*

<sup>7</sup> cxx. 5.

<sup>8</sup> *Reinegs*, i. 40.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. *Herod.*, iii. 94; vii. 78; *Strab.*, ii. 129; xii. 548, 555; *Plin.*, vi. 4; *Xen.*, An. V. v. 2; *Ker Porter*, Trav., i. 152; ii. 646.

<sup>4</sup> See *Bochart*, Phaleg, iii. 12.

<sup>5</sup> xxvii. 13.

<sup>6</sup> *Reinegs*, Caucas., i. 6; ii. 61; *Bochart*, p. 207. 208.

<sup>9</sup> *Strabo*, xii. 497; *Ptolem.*, v. 6; *Plin.*, v. 27; *Ritter*, Erdkunde, x. 816.

<sup>10</sup> *Antiq.*, I. vi. 1.

<sup>11</sup> *Strab.*, xi. 429, 527; *Plin.*, vi. 11.

<sup>12</sup> See, also, *Knobel*, Völkertafel, p. 109; comp. *Michael*, Specil., i. 44.

<sup>13</sup> *Wilkinson*, Manners and Customs, i. 378, 379.

raises the Taurus, in ancient geography considered so important that it formed the chief division of Asia into the countries north and south of it. It extends from the extremities of Pamphylia as far eastward as the Bay of Bengal, where the Indians and the neighbouring Scythians lived; but it lost the name Taurus in the region where it reaches the Armenian mountains, which continue their eastward course under different appellations. Now, it is our opinion, that Tiras comprises all those Asiatic tribes the territory of which is traversed by the Taurus Proper; and that it includes, therefore, Cilicia and Pamphylia, Pisidia and Lycia, and, with an extension usual in almost all the names of the Japhethites, embracing, likewise, most of the nations of Asia Minor, and of the interior.<sup>14</sup> It is clear, that thus only the diffusion of the Japhethites is completed; they extended, therefore, from Bactria and the Imaus, almost in a straight line westward, to the Taurus and Asia Minor; and from there, again almost westward, to the shores and islands of the Mediterranean Sea, including Greece, Italy, and Spain; whilst they occupied, in the north, the vast but indefinite tracts of Scythia, from the Black and Caspian Seas up to the fabulous regions of the Rhipæan mountains, and of the Hyperboreans.—Many ancient translators render Tiras by *Thrace*; <sup>15</sup> and most of the modern interpreters have adopted the same view; but Thrace is too distant from northern Armenia to be mentioned immediately after, and in connection with, Meshech.<sup>16</sup> The same objection applies to the river Tyras (Dniester), and the tribes near it;<sup>17</sup> and to the Tyrseni or Tyrrheni,<sup>18</sup> a branch of the Pelasgians, who cruised on the sea between Asia Minor and Greece, and lived by piracy,<sup>19</sup> but who, if they ever formed long and permanent settlements, are undoubtedly included among the Javanites, the representatives of the western navigators.

The enumeration of the Japhethites is summed up with the remark, that the names mentioned include only the principal nations, but that there exist other tribes descending from Japheth, which it was, however, not deemed necessary to introduce (ver. 5). There are, especially, many “islands” and maritime countries (דְּיִלְיָא יָם), which became later of great renown and importance, and the origin of which must be traced to the lands here specified.<sup>20</sup> By the extensive meaning which we have assigned to Javan and the Javanites, we have prepared the reader for this notion. The “islands of the nations” refer, therefore, especially to the tribes mentioned immediately before,<sup>21</sup> although the word יָם is a general term, denoting habitation or abode.<sup>22</sup>

## II.—THE HAMITES. VERS. 6—20.

Ham (חַם) is the ancestor of all the southern nations of the globe; it is, therefore, natural, that the name should be connected with the Hebrew root חָמַם *to be warm*; and that the Hamites should be regarded as the inhabitants of the tropic zones. It is, however, certain, that the name Ham is not of Hebrew, but of Egyptian origin; it was a very early name for Egypt, which was still in use in the time of Jerome; it occurs on the inscription of Rosetta many times under the form *chmê*; and it signifies, the “black country,” for the soil of Egypt is generally of that colour.<sup>23</sup> The descendants of Ham are:—

<sup>14</sup> Comp. *Strabo*, ii. 129.

<sup>15</sup> So Josephus, Jonathan, Eusebius, Epiphanius, Jerome, and others.

<sup>16</sup> Comp. *Bochart*, *Phaleg*, iii. 2; *Mischaelis*, *Specil.*, i. 55.

<sup>17</sup> *Tyrræni*; *Schulthes*, *Paradies*, p. 194; comp. *Herod.*, iv. 51.

<sup>18</sup> *Tyrrænoi*.

<sup>19</sup> *Tuch*, *Genes.*, p. 217, 218.

<sup>20</sup> Compare *Isai.* xi. 11; xxiv. 15; *Ps.* lxx. 10.

<sup>21</sup> Compare vers. 20, 31.

<sup>22</sup> *Isai.* xlii. 15.

<sup>23</sup> *Herod.*, ii. 12; *Champollion*, *L'Egypte sous les Phar.*, i. 204.—Others discover the word חַם in the first part of *Amenti*, the Egyptian name for the lower world, rendering it, “the dark place beneath the earth”; and, therefore, understanding the Hamites as men of a dark complexion; so, for instance, *Uhlemann*, *Thot*, p. 128.

1. CUSH (כּוּשׁ). We have above (p. 95) alluded to a very curious geographical notion, extensively entertained by the ancients, concerning the existence of a vast continent uniting the eastern parts of Africa, Arabia, and India; we have observed, that hence their strange belief of the connection between the Indus and the Nile may have arisen; and that, therefore, India and Egypt even were not unfrequently confounded. Nothing is, therefore, more probable than that the Cushites, whose chief habitations were in the wide tracts of *Ethiopia*, in the south of Egypt, beyond Syene,<sup>1</sup> were, likewise, believed to have spread in the Arabian peninsula, and here to have become the founders of mighty and populous tribes (ver. 8). A careful comparison of the various Biblical passages and allusions raises this double settlement of the Cushites beyond a doubt. It is as erroneous to limit them to Arabia alone, as to assign to them exclusively the south of Africa. Their connection with Egypt is, indeed, more clearly defined; Ethiopian emigrants peopled, if they did not civilize, Egypt;<sup>2</sup> Ethiopia was, at some periods, partly subjected to Egypt,<sup>3</sup> at others prescribed to the Upper Egyptians their laws, and gave them their kings;<sup>4</sup> now received the Egyptian warriors, who left Egypt in the reign of Psammetichus, and founded an independent state;<sup>5</sup> and now were in alliance with the Egyptians and Libyans.<sup>6</sup> But, the derivation of Arab tribes from Cush; the notice, that the river Gihon, coming from the region of the Euphrates, encompasses the whole land of Cush (ii. 13); and the "topaz of Cush,"<sup>7</sup> which points either to the shores of Arabia, or to the small island Topazos in the Red Sea,<sup>8</sup> are proofs that the term Cush comprised at least the tracts on the shore of southern Arabia also,<sup>9</sup> an extension of the name, employed by Syrian writers even of a very late period.<sup>10</sup> It will be our task, in every individual passage, to determine the exact locality which is intended by Cush. It was sufficient to have briefly described the general comprehensiveness of the term; it would lead us to large digressions were we to try to exhaust the subject here.<sup>11</sup> The Cushites are of a black colour,<sup>12</sup> and of a high and robust stature.<sup>13</sup> The name Cush for Ethiopia was retained to a late period; Josephus<sup>14</sup> mentions, that in his time it was constantly employed; the Syrian interpreters render<sup>15</sup> Ethiopians by Cushites; and, whilst the old Egyptian name for Ethiopia is very similar, the Coptic appellation *eoosch* is, at least, kindred with the Hebrew word. — The descendants of Cush's eldest son:—

1. *Seba* (שֵׁבָא), are, in the Old Testament, mentioned as a nation in the distant south,<sup>16</sup> of nearly the same importance as Egypt and Ethiopia themselves;<sup>17</sup> it is an extensive and mighty people, of undaunted strength, and, like the Macrobi of Herodotus,<sup>18</sup> of imposing stature; their land is intersected by streams;<sup>19</sup> and it will be the greatest triumph for Israel and their God, if Seba is subdued and enslaved.<sup>20</sup> Now, Josephus informs us, that Seba, the royal city of Ethiopia, was, by Cambyases, called *Meroe*, after the name of his own sister.<sup>21</sup> It may be doubted, that the whole country assumed the foreign name of one town; and it may appear more probable, that the Ethiopian name of the ancient place Merawe, which means "irrigated country," near Mount

<sup>1</sup> Ezek. xxix. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Diod. Sic.*, iii. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Herod.*, ii. 110; *Diod. Sic.*, i. 55.

<sup>4</sup> 2 Kings xix. 9; Isa. xxxvii. 9; *Euseb.*, *Chron. Arm.*, i. 218.

<sup>5</sup> *Herod.*, ii. 80.

<sup>6</sup> *Isai.* xx. 4; Ezek. xxx. 4, 5, 9; Nah. iii. 9, etc.

<sup>7</sup> Job xxviii. 19.

<sup>8</sup> *Plin.*, xxxvii. 8; *Diod.*, iii. 39.

<sup>9</sup> *Comp. Hab.* iii. 7; 2 *Chron.* xxi. 16.

<sup>10</sup> *Asseman.*, *Bibl. Or.*, i. 360.

<sup>11</sup> Compare, however, *Heeren*, *Ideen*, II.

ii. 108; *Rosenmüller*, *Alterth.*, iii. 155; *Schulthess*, *Paradies*, p. 10; *Gesen.*, *Thes.*, 672; *Hartmann*, *Aufklärungen*, i. 263; ii. 56; *Wiener. Real-Wörterb.*, i. 235; *Hengstenberg*, *Die Bücher Mose's und Aeg.*, pp. 18. 19.

<sup>12</sup> Jer. xlii. 23; *Strabo*, xv. 695.

<sup>13</sup> *Isai.* xlv. 14; *Herod.*, iii. 20.

<sup>14</sup> *Antiq.*, I. vi. 2.

<sup>15</sup> *In Acts* viii. 27.

<sup>16</sup> *Isai.* xliii. 3.

<sup>17</sup> *Isai.* xviii. 2, 7.

<sup>18</sup> *Antiq.*, II. x. 2.

<sup>19</sup> Ps lxxii. 10.

<sup>20</sup> *Isai.* xl. 20.

<sup>21</sup> *Isai.* xlv. 14.

Berkal, in the east of the Nile, either induced Cambyses to change Seba into Meroe, or caused the Greek historians to adopt this view.<sup>22</sup> But it would be arbitrary to reject unconditionally the statement of Josephus, especially as it is confirmed by Strabo;<sup>23</sup> and is, in a somewhat modified form, repeated by Diodorus (i. 83). And Meroe answers, indeed, all the conditions required for the identification of Seba. It is, by ancient geographers, frequently described as an island, but it is, in fact, a tract of land, 375 miles in circumference, enclosed by the rivers Astapus (Bahr el Asrak) and Astaboras (Tacazze), and extending to the narrow tract where the latter river joins the Nile. In the east and west it is bounded, respectively, by Abyssinia and Libya, whilst its extreme southern frontier lies 873 miles from Syene.<sup>24</sup> The fertility and wealth of this district of Meroe are testified by all ancient authorities; it boasted of mines of gold, iron, copper, and salt; it had large woods of date-palm, almond-trees, and ilex, sufficiently productive to allow extensive exports; the forests abounded in game which served for food; the meadows produced double harvests of millet, and the pastures were covered with fine herds of cattle; in the north, where rain but seldom falls, careful irrigation is necessary; but less art and labour are required for the fertilization in the south, and in the valley of Astaboras. Agriculturists, shepherds, and huntsmen divided these territories among themselves. The town Meroe was situated about 90 miles (700 stadia) south of the junction of the Nile and Astaboras; extensive ruins of it have been discovered, about twenty miles north-east of the Nubian town Shendy; and among them are (at Naga-gebel-ardan) those of four temples, the largest of which was dedicated to Ammon, an edifice in which the principal portico is detached from the main building; it is adorned with an avenue of sphinxes, and with historical sculptures. But many other remains in the east and west of the Astapus, for instance, at Woad Naja and El Mesaourat, and especially the many pyramids scattered over the plains or combined in groups (at one place alone, two miles from the river, are eighty-one, rising to the height of 100 feet), though a great part of them may not be of a very remote antiquity, prove the former existence of large and numerous cities. These were evidently the centres of a very lively commerce; they were traversed by the caravans from Libya and the Red Sea, from Egypt and Ethiopia; and they received or exchanged many of the most valued articles of ancient trade.<sup>25</sup> Whatever may have been the origin of this prosperity, whether it was the result of the energy and intelligence of native tribes, or of superior and more enterprising conquerors; whether Meroe borrowed its institutions from, or gave them to, Egypt; whether it was occupied by the warriors who emigrated under the reign of Psammetichus, or remained under its own rulers: it is certain, that it belonged, at an early time, to the most flourishing districts of Africa, important enough to be regarded as the settlement of the first-born son of Cush, and to be included in the most emphatic predictions of the Hebrew prophets.

2. *Havilah* (הַוִּילָה), which embraced the whole eastern portion of the ancient world (ii. 11), is not only mentioned among the Cushites, but also, later, among the descendants of Joktan or Shem (ver. 29). We have above (p. 93), and in the concluding remarks on the present chapter, attempted to account for the apparent discrepancy of the Biblical statements. It is incredible, that the author of this well-arranged genealogical list should have "followed a different tradition in ver. 29"; and that it should there already have escaped his memory, that he had enumerated Havilah before among the Hamites; the imputation of such heedlessness is an unworthy subterfuge of critical embarrassment.

<sup>22</sup> *Tuch*, Gen., p. 222.

<sup>23</sup> xvii. 790.

<sup>24</sup> *Pliny*, vi. 29.

<sup>25</sup> Compare *Herod.*, ii. 29; *Diod.*, i. 23;

iii. 11; *Strabo*, xvii. 821; *Pliny*, ii. 73; *Hoskins*, *Travels in Ethiopia*; *Rüppel*, *Reisen in Nubien*, p. 114; *Heeren*, *African Nations*, i.; *Smith*, *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Geogr.*, ii. 330.

3. *Sabtah* (סבט) is explained, by Josephus, as the Astabori, or the tribes inhabiting the territory near the stream Astaboras (Tacaze), which forms the eastern river of the land Meroe. We see no reason for deviating from this view, since it is in perfect harmony with the place occupied by Sabtah in our list, and is certainly by far preferable to the interpretation by *Sabota*, or *Sabatha*, a commercial town in Arabia, the principal city of the Atramitæ (אטראמיט), who are, in ver. 27, derived from *Joktan*.<sup>1</sup> There existed, perhaps, formerly, in the plains of Meroe, a town Sabtah, which might, like many others, have fallen into ruins, since the tropical rains easily destroy edifices built only of palm-branches and sun-dried bricks. Nor would the town Sabaa, in the north of the Sinus Avalites (Havilah), and opposite the Arabian Sabaeans, ill accord with the requirements of our text and the statement of Josephus, for it lies also in the vicinity of the river Astaboras.<sup>2</sup> Other localities, which, by free conjectures, have been assigned to Sabtah, are as improbable as Sabota.

4. The situation of *Raamah* (ראמה) cannot, on the whole, be doubtful, on account of its dependencies, Sheba and Dedan, and its connection with Sheba,<sup>3</sup> as carrying to Tyre exports in spices, gold, and precious stones. Raamah must, therefore, be sought for in Arabia, in a district rich in those valued products; and here offers itself almost spontaneously the town Regma (*Pryma* or *Pryma*), situated on the Arabian shore of the Persian gulf,<sup>4</sup> included, by Ptolemy, in the country of the Nariti, and still existing in his time.<sup>5</sup> Whether the Nariti are identical with the Epimaranitæ of Pliny,<sup>6</sup> who places them between the Canis flamen and the Eblitæ montes, we leave undecided.<sup>7</sup> The Septuagint renders also *Ρερμά*. Since, thus, the position of Raamah is identified with some degree of certainty, it is unnecessary to dwell upon the other opinions proposed with regard to it. Raamah was the founder of two other tribes.

a. *Sheba* (שבה) is *Saba*, the famous and principal city of Yemen, or Arabia Felix. Sabea enjoyed an early civilisation; it possessed a political government, perhaps regulated by sacerdotal influence; at its head stood a king, jealously watched in his palace, and never allowed to leave its precincts. The first child, either son or daughter, born in certain noble families after his accession, was the heir presumptive. The character of the Sabeans was less ungovernable and reckless than that of many inland tribes of Arabia. They were reputed as men of a lofty stature, flourishing health, and manly beauty; they formed constantly increasing communities, since whole families from the barren northern districts joined them; and so extended was their race, that they formed many colonies, not only in almost all parts of the peninsula, but in distant northern localities. It is, therefore, a matter of much difficulty to define the exact boundaries of their land, especially as the ancient writers differ, both among themselves, and with the Biblical statements. An attentive comparison, however, of the passages in Eratosthenes and Ptolemy, Strabo and Pliny, leaves no doubt, that it was bordered in the west by the Arabic Gulf, reached in the south to the Indian Ocean, and to the north nearly to the territory of the Idumeans, whilst its extent to the east seems to have varied in different periods, now running even to the shores of the Persian Gulf, and now pressed back into narrower limits by enterprising and warlike neighbouring tribes; especially the Homeritæ. It was the leading province of Arabia, for which it is sometimes used,<sup>8</sup> and Pliny includes Sambracate, and even the Atramitæ in its territory.<sup>9</sup> It was long considered as the most southern country of the habitable earth; it was, therefore, called *Yemen*, or the land to the "right hand," or the south,<sup>10</sup> or the "distant" country.<sup>11</sup> But, referring to our genealogy, we have here a similar instance to that of

<sup>1</sup> Compare *Pliny*, vi. 32; xii. 52.

<sup>2</sup> *Strabo*, xvii. 770; *Ptolem.*, IV. vii. 8.

<sup>3</sup> In *Exek.* xxvii. 22.

<sup>4</sup> 88° long., 23½° lat.

<sup>5</sup> *Ptol.*, vi. 7.

<sup>6</sup> vi. 23.

<sup>7</sup> Compare *Foster*, Arabia, i. 62, *et seq.*

<sup>8</sup> Job i. 15.

<sup>9</sup> vi. 32; xii. 35.

<sup>10</sup> See p. 25.

<sup>11</sup> Joel iv. 8; Jer. vi. 20.

Havilah; for, Sheba is again mentioned, in ver. 28, among the descendants of Joktan; it was, therefore, regarded as peopled both by Cushites and by Shemites; and we must suppose, that the former occupied the south-western part of Arabia, adjoining Africa; whilst the latter were spread to the east and north, and might, partly, have consisted of different tribes.<sup>12</sup> We cannot wonder, that the Sabæans, in consequence of their early and lively intercourse with the Indians, adopted many usages, and, perhaps, some religious notions from the latter more civilised people; that they understood, and sometimes even wrote in their language; and that they imitated some of their social institutions; especially as it is probable, that many Indian traders settled here as agents of their native commerce; but it is certain, that, in this genealogy at least, they are not represented as Indian colonists; nor are the proofs, which have been advanced in support of their Indian origin, in any way conclusive;<sup>13</sup> they are either general and distant analogies, or they refer to so recent times, that they cannot, with propriety, be applied to the original Sabæans, whom Arabic traditions generally describe as Shemites, and who, most probably, stood in earlier commercial and social relations with Africa than with India.<sup>14</sup>—The natural productions of Sheba were a source of abundance and wealth; its fertility was, according to Arabic writers, enhanced by majestic works of irrigation which imparted to the numberless gardens and fields a most blooming appearance;<sup>15</sup> it brings forth not only delicious fruits, and many useful animals, especially fine horses; but it yields frankincense and aromatics,<sup>16</sup> with which it supplied Egypt and Syria, by way of caravan trade,<sup>17</sup> although not in so fabulous a quantity as the exaggerations of ancient writers would lead us to believe; for they assert, that the odour of Sabæa's spice-woods is so powerful that the inhabitants were liable to apoplexies, and that they were obliged to counteract these noxious perfumes by the ill odours of burnt goat's-hair and asphaltite; whereas the authentic observations of modern travellers inform us, that the frankincense of Sabæa is neither peculiarly abundant nor of a quality in any way comparable with that of Sumatra, Siam, and Java. It has rich copper-mines, in the district of *Sqade*, which are still worked; and, most likely, formerly possessed the precious metals also,<sup>18</sup> which ancient historians and poets state to have been so common, that the decorations of the houses, the furniture, and even the domestic utensils of the Sabæans were of gold and silver. These extravagant accounts find, however, their explanation in the fact, that the Sabæans were, for a very long time, almost the sole agents of the most extensive and lucrative trade between India and Egypt, and between Egypt and Phœnicia or Syria;<sup>19</sup> and when, later, Egyptian kings founded the emporiums of Arsinoë and Coptos, the Sabæans were wealthy enough to carry on a most lively trade with India on their own account; their ships, which were of unusually large dimensions, and manned with sailors famous for their skill and intrepidity, proceeded along the coast of Gedrosia, so far as Ceylon, and the Malabar coast; and in the time of the Roman Emperors, they gained immense riches from their importations of silk and aromatics. The chief centre of their splendour was their capital, Sabas or Mariaba, situated on a lofty, wooded hill, the richest and most beautiful town of Arabia, and adorned by an artificial land-sea, enclosed with gigantic structures, and formed from the water of the mountains. We cannot be astonished, that this enormous wealth gradually tended to enervate the energy, and to relax the industry of the Sabæans, who are, by the Roman writers, mentioned with surnames indicative of deep social and domestic degradation.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Compare xxv. 3.

<sup>13</sup> See, for instance, *Bohlen*, Gen., p. 492—496; *Hartmann*, Aufklärungen, ii. 134, 398.

<sup>14</sup> See p. 253.

<sup>15</sup> *Kor.* xxvii.; *xxxiv.* 15.

<sup>16</sup> 1 Kings x. 10; Jer. vi. 20.

<sup>17</sup> Job vi. 19; Ezek. xxxviii. 13.

<sup>18</sup> 1 Kings x. 10; Ps. lxxii. 15; Is. lx. 6; Ezek. xxvii. 22.

<sup>19</sup> Ezek. xxvii. 22; xxxviii. 13; Job vi. 19; Joel iv. 8.

<sup>20</sup> Comp. *Herod.*, iii. 107—113; *Diod. Sic.*, iii. 38, 44, 46; *Strabo*, xvi. 768—780; *Ptol.*, vi. 7; *Dion Cass.*, liii. 29; *Cat.*, ix. 5; *Prop.*, ii. 10, 16, etc.



b. *Dedan* (דִּדָן) is sufficiently defined by the Biblical allusions, both with regard to its geographical situation and its social condition. It was a commercial nation of Arabia, which traversed the deserts with their goods;<sup>1</sup> their exports consisted especially of ivory and ebony, which they carried to the markets of Tyre;<sup>2</sup> and their trade resembled in extensiveness and importance that of Sabaea and Tartessus.<sup>3</sup> They are sometimes described as the immediate neighbours of the Idumæans,<sup>4</sup> whose territory is stated to have extended between Theman and Dedan;<sup>5</sup> but in other passages they are called the inhabitants of an island,<sup>6</sup> and are therefore coupled with Tartessus and Greece, and other islands.<sup>7</sup> It is, therefore, evident that the tribes of Dedan settled in two different regions; partly on the north-western coast of the Arabian Gulf, and partly nearer

the motherland, Raamah, perhaps on the island *Daden*, in the Persian Gulf, (دادن).

from whence they took part in the trade from India and Central Asia; the intercourse between both colonies was entertained by their lively commerce, and, perhaps, by various intermediate stations along the northern part of the Arabian peninsula; they might, therefore, have been regarded as one country; but it is not impossible that the inhabitants of that island were later either subdued by, or, at least, greatly intermixed with, emigrants from other tribes; and hence it may be explained, that Dedan is in our list reckoned with the Cushites, whilst it is in another passage<sup>8</sup> ranged among the Shemites.—The island Daden is, by the Syrians, called *Dirin*, and hence the Syriac translator writes everywhere *Doron* instead of Dedan; but it is impossible to fix the exact island in the Persian Gulf which is denoted by Dedan; whether it was on the shore of Omana, beyond the bay of Harmozia, or one of the three islands Bahrein, called Darvan, or Dervan, where at a later time the enterprising Gerræi established a centre of commerce; this can be decided the less safely, as not only all these, but several other islands of the Persian Gulf, enjoyed in remote periods a flourishing condition, and extensively engaged in commerce.<sup>9</sup>

5. *Sabtechah* (סַבְטַחַךְ), the last son of Cush, seems to have been the founder of an Ethiopian tribe, the proper abodes of which we have no means to determine; it is nowhere mentioned, except in the parallel passage of the Book of Chronicles; but its obvious resemblance with the Ethiopian name, *Subatok*, discovered on Egyptian monuments,<sup>10</sup> renders its position in Arabia, or at the Persian Gulf, improbable; but Samydace, in Gedrosia,<sup>11</sup> or Sabochosta, in Persia,<sup>12</sup> or Satakos,<sup>13</sup> are out of the question. The Targum Jonathan renders here 'סַבְטַחַךְ', which is the Arabic name for the African district, Nigritia, or Zanguebar, and which is not inappropriate here, although there are no positive arguments in favour of this identification.<sup>14</sup>

Cush was, then, strictly the *southern* zone; it comprised the known countries of the south, both in Africa and Arabia; in the former part, it is bounded by Seba;<sup>15</sup> in the latter, by Sheba;<sup>16</sup> and whenever the nations inhabiting these districts, extended beyond the southern regions, either to settle in more eastern or in more northern parts, they were separated from the stem of Cush, and associated with different branches of Shem; we have noticed this feature in the cases of Havilah, Sheba, and Dedan. Only, if the ethnographical relation was quite undisputed, as, for instance, with Raamah, even a more eastern nation was acknowledged as descending from Cush. This part of our

<sup>1</sup> Isai. xxi. 13.      <sup>2</sup> Ezek. xxvii. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Ezek. xxxviii. 13.

<sup>4</sup> Jerem. xlix. 8.

<sup>5</sup> Ezek. xxv. 13.

<sup>6</sup> Jerem. xxv. 23.

<sup>7</sup> Ezek. xxvii. 12—15.

<sup>8</sup> In Gen. xxv. 3.

<sup>9</sup> Comp. *Wahl*, Descr. of Arab., 639; *Niebuhr*, Arab., p. 308.

<sup>10</sup> Comp. the king סַבְטַחַךְ, in 2 Kings xvii. 4, and the *Sebechus* of Manetho.

<sup>11</sup> *Bochart*.

<sup>12</sup> *Bohlen*.

<sup>13</sup> *Schulthesa*.

<sup>14</sup> Comp. *Gesen.*, Thes., pp. 936, 940; *Rosellini*, Monumenti, ii. 108, *et seq.*

<sup>15</sup> סַבְטַח, Meroë.

<sup>16</sup> סַבְטַח, Sabaea.

list admits then a historical fact of the highest importance, namely the early connection between the tribes of Arabia and those of Africa, a connection guaranteed, not only by the Arabic character of the Abyssinian language, but by the similarity of the names of towns on both sides of the Arabic Gulf. It is the task of the general historian to pursue further this fruitful subject; unfettered by dogmatic considerations, he will trace the mutual influence of both countries: whether Africans settled in Arabia; or Arabic tribes founded new colonies on the shores, and in the plains of Africa.

But the migrations of Cush did not cease here; another movement of his descendants is recorded, far more momentous than all preceding settlements (vers. 8—12), for it concerns the mighty nations destined to be the formidable lords of the world. The districts round the Euphrates and Tigris must, at a very early period of man's history, have been occupied and cultivated; the fertility of the soil, the salubrity of the climate, and the advantages of position, tempted both the husbandman and the merchant; and the affluence and ease, the rewards of moderate industry, allured from every part new settlers, who readily found abodes and subsistence, and who, far from exhausting, contributed to increase, the resources of the opulent country. This historical view is fully confirmed by the Biblical narrative. The cradle of mankind is, by the author of Genesis, placed near the region where the Euphrates and Tigris join; and the ark which saved the restorer of the human race, ten generations later, grounded near the mountains from which those rivers take their origin. It was, therefore, his opinion that the plains of Mesopotamia were first peopled by immigrants from the north; that here cities were built and fields cultivated; that commerce began to flourish, and the pursuits of peace to be developed. But the arts of war were neglected; the security of life, and the abundance of property, made the happy tribes forget the dangers that threatened them from envy and covetousness; they had applied all their energy to the *acquisition* of wealth, and had reserved none for its *protection*. And from no side were the apprehensions of invasion greater than from the vast and dreary tracts of deserted Arabia, extending, with a few interruptions, from the coast of the Erythræan Sea, to the very borders of Babylonia. The active tribes, stimulated to energy alike by inclination and necessity, too impatient for the tardy results of agriculture, and too independent for the shrewd calculations of commerce, accustomed to fight for their lives with the lion, and to prey upon the wealth of the passing caravans, had, in their daily encounters and risks, learnt to despise danger, and, trained in combat and warfare, they thought that courage and fortitude were entitled to rule over inglorious idleness or toilsome obscurity. The representative of these formidable adventurers is, in the Pentateuch, named Nimrod; he was the first mighty hero on the earth (ver. 8); he was invincible in battle, but proved the infallibility of his spear in the chase also; long were his feats in the forest remembered, and his skill and intrepidity as a huntsman passed into a proverb (ver. 9). But the limits of the sandy wilderness were too narrow for the exuberance of his spirits and the dauntlessness of his strength; he roamed northwards, where he found the large and prosperous town of Babylon; and he discovered other well-cultivated districts in the land of Shinar. These provinces were famous for their fertility; the annual inundations of the two rivers which enclose them secure plentiful harvests, by means of partly navigable canals, and of aqueducts; even in later times they supported the King of Persia, his army, and his whole establishment, for four months of the year; they fed 800 stallions and 16,000 mares, and yielded more than the fourth part of the vast dominions of the Persian king;<sup>17</sup> the climate is mild and salubrious; the majestic date-palms furnish excellent wine and honey,<sup>18</sup> and a nutritious bread,<sup>19</sup> whilst the barley of the Babylonian plains excels

<sup>17</sup> *Herod.*, i. 192.

<sup>18</sup> *Xen.*, *Anab.* i. 5; ii. 3.

<sup>19</sup> *Strabo*, xvi. 741.

that of all the other countries; their amazing fertility is recorded even by modern travellers;<sup>1</sup> their corn produces two and three hundred fold; the blades of wheat reach a breadth of full four fingers; the millet, and sesama yielding abundant oil, grow to a height incredible to Europeans, except eye-witnesses. All this wealth was doubly fatal to the inhabitants, for it blunted their energy, and invited the marauding aggressor; they fell unresistingly into Nimrod's hands, who here established the first strongholds of his empire (ver. 10), so firmly that Babylon was henceforth called the "land of Nimrod."<sup>2</sup> But not yet was either his ambition satisfied, or his strength exhausted; he made from Babylon an expedition into the country which was, from the son of Shem, called Asshur (ver. 22); here he founded on the banks of the Tigris, perhaps opposite the spot of the present Mosul, a town, Nineveh, destined to play a prominent part in the history of the ancient world, but in its commencement small and unimportant, and eclipsed in magnitude and celebrity by the great town Resen (vers. 11, 12), which, however, fell gradually into such permanent insignificance, that its name was for millenniums forgotten, and the ruins of its once stately walls and magnificent palaces have, in our days only, come again to light. Now, what is the value and historical meaning of this account? It was a general conviction among the Israelites, that the tribes of Assyria were kindred with those of Aramæa, from which Abraham, the ancestor of the Hebrew nation, had sprung; they were, therefore, necessarily included among the progeny of Shem (ver. 22). Nevertheless the language of the later Assyrians and Babylonians was strange and unintelligible to the Hebrews; it was to them a barbarian tongue, without sense or meaning, a stammering speech, discordant to their ears;<sup>3</sup> farther, the history of the Israelites teaches, that they had no more powerful or more deadly foes than the kings of Assyria and Babylon; they were in almost constant conflict with, and in perpetual dread of, those insatiable princes; they entertained, therefore, towards them feelings far from fraternal; they believed that this antipathy was explicable only on the supposition that the original inhabitants of the countries near the Euphrates and Tigris had, at an early period, been subdued or expelled by bold invaders from the south, descended from the hateful stem of the Hamites, who included all the national enemies of the Hebrews. How far this supposition is justified either by the traditions of the Asiatics, or the statements of other ancient historians, or the testimony of the sculptural relics, must be left to future discussion; but it may at once be stated, that Babylon is indeed considerably older than Nineveh, for a dynasty of the former dates, at least, from B.C. 2200, whilst the kings of the latter do not reach higher than B.C. 1300; that Assyria, though long mistress of Babylonia, owed to the latter a great part of her culture; that the names of the very earliest kings of Babylon have the termination *Khaak*, which is probably identical with the *hak*, or *hyc* of the Egyptian shepherds, who are of Arabic descent;<sup>4</sup> and that there were Cushite tribes in Babylon termed "the Black," in contradistinction to the *red* inhabitants, who were Shemites;<sup>5</sup> that according to an old Babylonian legend, the powerful *Oannes*, came from the Erythrean sea on ships (𐤎𐤍𐤏𐤍) to the land of the Babylonians to teach them wisdom, and to fix their laws,<sup>6</sup> that the worship of Bel, in Babylon, is traced to the adoration of Amun, in Meroe, and the Babylonian astrology to Egyptian teaching.<sup>7</sup> So valuable are the ethnographic allusions which our list implies. But they must be understood in their own grand spirit; prejudice must not contract their scope, nor sophistry force their meaning; they were written in characters which will ever be a mystery to the mere philologist, and a dangerous *ignis fatuus* to the historian unimbued with the style and spirit of the Bible. Thus

<sup>1</sup> Ker Porter, ii. 259.

<sup>2</sup> Mich. v. 2

<sup>3</sup> Isai. xxxiii. 19; xxviii. 11; Dent. xxviii. 49; comp. Ezek. iii. 5, 6.

<sup>4</sup> See notes on Exod. i. 8.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 106, and *infra*.

<sup>6</sup> Syncellus, Chronogr., p. 28.

<sup>7</sup> Diod. Sic., i. 28, 81; Pausan., iv. 23.

the whole import of this interesting passage has been perverted and contorted; the "hero" Nimrod has been transformed not only into a giant, a tyrant, and a ravager, but into a rebel against the authority of God; into a proclaimer of wicked principles, teaching the docile people that they owe all their happiness to their own virtue and exertion, and not to the power or goodness of God; that the Divine rule was an intolerable tyranny, which had inflicted a general flood, but which they could for the future escape by gathering round one great centre, the tower of Babel;<sup>8</sup> he was regarded as a hunter of men, as well as of wild beasts; his very name has been believed to imply impious revolt; he has been identified with the fearful monster Orion,<sup>9</sup> chained on the expanse of heaven with indestructible fetters, to warn and to terrify;<sup>10</sup> he was among the later Arabic writers, the subject of incredible fables, which it is asserted are hinted at in our verses. And all this because Nimrod is here called a "hero," and a "mighty huntsman"! If the word *hero* (נַיִר) has, in some passages, the invidious meaning of oppressor and despot, it does not follow that it has the same exceptional meaning everywhere; and if it is believed that the praise of a valiant and skilful hunter is in itself too insignificant to be mentioned, we have the analogy of many powerful kings who valued themselves eminently upon that manly accomplishment; who desired to outshine in it all their subjects, and who ordered it to be specially extolled on their epitaphs;<sup>11</sup> even to the heroes and demi-gods of mythology; it was described as one of their essential distinctions; and on the most elaborate sculptures of the Assyrian palaces, the great king himself is frequently represented levelling his spear against the bull, or directing the arrow upon the infuriated lion; prowess in war, and intrepidity in the chase, were celebrated as merits almost equally honourable. Mere physical strength was, indeed, not very highly esteemed among the Hebrews; they respected power of mind, and especially piety of conduct; we have already compared the history of the Cainites with that of the Sethites, as manifesting the contrast between an external and internal life, between practical activity and religious elevation;<sup>12</sup> we shall find a frequent repetition of this contrast, in Ishmael and Isaac, in Esau and Jacob, and strikingly in Goliath and David, who met his strong-limbed and unwieldy enemy with words pithily expressing that national difference.<sup>13</sup> It was not deemed the characteristic of a religious mind to trust to bow and spear; nor was it regarded as a peculiar glory to be distinguished by feats of bodily strength: but more than this incidental and comparative opinion must not be sought in the remark regarding Nimrod's eminence in warfare and in the chase; he looked for worldly power, but he attained it by energy and boldness; if his aims were not the highest, his means were, at least, honest and brave; he was a heathen, ignorant of the true ends of life, but zealously pursuing those which he had proposed to himself; and his character, though devoid of nobler and spiritual aspirations, commanded and deserved respect: Nor are we compelled to suppose that he cunningly prepared himself for his meditated wars by apparently harmless chases; that he thus gathered round himself a number of valiant men, and then treacherously used them for invasion and plunder. Who would find this idea in our verses, except those who are determined to explain them by the light of later fabulous traditions? But it is asserted, that Nimrod is an entirely mythical person, that he never existed, and that the constellation Orion, which is by the Arabians also called "hero" (נַיִר), gave rise to the fiction about a King Nimrod, just as it occasioned the Greek fables about a King Orion, described as an armed hero, and

<sup>8</sup> Joseph., Antiq., I. iv. 1, 2.

<sup>9</sup> נַיִר, fool or knave, Job xxxviii. 31.

<sup>10</sup> Chron. Pasch., p. 36; Maimon., Mor. Neb., i. 2; Hyde, Syntag. Dissert., i. 42, et seq.

<sup>11</sup> Josephus, Antiq., XV. vii. 7; Perizonius, Orig. Babyl., p. 234.

<sup>12</sup> See pp. 154, 157.

<sup>13</sup> 1 Sam. xvii. 43.

a strong huntsman, accompanied by his dog Sirius.<sup>1</sup> But the name and life of Nimrod are of little importance, as long as the great historical events which are represented by his person are admitted; and yet we see no reason to question the real existence of a Nimrod, although it is more than extravagant to identify him with Merodach Baladan, the Babylonian king in the time of Hezekiah;<sup>2</sup> it is much more plausible to suppose that the aggregate deeds of whole nations and ages were transferred upon him alone, and that the fame assigned to him on earth was glorified in heaven, by naming the constellation after him, than that a pure astrological speculation should give rise to the fiction of a King Nimrod, and to a fabulous embellishment of his history. The former is a natural process; the latter is contrary to all analogy.

6. The origin of *Babylon* is, in the following chapter,<sup>3</sup> described with a certain copiousness, since it is connected with events of the highest interest for the human family; the more appropriate place for that section would, therefore, have been before our list, which order is, indeed, observed by Josephus in his narrative;<sup>4</sup> but it was considered preferable to enumerate the various tribes of the earth, before explaining the cause of their dispersion; and the remark, that there was but one language on the whole earth,<sup>5</sup> would have been strange immediately after the account that eight persons, the members of the same family, formed the only inhabitants of the globe.—Babylon was, in early periods, probably a place of no great importance; it was not the residence of the first Chaldean kings, who had their palaces in Mugeyer (Ur) and Wurka (Erech), or in Senkereh and Niffer;<sup>6</sup> it was only about B.C. 1100, that Birs Nimroud (Borsippa, near Babylon) was adorned with the magnificent “temple of the planets of the seven spheres;” and since that time it gradually increased, and assumed at last an extent which we should consider incredible in any other but an eastern capital. It stood, according to Herodotus, in a spacious plain, intersected by the Euphrates, was quadrangular, and had 480 stadia, or about 55 English miles, in circumference,<sup>7</sup> with a hundred brazen gates; it was surrounded by a deep trench filled with water; on the western side, perhaps, with artificial marshes;<sup>8</sup> and by a wall of fifty royal cubits in breadth, two hundred in height, and so wide, that after buildings of one story each had been erected at the edges, fronting each other, they left a space sufficient to turn a chariot with four horses; the breadth of the wall was, therefore, double that of Nineveh;<sup>9</sup> edifices three and four stories high formed many regular streets, at the end of each of which was a little brazen gate, opened in the wall, and leading to the river. Within the great wall ran another narrower one, not much inferior to the former in strength. The principal edifices were the royal palace, and the temple of Jupiter Belus, a square building of two stadia on every side, with eight towers, piled one upon the other.<sup>10</sup> Later writers add, that Semiramis built a bridge across the Euphrates, five stadia long; and a palace at each end of the bridge, with towers, embellished with animated paintings of hunting scenes; the western castle being especially magnificent. The area which ancient Babylon occupied, seems to have been not less than 225 square miles; so that when the extreme part of the town was taken by Cyrus, the inhabitants of the central portions were quite unaware of it, and continued the festive rejoicings in which they were indulging;<sup>11</sup> this extent will appear in its due importance, if we consider that London and its environs cover only 114 square miles; but it will be regarded as less extraordinary, if it is remembered

<sup>1</sup> *Hom.*, II., xviii. 486; xxii. 29; *Hesiod.*, Op., 598, 615.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Kings xx. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Vers. 1—9.

<sup>4</sup> *Antiq.*, I. iv.—vi. <sup>5</sup> xi. 1.

<sup>6</sup> See Appendix, § 3, i. 4.

<sup>7</sup> *Diod. Sic.*, ii. 7, 8, after Clitarchus, states it at 365 stadia; and adds, that the

town was completed in one year, by two millions of workmen.

<sup>8</sup> *Arrian*, Exp. Alex., vii. 17; *Diod. Sic.*, ii. 7; *Jer.* li. 32.

<sup>9</sup> *Diod.*, ii. 1.

<sup>10</sup> *Herod.*, i. 178—182; see on xi. 1—9.

<sup>11</sup> *Herod.*, i. 191.

that Babylon contained within its walls extensive gardens and fields, the produce of which was said to have, in times of sieges, sufficed for the maintenance of the garrison.<sup>12</sup> Nebuchadnezzar, probably, built chiefly the eastern part of the town, and added a second citadel, or palace, whilst Nabonidus fortified the walls towards the river.<sup>13</sup> In the later Biblical prophecies, the extent and pomp of the world-renowned city are described with a powerful emphasis; and profane writers speak with glowing colours of the hanging gardens, as one of the most extraordinary achievements of antiquity.<sup>14</sup> The Babylonians were, in the period of their prosperity, celebrated for their manufacture of costly stuffs and splendid carpets; but they occupied also a great portion of the Asiatic commerce, carried on both by land and by water as far as India, importing as well as exporting, and especially entertaining a lively intercourse with the northern countries.<sup>15</sup>—Babylon remained in this grandeur and magnificence, which were, however, accompanied by an unbridled licentiousness,<sup>16</sup> till it was, after a long and difficult siege, taken by Cyrus,<sup>17</sup> who, however, far from destroying it, made it his residence during seven months of the year,<sup>18</sup> and only beat down a part of the walls, if he damaged them at all;<sup>19</sup> but a revolt under Darius, the son of Hystaspes, induced this king to demolish the gates and the fortified walls; and Xerxes plundered, and, perhaps, destroyed the temple of Belus.<sup>20</sup> Babylon was the chief city of the empire even in the time of Alexander, who attempted in vain to restore the temple of Belus, then a gigantic mass of ruins;<sup>21</sup> but when Seleucus Nicator built Seleucia, and transferred to it the seat of government, Babylon gradually lost its ancient importance; it was neglected, and decreased in population; Demetrius Poliorcetes found there but two fortresses;<sup>22</sup> Evemerus, king of Parthia, burnt many of its temples, and the best part of the houses (B.C. 127); in the time of Augustus, by far the larger part of the city was added to the fields; and Strabo describes it as a vast desert.<sup>23</sup> Its vicinity became the stronghold of robbers and highwaymen;<sup>24</sup> it was avoided both by natives and by strangers; in the time of Jerome its area was, perhaps, used by the kings of Persia as a park for hunting; but in the fifth century of the present era, the soil had become almost one large marsh, since the canals drawn from the Euphrates had been filled up; only some Jewish families, with the tenacity belonging to their race, occupied some wretched and scattered houses, whilst even the Euphrates had long changed its course; in the tenth century hardly any remains of the town were left; and in the twelfth, according to Benjamin of Tudela, huge ruins only of the temple of Nebuchadnezzar were visible; but the serpents and scorpions which had selected them for their retreat, rendered the attempt of approaching them an impossibility. Thus was the proud city, from the abode of the masters of the world, fallen into a den for beasts of prey and reptiles; into a confused quarry, which yielded stones for obscure villages, and for the repair of shattered huts. The most vehement predictions of the Hebrew prophets have been literally realized.<sup>25</sup> For many centuries, these heaps of rocks and sand were regarded by the straying traveller with mingled horror and humiliation; but, at last the awakening spirit of historical investigation made them the object of persevering and intelligent enquiry; the veil which hid the ancient glories was lifted; the earth gave back the treasures which it had devoured;

<sup>12</sup> Comp. *Diod.*, ii. 7; *Plin.*, xviii. 17; *Curt.*, v. 1, 26.

<sup>13</sup> *Joseph.*, *Antiq.*, X. xi. 1; *C. Ap.* i. 20.

<sup>14</sup> *Isai.* xiii. 19; *Jer.* i. 12; li. 14, 58; *Dan.* iv. 7; compare *Plin.*, v. 21; vi. 30; *Diod.*, ii. 10; *Strabo.*, xvi. 738.

<sup>15</sup> *Strabo.*, xvi. 739; *Pliny.*, viii. 74; *Herod.*, i. 192, 194.

<sup>16</sup> *Curt.*, v. 1.

<sup>17</sup> *Herod.*, i. 191.

<sup>18</sup> *Xenoph.*, *Cyrop.*, viii. 7.

<sup>19</sup> *Joseph.*, *C. Ap.*, i. 20; *Herod.*, iii. 159.

<sup>20</sup> *Herod.*, i. 183; *Strab.*, xvi. 738.

<sup>21</sup> *Arrian.*, *Exp. Al.*, vii. 17.

<sup>22</sup> *Diod.*, xix. 100.

<sup>23</sup> *Isai.* 738.

<sup>24</sup> *Joseph.*, *Ant.*, XVIII. ix. 4.

<sup>25</sup> *Isai.* xiii. 19; xiv. 4, 12; xlv. 1, et seq.

and Time, which had once destroyed, has now abundantly, though tardily restored. We have, in an appendix to this chapter, given a brief sketch of these excavations and their results: we have tried to produce before the reader a summary of the labours of Rich and Botta, of Layard and Rawlinson, and of those energetic explorers who were besides them occupied on the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris. The names of these men will ever be illustrious in the history of antiquarian learning; for they will be associated with empires the astonishment and the terror of the ancient world.

7. Besides Babel, several other towns or provinces were subdued by Nimrod; they were, therefore, considered as the seats of an early civilisation or commerce, and worthy of being mentioned in connection with Babel. The first of these towns is *Erech* (עֶרֶךְ). There is at present no doubt, that it is identical with *Orchoe* of Ptolemy,<sup>1</sup> within the marshes formed by the canals of the Euphrates, in the direction of Arabia Deserta; and that it corresponds with the little place *Wurka*. It is situated 82 miles south, and 43 miles east from Babylon, on the Euphrates; its vicinity is covered with a vast mound, called El Assagah (the place of pebbles), or Irka and Irak, clearly echoing the old name *Erech*.<sup>2</sup> It seems to have been a holy city, consecrated to the Moon; for, many of the bricks that have been examined bear a monogram of that deity.<sup>3</sup> It was, further, undoubtedly a burial-town or necropolis; for an almost unlimited number of tombs and coffins has here been found, whilst they have never been found in any part of Assyria. "Here, probably, are to be sought the ruins of the tombs of the old Assyrian kings, which were an object of curiosity to Alexander, and which are laid down in that exact locality in the old monkish map, usually called *Peutingerian tables*."<sup>4</sup> The names of the Greek kings, Seleucus and Antiochus, occurring in cuneiform characters, on tablets found in Wurka, prove that it existed to a later period when many of the larger towns had long disappeared. The inhabitants of *Orchoe* were, most likely, those *Orcheni*,<sup>5</sup> whom Strabo<sup>6</sup> describes as an astronomical sect of Chaldeans, near Babylon; and Pliny<sup>7</sup> as agriculturists who banked up the waters of the Euphrates, and compelled them to flow into the Tigris; but whom Ptolemy<sup>8</sup> designates an Arabian people near the Persian Gulf. In this double statement we may find a trace of the Cushite origin of the inhabitants of *Erech*, whilst the astronomical skill which is attributed to them may countenance the opinion regarding its sacred connection with the moon. The *Orcheni* were, at a very early period, governed by kings of the Chaldean race.<sup>9</sup>—It is, therefore, perfectly inadmissible to take *Erech*, which lies in southern Babylonia, for the northern town *Edessa*, near the sources of the Chaboras; an opinion which many of the ancient interpreters have expressed, which was followed by Jerome and Michaelis, and has not been abandoned even by Bohlen.

8. *Accad* (אַכַּד), about the site of which even modern writers believed it impossible to give any decisive opinion, is, by recent researches, indisputably identified; and the various readings of *Archad* and *Accur*, which are given by Greek and Syriac translators, and which have misled former expositors into vague conjectures, are, by the same discoveries, sufficiently accounted for. About 58 miles north, and 13 miles east of Babel, is a large mound, about 400 feet in circumference, and rising to the height of 125 feet; on it stands a tower, or an irregular pyramid, almost entirely decayed, and constantly increasing the crumbling rubbish of the basis on which it rises. This mound is still called, by the Arabs and Turks, "the Hill of Nimrod" (Tel Nimroud, and Nimroud Tepassé); and here, near Baghdad, is a little place, now called *Akker-Kuf*, *Akari* Nimroud, or *Akari Babel*;—the scanty vestiges of a town once undoubtedly great

<sup>1</sup> vi. 20, Ὀρχόη.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix, § 3. i. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Which, however, does not justify us in tracing אֶרֶךְ to the Hebrew עֶרֶךְ or עֶרֶךְ.

<sup>4</sup> Rawlinson, *Outlines of the History of Assyria*, p. xvi; *Arrian*, Exp., vii. 22.

<sup>5</sup> Ὀρχηνοί.

<sup>6</sup> xvi. 739.

<sup>7</sup> vi. 31.

<sup>8</sup> v. 19.

<sup>9</sup> *Euseb.*, *Præp. Evang.*, ix. 17.

and powerful, and, perhaps, strongly fortified.<sup>10</sup>—Nisibis, or Sittace, or Sakas near Ninus, are, therefore, out of the question.<sup>11</sup>

9. *Calneh* (כַּלְנֶה) is a town of the ancient province Chalonitis, probably *Ctesiphon*, on the Tigris, opposite Seleucia, about eighteen miles below the present Baghdad. The town itself may formerly have borne the same name, Calneh, which was only later changed by the Parthian king Pacorus, when it was much enlarged, became a royal residence, and one of the most important towns. The prophet Amos already mentions it as a powerful citadel.<sup>12</sup> In the time of Tacitus it was still a noble city; the emperor Severus carried off from thence 100,000 captives; and Odenathus was unable to destroy its walls. Later, the two royal towns were comprised under one name, *Al Madain*; and at present, the ruins of *Taki Kesra*, with the Arch of Chosroes, perhaps belonging to the once famous White Temple of the Persian kings, are alone left to indicate their former site.<sup>13</sup>—There is no solid foundation for explaining Calneh by Circesium.

The four towns, Babel, Erech, Accad, and Calneh, are said to have been situated in the land of Shinar (שִׁנָּר). If the position of these towns is, in the preceding remarks, correctly assumed, it is evident that Shinar corresponds with Babylonia itself; it is, not only in our passage, but in Isaiah,<sup>14</sup> distinguished from Assyria; it is, further, different from Mesopotamia;<sup>15</sup> but yet, it had its defined boundaries, and was governed by kings;<sup>16</sup> it is not only in the Old Testament clearly used for Babylon,<sup>17</sup> but the Septuagint renders it so in several passages;<sup>18</sup> ancient writers identify both names;<sup>19</sup> and even later Syriac historians call the region round Baghdad the land of Shinar, and explain it by Babel.<sup>20</sup> Shinar is, therefore, the southern district of Mesopotamia, from the Persian Gulf to the so-called Median Wall, which separated it from Mesopotamia Proper, and which ran from the Tigris, a little north of Sittace, across the plain to the Euphrates; in the west and south-west, however, Shinar extended beyond the Euphrates to the tracts of Arabia. These are, therefore, the original boundaries of Babylonia, or Shinar, or the land of the Chaldees. It is natural that, later, when Babylon became the mistress of Asia, that name should have comprised by far more extensive territories. But, in our passage, Shinar cannot possibly denote so northern a locality as Singara,<sup>21</sup> or, in general, the whole country between the two rivers. On the celebrated black obelisk, found in the central palace of Nimroud, there is a passage, according to Rawlinson's reading, which shows the limited extent of Shinar even at the time of that monument, probably the ninth century. The king of Assyria is stated to have first marched down to the land of Shinar, where he founded temples in the cities "of Shinar, of Borsippa, and Ketika"; after which he went on "to the land of the Chaldees, occupied their cities, and marched on as far even as the tribes who dwelt upon the seacoast," and he then received, "in the city of Shinar, the tribute of the kings of the Chaldees."<sup>22</sup> It is obvious from these words:—1. That the town of Babylon was not unusually called Shinar; 2. That Shinar comprised, at that time, only the district round that town; 3. That it was, in the south, bounded by the territory of the Chaldees; 4. That even the latter did not occupy the tracts on the shores of the Persian Gulf; but, 5. That, though the Babylonians and Chaldeans had each their own king, both

<sup>10</sup> See Appendix, § 3, iii. 1. כַּנְּן seems kindred with כַּנְּן to bind, unite, or fortify; comp. Ainsworth, *Researches in Assyria*; Bonomi, *Nineveh and its Palaces*, p. 41.

<sup>11</sup> *Michael*, Specileg., i. p. 226; *Bochart*, Phal., iv. 17; *Clericus*, in loc.

<sup>12</sup> vi. 2.

<sup>13</sup> Comp. *Am. Marc.*, xxiii. 6, 26; *Plin.*, vi. 30; *Strabo*, xvi. 743; *Tacit.*, Ann., vi. 42; *Dion Cass.*, lxxv. 9; *Zosim.*, i. 39; *Niebuhr*, Trav., ii. 305.—The name כַּלְנֶה

is also written כַּלְנֶה (Am. vi. 2), כַּלְנֶה (Is. x. 9), and, perhaps, כַּלְנֶה (Ezek. xxvii. 23; see *Gesen.*, Thea., p. 691; see App. § 3, iii. 2).

<sup>14</sup> xi. 11.

<sup>15</sup> Gen. xiv. 1.

<sup>16</sup> Gen. xi. 2; xiv. 1; *Zech.* v. 11.

<sup>17</sup> Dan. i. 2; comp. *Jer.* xxviii. 3.

<sup>18</sup> *Zech.* v. 11; *Isai.* xi. 11.

<sup>19</sup> *Joseph.*, Antiq., I. iv. 3.

<sup>20</sup> *Bar Hebr.*, Chron., p. 256.

<sup>21</sup> *Ptol.*, v. 18.

<sup>22</sup> See *Journ. As. Soc.*, xii. 436, 478.



were sometimes comprised under the name of the Chaldees, and, therefore, considered as one nation, as is evidently the case in our passage. How far Shinar extended to the north, it is, however, impossible to conclude from that inscription, as no country is mentioned between Armenia and Shinar.

From Shinar, Nimrod continued his expedition into *Asshur* (ܐܫܘܪ), and built here Nineveh, and several other great and important cities.—The original extent of Assyria or Aturia,<sup>1</sup> was very limited; it consisted merely of a long and narrow tract between the Tigris and the chain of Mount Zagrus in the east, and reaching northward to the boundaries of Armenia, or to Mount Niphates; and it coincided, therefore, as nearly as possible, with the present Pashalik of Mosul. It is well known that later writers attributed to it an almost unlimited territory; they identified it with Mesopotamia, Babylon, and Chaldeæ; they included in it Tyre and the Lebanon, Syria, and sometimes even the tribes of the Pontus Euxinus; whilst the Greeks, with a remarkable confusion, called the Assyrians and Babylonians together, not unfrequently, Syrians.<sup>2</sup> The cities which are mentioned in our verses, besides Nineveh, show that Asshur denotes here, as in ii. 14, a land much more comprehensive than its primitive extent; but though it includes undoubtedly northern, it certainly does not embrace southern Mesopotamia, which was expressed by "the land of Shinar."

10. *Nineveh* (ܢܝܢܝܐ) was, among the ancient nations, famed for its greatness and magnificence; it was considered larger than Babylon,<sup>3</sup> and was, in fact, the largest town of antiquity.<sup>4</sup> The prophet Jonah describes it as a city of three days' journey,<sup>5</sup> with 120,000 children, or "individuals that cannot discern between their right hand and their left hand;"<sup>6</sup> and it must therefore have had a population of at least 600,000 inhabitants; but after its destruction, the imagination of ancient authors was busy in exaggerating its magnitude, till it was endowed with almost fabulous splendour. But its growth was very gradual; in our passage it appears as inferior to Resen; the oldest palace, or that at the north-west side of Nimroud, was not erected before B.C. 900; and the principal building of Kouyunjik, the greatest glory of Nineveh, was only founded by Sennacherib, about B.C. 700. In this time, it is expressly mentioned as the residence of the Assyrian monarchs;<sup>7</sup> and the prophetic announcements of Assyria's downfall are henceforth chiefly directed against Nineveh.<sup>8</sup> In this period, the commerce of Nineveh was of prodigious extent; it commanded not only the trade down the navigable Tigris, and entertained a constant intercourse with all parts of Mesopotamia, facilitated by the ford of Balad, where the river is passable without a bridge; but its caravans travelled to the distant east and north; it was the centre of the Asiatic commerce, and the connecting point between the east and west; and its merchants, who formed its wealth and strength, are, by the prophet Nahum, said to have been more numerous than the stars.<sup>9</sup> But the day when they should pay with their power for their growing pride and arrogance did not tarry; Nineveh was, about B.C. 625, by the united armies of Cyaxares, king of Media, and of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, converted into a heap of stones, which soon lost even the resemblance of a city; for not more than 200 years later, Xenophon passed these ruins, without knowing that he beheld the remains of the most magnificent city of the ancient world;<sup>10</sup> and though Alexander the Great was in their vicinity, before the battle of Arbela, none of his historians mentions their existence; and later writers class Nineveh among the cities which have tracelessly disappeared.<sup>11</sup> They have, indeed, preserved the traditions concern-

<sup>1</sup> *Strabo*, xvi. 736; *Dion Cass.*, lxxviii.

<sup>2</sup> *Strabo*, xvi. 737.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, xvi. 737.

<sup>4</sup> *Diod. Sic.*, ii. 3.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, iv. 11.

<sup>6</sup> *Jon.* iii. 3.

<sup>7</sup> *2 Kings* xix. 36; *Isai.* xxxvi. 37.

<sup>8</sup> *Nahum* i.—iii.; *Zephan.* ii. 13, etc.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* iii. 16.

<sup>10</sup> *Anab.*, iii. 4.

<sup>11</sup> *Pausan.*, viii. 33; *Lucian*, *Charon*. 23; *Strabo*, xvi. 737.

ing the tombs of Ninus and of Sardanapalus;<sup>12</sup> but how vague this information was, is proved by Ovid, who places the tomb of Ninus near Babylon.<sup>13</sup> Under Claudius and the succeeding emperors, however, a Roman colony, called Niniva Claudiopoli, existed either on the site or in the vicinity of ancient Nineveh; the name of the latter is repeatedly mentioned by the Arabic writers of the middle ages, by Benjamin of Tudela and Abulfaraj, and frequently by Assemani; and all of them state correctly its situation on the eastern bank of the Tigris, opposite Mosul, although they write it sometimes Ninawi, and sometimes Ninue.<sup>14</sup> The ruins which have attracted the attention of the travellers at the end of the preceding and the beginning of the present century, have now been carefully examined; and palaces have been excavated which, even in their dilapidated and crumbled state, excite amazement; their designs have been restored, and the inscriptions partially deciphered. The palace of Kouyunjik, opposite Mosul, was no doubt the residence of the kings of Assyria; and the area immediately surrounding it is the site of ancient Nineveh. The history of Assyria and Nineveh, from the classical and Biblical accounts, as well as from the recent excavations, will be given in the appendix to this chapter, to which we refer. About the boundaries of Nineveh, see *infra*, sub No. 13.

11. The situation of *Rehoboth Ir* (רְחוֹבַת עִיר) is uncertain, especially because this was a name given, like Succoth, to many towns, and occurring in almost every province. The greatest probability is, however, in favour of those extensive ruins on the eastern bank of the Euphrates, which lie about four miles south-west of the town Mayadin, and which still bear the name of Rehoboth. But it is doubtful whether this town is identical with Rehoboth Hannahar (רְחוֹבַת הַנְּהַר), from which the Edomite king Saul was chosen.<sup>15</sup>

12. But almost unquestionably the town *Calah* (כַּלַּח) is to be identified with the large mound *Kalah Sherghat*,<sup>16</sup> which lies about fifty-five miles south of Mosul, on the right bank of the Tigris.<sup>17</sup> Calah possessed one of the most extensive palaces, and it is, on the black obelisk of the central palace of Nimroud, several times mentioned as the residence of the king.<sup>18</sup> It is, therefore, neither the town Chatrachorta,<sup>19</sup> nor the district Kalachene.<sup>20</sup>

13. Between Calah and Nineveh, that is, between Calah Shergat and Kouyunjik, was situated *Resen*, emphatically and pre-eminently called the *great town*. It appears to us undeniable, if reliance is at all to be placed upon the accuracy of the survey recently made of the mounds and ruins of Mesopotamia, that Resen is identical with *Nimroud*, that once magnificent locality, the remains of which still form a parallelogram of about 1,800 feet in length, and 900 in breadth; which consists at least of seven different extensive and noble buildings; and which includes some of the earliest monuments of Assyrian art. It is situated about four geographical miles south of Kouyunjik, and nine north of Calah Shergat, thus completely agreeing, in its position, with the Biblical description.<sup>21</sup> Nimroud seems, then, either not at all, or at least not in early times, to have belonged to the town of Nineveh; it seems not to have been enclosed within the same walls with Kouyunjik; and we can only for certain periods, if at all, admit, that

<sup>12</sup> *Diod.*, ii. 7; *Amyntas*, Fragm., p. 136, ed. Müller.

<sup>13</sup> Busta Nini; *Metam.*, iv. 88.

<sup>14</sup> *Comp. Smith*, Dict. of Geogr., p. 438.

<sup>15</sup> xxxvi. 37.

<sup>16</sup> Signifying "castle of earth"; comp. *Cheaney*, The Expedition for the Survey of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris, ii. 222; *Layard*, Ninev. and its Rem., i. 4; ii. 45, 51; *Discoveries*, p. 581; *Ross*, in *Jour. R.G.S.*, ix. 451.

<sup>17</sup> See Appendix, § 3, ii. 1.

<sup>18</sup> In the twenty-eighth and thirtieth year of his reign.

<sup>19</sup> *Ptol.*, vi. 1.

<sup>20</sup> *Strabo*, xi. 530; xvi. 736.

<sup>21</sup> See Appendix, § 3, ii. 3; compare *Layard*, Nin. and its Rem., ii. 245; *W.F. Ainsworth*, Commentary on the Anabasis of Xenophon, p. 302, Bohn's ed.

Nineveh formed a square, the extreme points of which were, Kouyunjik, Khorsabad, Nimroud, and Karamles.—According to Diodorus,<sup>1</sup> Nineveh consisted of an oblong square, the two longer sides of which measured 150, the smaller 90 stadia; and had, therefore, like Babylon, a circumference of 480 stadia, or upwards of 55 miles, which would agree with the three days' journey of the prophet Jonah. Now, from Kouyunjik to Khorsabad is about 12 miles; from Khorsabad down to Karamles, 15; and, if from here a line be drawn to the Tigris, 13 miles long, we have, from this point up to Kouyunjik, again 15 miles; which four distances, forming almost a complete parallelogram, make the stated number of 55 miles. Nimroud would then lie 7 miles south of the point of the Tigris, which formed the south-western boundary of Nineveh.—It is probable, that the Larissa of Xenophon<sup>2</sup> is the Resen or Nimroud of our text; at least, his description alludes to the characteristic cone at the north-west angle of the ruins: "the walls were twenty-five feet in breadth, one hundred in height, and two parasangs in circuit; all built of bricks made of clay, except the foundation which was of stone, and twenty feet high....Near the city was a pyramid of stone, of the breadth of one plethrum,<sup>3</sup> and the height of two plethra." This affords another proof, that Nimroud was a town for itself, and not a part of Nineveh; it was, in fact, so great, that it alone of the Assyrian cities assumed the name of the mighty founder. Larissa itself, which is, probably, a Pelasgic word, signifies only "the city,"<sup>4</sup> just as Resen is here translated rather than described by "that is the great city."<sup>5</sup> The fortifications of Larissa were so strong, that the Persians were long unable to take the town; but at last succeeded during a dense fog;<sup>6</sup> and it is not impossible, that נִמְרוֹד (originally, *bridle* or *curb*) means, the "strong fortress."

We add a few PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS on vers. 8 to 12. The etymology of נִמְרוֹד, which is written by the Septuagint *Νεβρώδ*, and by Josephus *Νεβρώδης*, is uncertain; whether it has any connection with the *Ninus* of the Greek writers, or whether it is to be traced to the Persian word *نبرد* *war*, taking Nimrod as the *warrior* or *hero*, cannot be decided; but if it is at all to be derived from the Shemitic root נָמַד *to revolt*, there is certainly nothing in our passage which would countenance the immoderate fables to which this derivation has given rise, concerning the impiety and ungodliness of the founder of Nineveh; for it would imply nothing more than one who revolted against the legitimate monarch, and established his own sovereignty.—הוּלֵל הָיָה "he began to be" a hero on earth, that is, he was the first hero or conqueror (compare iv. 26); it is not impossible, that these words intimate the substitution, for the first time, of a monarchical instead of the primitive patriarchal government; that, henceforth, empires were founded, in which no longer the natural authority of the chief of the family, but the assumed or conventional power of a foreign prince, unconnected with the citizens by the ties of blood, dictated and enforced laws; that, therefore, a very momentous change in the relation between the ruler and the ruled and in the whole political organisation of society, is here alluded to: but, though these ideas are not exactly against the context, they are not necessarily required by it; and we abstain from developing them more fully.—נִבְרָא לַיהוָה means properly "a hero in hunting," and the words לִפְנֵי יְהוָה "before the Lord," add still greater emphasis to the epithet, in accordance with a Hebrew usage scarcely requiring an explanation in this place (see p. 62); that which is eminent even before, or in the eyes of, God, must indeed be distinguished (compare Jon. iii. 3: Nineveh was "a great town before God," גְּדוֹלָה לִפְנֵי יְהוָה); and kindred herewith are such phrases as: "a terror of God," meaning, "a mighty terror" xxxv. 5; "trees of God," for "majestic trees" (Ps. civ. 16; comp. 1 Sam. xi. 7; xxvi. 12, etc.).

<sup>1</sup> ii. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Anabasis, III. iv. 7, 9.

<sup>3</sup> 101 feet.

<sup>4</sup> Niebuhr, Hist. of Rome, i. note 60.

<sup>5</sup> Comp. Jon. i. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Xenoph., loc. cit.

The other parallels which have been adduced (vi. 11; xvii. 9; Pa. lvi. 14; lxxii. 17), are not analogous to our passage; but such interpretations as, "he was a mighty hunter, *in opposition to God*"; or, "so that God looked at him in anger," are accommodations to the prejudices traditionally entertained against Nimrod's character.—The phrase *וַיֵּצֵא אֱשִׁיּוּר* points to a proverb that follows (comp xxii. 14; 1 Sam. xix. 24).—The only translation of the words *וַיֵּצֵא אֱשִׁיּוּר מִן הָאָרֶץ הַהִיא* (ver. 11) here possible is, "from that land he (Nimrod) went out to Asshur," so that *אֱשִׁיּוּר* stands instead of *אֲשִׁיּוּר*. That they grammatically *admit* this version, requires no proof; for, the *א* locale, after verbs of motion, though frequently, is by no means uniformly, applied (1 Ki. xi. 17; 2 Ki. xv. 14, etc.). But, in our passage, they *require* even that acceptation; for, the *individual* Asshur is only mentioned in the 22nd verse; it would be perfectly illogical to introduce him here together with Nimrod, and thus to mix up the Cushites with the Shemites; the *land* is called Asshur by anticipation, just as its *extent* is assumed as that of a far later time; though Babel was "the beginning" of Nimrod's dominions, they spread further into Assyria; and the very ruins lately examined, show Nimrod as the founder of Assyrian cities.

11. MIZRAIM (מִצְרַיִם), that is, EGYPT, is the second son of Cush (ver. 6). A consideration of the physiognomy and bodily structure of the Egyptians proves, that they are, with indisputable correctness, derived from the Hamites, provided that this term be properly understood. It is not necessary to consider all Egyptians as negroes, black in complexion, and curly-haired;<sup>7</sup> this is contradicted by their mummies, and their portraits; the former exhibit mostly the osteology, and the latter the physiognomy of an Asiatic or Arabic race; they show the skull and the facial outline of the Caucasians; they are, indeed, darker in complexion; brown, with a tinge of red, and great varieties in the shades; they have often a fuller lip, and a more elongated, almond-shaped eye, half-shut and languishing, and turned up at the outer angles; sedate and placid countenances, round and soft features, and large mouths: but these differences are sufficiently accounted for, partly by the influences of the climate, and partly by the intermarriages with the western or Libyan, and the southern or Nubian and Ethiopian races: the valley of the Nile was, no doubt, very early peopled by tribes emigrating from the north and east; and this historical fact was preserved by the tradition, that the Hamites comprise both Arabic and Egyptian nations;<sup>8</sup> although the results of the comparative study of languages are not yet sufficiently established to guarantee a linguistic relationship also. Blumenbach discovered three varieties of physiognomy on the Egyptian paintings and sculptures; and he describes the general or national type as possessing "a peculiarly turgid habit, flabby cheeks, a short chin, large prominent eyes, and a plump form of body." The present Copts exhibit further a certain approximation to the Negro; they have a yellowish, dusky complexion; a puffed face; swollen eyes; a broad, flat, and short nose, and dilated nostrils; thick lips, a large mouth, placed at a considerable distance from the nose; projecting cheek-bones; black and crisp hair and beard; crooked legs, and long, flat feet: for, the influences above alluded to, have, in the course of millenniums, confirmed and increased the modifications from the original type.<sup>9</sup>—Upon the extent, division, and institutions of the Egyptians, we have remarked in several sections of our Commentary on Exodus, and, in later parts of this volume, we shall have occasion to discuss other subjects connected with Egyptian antiquities.<sup>10</sup>—The dual form מִצְרַיִם, according to the probable explanation of Gesenius, is to be understood to express the two parts of Lower and Upper Egypt; so that, when only Lower Egypt was known to the Hebrews, they called the land

<sup>7</sup> Μεγάλλοι καὶ οὐλότροχοι, Herod., ii. 104; Amm., xxii. 16, and several other ancient writers.

<sup>8</sup> vers. 7, 13.

<sup>9</sup> Compare Pritchard, Natural History of Man, pp. 150—162.

<sup>10</sup> See Commen. on Exod., i. 8; ii. 10, et seq.; and on Gen. xxxvii. 36 to l., *passim*.

in the singular מצור, which still occurs in several passages;<sup>1</sup> that, later, when they became familiar with Thebais (פתרס) also, they comprised both parts under the name of "double Egypt," or "both Egypts," as we say, both Sicilies, instead of Sicily and Naples; but that, in the course of time, the origin of that name being obliterated, Mizraim was used only for Lower Egypt, and distinguished from Thebais;<sup>2</sup> as classical writers also combine "Egypt and Thebais."<sup>3</sup> Upper and Lower Egypt, so different in climate and productions, were long considered as two separate countries; and Pharaohs, who reigned over the whole land, frequently called themselves "kings of the upper and lower countries," or "kings of both lands." Although the Israelites used, no doubt, מצור as a Hebrew word, understanding it "the fortified or strong country,"<sup>4</sup> it is certainly of Egyptian origin, and signifies, perhaps, "the empire."<sup>5</sup> The opinion, that the term "both Egypts" refers to the country "divided into two halves by the Nile," is now almost generally abandoned. The descendants of Mizraim are:—

1. THE LUDIM (לִּיִּם), ver. 13.) They were a warlike nation, famed for their skill with the spear and the bow, and therefore sought for as auxiliary troops by the Egyptians and Tyrians.<sup>6</sup> It is clear that we must here understand an African nation, and that therefore the Lydians of Asia Minor cannot be meant (see on ver. 22). As conjecture alone is left in a case where all certain notices or inferences fail, we venture to identify Lud here with *Letopolis*, which is, by Stephanus Byzantius, and some ancient travellers, called *Letus*. Towns dedicated to the goddess Leto, who is identical with Athor, one of the eight higher deities of Egypt, were both ancient and numerous, and later, even a part of Alexandria was called *Letœis*.<sup>7</sup> *Letopolis*, or *Letus*, was situated in Lower Egypt, just at the beginning of the Delta, a few miles north of Memphis, and belonging to this nomos.<sup>8</sup> The Arabic version understands Tania, and Jonathan the nomos Neut.—Some take Lud for Mauretania, because Pliny<sup>9</sup> mentions a river Laud in Tingitania;<sup>10</sup> and others for a part of Ethiopia, because the Ethiopians were likewise renowned as good archers;<sup>11</sup> whilst Hitzig contends, with no probability, that it is Libya.

2. About the *Anamim* (אֲנָמִים), who are mentioned in no other part of the Old Testament, but who, no doubt, likewise represent either an Egyptian or an Ethiopian town, it is still less possible to give any decided opinion. It is scarcely profitable to mention the various suppositions which have been hazarded on so obscure a point.<sup>12</sup> If we were permitted to increase the number of conjectures, we should point to the similarity of *Anam* and *Anoub*,<sup>13</sup> and propose that the *Anamim* are either the inhabitants of a town consecrated to the god Anoubis, who corresponds to the Greek Hermes, and is represented with the head of a dog, or the worshippers of that deity generally, whose adoration was, however, chiefly concentrated in the Cynopolite district, a nome of Middle Egypt of the Heptanomis, with the capital *Cynopolis But*; both in the Delta, and in other parts of the country, were cities of the same name, proving the great extent of that religious worship.<sup>14</sup>

3. The *Lehabim* (לְהָבִים) are undoubtedly the *Libyans*, who are in other passages, with a contraction common in Hebrew, called *Lubim*.<sup>15</sup> It is almost everywhere

<sup>1</sup> 2 Ki. xix. 24; Isai. xix. 6; xxxvii. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Isai. xi. 11; Jer. xli. 1, 15; Ezek. xxx. 13, 14.

<sup>3</sup> Plin., xviii. 18.

<sup>4</sup> Compare מצור *rock*,

<sup>5</sup> Compare *Joseph*, Antiq., I. vi. 2; *Bochart*, Phaleg, vi. 24; *Gesen.*, Thea., p. 815; *W. von Humboldt*, Werke, vi. 580; *Lepsius*, Götterkreis, p. 16.

<sup>6</sup> Jer. xli. 9; Ezek. xxx. 5.

<sup>7</sup> Ἀνρωίς.

<sup>8</sup> *Strab.*, xvii. 807.

<sup>9</sup> v. 2.

<sup>10</sup> *Ptol.*, iv. 1; *Rosenmüller*, Alterth., iii. 362.

<sup>11</sup> *Bochart*, Phaleg, iv. 26.

<sup>12</sup> See *Rosenmüller*, Alterth., iii. p. 363; *Winer*, Bibl. Wört., i. p. 57.

<sup>13</sup> And the Syrian translation has here δ instead of m; comp. מִצְרַיִם and Μεσσημ.

<sup>14</sup> *Strabo*, xvii. 812; *Plut.*, Is. et Osir., c. 72.

<sup>15</sup> לְהָבִים or לְבָיִם; Nah. iii. 9; 2 Chron. xii. 3; xvi. 8; Dan. xi. 43.

coupled with Ethiopia and Egypt; and, in fact, Libya, in ancient geography, where it is not ignorantly made a part of Asia or Europe, comprises the third large territory which, together with the former two, constitutes the continent of Africa. It was considered to be bounded by the Nile in the east, and the Atlantic ocean in the west; it reached, in the north, to the Mediterranean; but the southern limits were extended with the progress of geographical knowledge; the equatorial line was later substituted for the fabulous river Oceanus, till Cambyzes explored a portion of the western desert beyond Elephantine. Herodotus (iv. 42) maintains that Africa, which he sometimes divides into Egypt and Libya,<sup>16</sup> is, on all sides, surrounded by water, except at the isthmus of Suez; and the Macedonian kings of Egypt sent out expeditions to various parts of the coast, and of the interior. But the existence, and vast extent of Libya, were known to the Hebrews through the Phœnicians, who explored and colonised it at an early period, though they took every possible precaution not to admit others into this new field of enterprize and wealth,<sup>17</sup> which yielded them gold and precious stones, ivory and aromatics. A more careful investigation of the interior of Africa was reserved to our own age, and it has been commenced with encouraging results. Men who will be immortal in the history of geography, have risked their lives in the ardent pursuit of knowledge.—Hitzig, who explains *Lud* by Libya, is compelled to identify the *Lehabim* with the Nubians; but his arguments are extremely feeble, and partly fallacious.<sup>18</sup>—לֵהָבִים, which is no doubt the more primitive form, stands in the same relation to לִיבִים as נֹר to נָהָר, or רוֹץ to רָהֹט.<sup>19</sup>

4. We take the *Naphtuhim* (נַפְתֻּחִים) for the inhabitants of the Libyan town *Napata*,<sup>20</sup> in the north of the province of Meroë, probably at the eastern extremity of that curve of the Nile which skirts the desert of Bahiouda. It was the capital of an Ethiopian kingdom, and a royal residence, and belonged to the richest and most magnificent towns of Africa. Its connection with Egypt is proved by the character of the monuments preserved among its ruins. A temple dedicated to Osiris, and another sacred to Ammon, both on the western bank of the Nile, contain religious sculptures of admirable execution; they are built after the plan of the great Egyptian temples, and are adorned with avenues of sphinxes. There is, besides, a necropolis, on the gateway of which Osiris is represented as receiving gifts as the god of the lower world. The pyramids, which are built of sand-stone, are in a dilapidated state, but are still infallible witnesses of the wealth and perseverance of their constructors. Two lions of red granite, of exquisite design and execution, dating from the time of the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty, the one bearing the name of Amuneph III., the other that of Amuntuonch, were brought to England by Lord Prudhoe. The position of Napata favoured the enterprising inhabitants in their extensive commercial pursuits; it lay within the route of several important caravans; it connected Arabia and Libya, and interchanged their respective products. This city was, therefore, important enough to claim, in the genealogical list, a place among the dependencies of Egypt; it flourished through many centuries, till it was (in B.C. 22), under Augustus taken and plundered by Petronius; after which time it rapidly declined, and soon entirely disappeared.<sup>21</sup>—If the *Naphtuhim*, as Bochart believes,<sup>22</sup> stood under the protection of Naphthya, the sister and wife of Typhon, and the representative of the extreme boundaries of the empire, the town Napata is, perhaps, more adapted than the regions towards Palestine, near the Sirbonis Palus, which Michaelis<sup>23</sup> here supposes,

<sup>16</sup> ii. 17, 18; iv. 167.

<sup>17</sup> *Polyb.*, iii. 22.

<sup>18</sup> Comp. *Gesen.*, Thes., p. 746.

<sup>19</sup> Comp. Gen. xxx. 38.

<sup>20</sup> *Nápara*, or *Náparai*.

<sup>21</sup> Comp. *Strabo*, xvii. 820; *Ptol.*, iv. 7;

viii. 16; *Dion Cass.*, liv. 5; *Ritter*, *Erdkunde*, i. 591; *Hoskins*, *Travels*, pp. 161, 288; *Layard*, *Babylon and Nineveh*, pp. 157, 158; *Smith*, *Diction. of Geogr.*, ii. 396.

<sup>22</sup> *Phaleg*, iv. 29.

<sup>23</sup> *Specil.*, i. 268.

as it almost forms the frontier between Thebais and Meroe, and was, indeed, in the north, exposed to the influence of the former, and, in the south, to that of the latter; and both the government and the arts of Napata show this double influence. — The Targum Jonathan renders Naphtuhim by Pentaschoeni (פֶּנְטַשְׁכוֹנִי), the inhabitants of a town in Lower Egypt, twenty Roman leagues distant from Pelusium.

5. The *Pathrusim* (פְּתֻרִים) are undoubtedly the people of *Upper Egypt*, or *Thebais*; for Pathros is an Egyptian name, signifying the *southern* country (Π-ΕΤ-ΡΗΣ), so that it might possibly include Nubia also; and the district of Thebais is, by Roman writers, called *nomus Phaturites*.<sup>1</sup> Although the dual Mizraim included originally Thebais, the latter is often expressly added, not only on account of its magnitude and importance, but of the independent attitude which it frequently assumed in opposition to the kings of Memphis; so that it is called by the prophet Ezekiel, the origin of the Egyptian empire;<sup>2</sup> as it seems indeed, to have been the first colonized part of the country, and the earliest birth-place of Egyptian civilization.<sup>3</sup> It is, however, but natural that, in a geographical list, the part should be subordinated to the whole, though the former may, chronologically, have been of earlier existence. The extent of Upper Egypt is almost fixed by natural boundaries; it is a narrowing valley, included between the islands of Philae and Elephantine in the south, and the apex of the Delta (near Cercasorum) in the north; this is the primitive land, whilst from thence, northwards, begin the alluvial plains which form Lower Egypt, and which are in their climate, their fauna, and their flora, markedly different from the former. In Upper Egypt, the sycamore and the acacia are rarely seen, whilst the palm-tree assumes new and characteristic forms, and the crocodile and jackal, the hippopotamus and the hyena, occur in greater numbers. Later, that district was subdivided into two parts, the more northern one, or Middle Egypt (Heptanomis), from the Delta to Hermopolis Magna; and the southern part, or Upper Egypt Proper (or the Thebaid), from Hermopolis to Syene and Philae. The prophet Isaiah,<sup>4</sup> therefore, appropriately places Pathros between Mizraim and Cush, or Lower Egypt and Ethiopia.

6. The *Casluhim* (כַּסְלִיִּים) have, since Bochart, almost invariably been identified with the Colchians, because Herodotus and several other ancient writers describe Colchis as an Egyptian colony, founded in the time of Sesostris, and preserving many of the peculiar usages of the Egyptians to a very late period.<sup>5</sup> But very weighty objections present themselves against this conjecture. We shall not urge that the Egyptian origin of the Colchians has itself been rendered very problematical by recent researches,<sup>6</sup> because, if that was a general belief among ancient geographers, there is no reason why it should not have been prevalent among the Hebrews also. But, 1st, the sudden transition from Thebes in Egypt to the Colchians of the river Phasis, on the shores of the Black Sea, is perfectly against the character of our list, which, as we have shown, is local, as well as ethnographic; and, 2nd, our text states that "the Philistines came out of the Casluhim";<sup>7</sup> and it is against all historical evidence that the Philistines emigrated from Colchis. An incredible variety of arbitrary conjectures has been framed in order to obviate these difficulties; but they have been rejected by the more careful supporters of the opinion in question, till at last refuge has been taken in the desperate supposition of a *corruption* of the original text, dating from a very early period, because even the parallel passage in the Book of Chronicles<sup>8</sup> contains literally the same words, and in the same order. Repudiating such violent *ultima ratio*, we venture to suggest that the Casluhim are the inhabitants of the primitive

<sup>1</sup> *Pliny*, v. 9; comp. *Ptolem.* iv. 5, 69.

<sup>2</sup> *Ezek.* xxix. 14.

<sup>3</sup> *Herod.*, ii. 4, 15.

<sup>4</sup> *Isai.* xi. 11.

<sup>5</sup> *Herod.*, ii. 104, 105; *Diod.*, i. 28, 55, etc.; *Bochart*, *Phaleg*, iv. 31.

<sup>6</sup> Especially of Ritter and Brehmer.

<sup>7</sup> This is the only possible translation.

<sup>8</sup> i. 11.

Egyptian town *Chemnis*, later called Panopolis. The dissimilarity of the names is not so great as it appears; since the Septuagint reads *Chasmonieim*,<sup>9</sup> and the letter *s* might have gradually been omitted as easily in Chemnis as in Colchia. It is further evident, that in this place of our list, Chemnis is peculiarly appropriate; it is the chief town of one of the principal districts of the Thebaid, or of Pathros; and belongs to the most ancient settlements of Egypt.<sup>10</sup> The name of Ham, or Cham, itself, is evidently contained in its appellation, and this town was no doubt holy to Chem, the Egyptian Pan. The Doric heroes deduced their origin from Chemnis, through Perseus,<sup>11</sup> who was here worshipped, probably as Pthah or Vulcan, in a magnificent temple, fortified by a strong wall, surrounded by a plantation of date-trees, and adorned by colossal statues; and if the Greek tribes had a tradition of their origin from Chemnis, it is certainly permitted to suppose that the earliest colonisers of Philistia emigrated from the same once powerful and populous district; but as they are, in some passages, represented as settlers from the Caphtorim, who are next mentioned in our text,<sup>12</sup> they may have been increased from that source; and Caphtor may, for some time, have been the abode of Casluhim also, who later joined their kinsmen in Philistia, when the latter had here acquired territory and power.<sup>13</sup>

7. About the *Philistines* (פְּלִשְׁתִּים), see Commentary on Exodus, pp. 230 and 273. Their power, and the light in which they were regarded by the Israelites, may be inferred from the vehement prophecies pronounced against them.<sup>14</sup>

8. The identity of the *Caphtorim* (כַּפְתֹּרִים) has long been, and is still, a matter of dispute; whilst some take them for the Cappadocians, in accordance with several ancient translations, others explain them to be the Cretans, because it is supposed that the Philistines emigrated from Crete, and were therefore called *Chereti* (כֶּרֶתִי). But neither of these opinions has great probability. Cappadocia recommended itself chiefly on account of its vicinity to Colchia, which was regarded as the land of the Casluhim; but if the latter explanation is erroneous, as we believe it to be, the former loses its only basis; for the ancient versions cannot be accepted as safe guides in geographical questions. As regards Crete, it is agreed that there exists no proof of Egyptian colonisation on that island, and that, in fact, Egyptian settlers never approached it.<sup>15</sup> The passages in which the Chereti are alleged to be used synonymously with the Philistines, are far from being decisive;<sup>16</sup> the southern coast of the Mediterranean was not exclusively inhabited by the latter, and some parts of it might have been occupied by the former, and Tacitus describes the *Israelites* as strangers from Crete.<sup>17</sup> We have, therefore, no hesitation in identifying Caphtor with *Coptes*, a chief city in the Upper Thebaid, a few miles north of Thebes, and at present called *Kouft*, or *Keft*. It will at once be perceived that a town in this district is eminently appropriate to our passage. The Coptites carried on an extensive caravan trade between Libya and Egypt, and Arabia and India; in their immediate neighbourhood were the great porphyry-quarries; and the adjoining hills yielded emeralds and other precious stones. The city remained long in a flourishing state, and was still important in the latest time of Roman emperors; and that it was of a very early origin, is testified by the ruins still extant in Kouft, which bear the name of Thothmes III., the same whom Wilkinson declares to have been the Pharaoh at the time of the Exodus.<sup>18</sup> It is natural that

<sup>9</sup> *Xasmonieim*.

<sup>10</sup> Chiefly inhabited by linen-weavers and stone-masons.

<sup>11</sup> *Herod.*, vi. 53.

<sup>12</sup> *Deut.* ii. 23; *Am.* ix. 7; *Jer.* xlvii. 4.

<sup>13</sup> Comp., about the ancient Chemnis and its present ruins. *Herod.*, ii. 91, 145; *Diod.*, i. 18; *Ptol.*, iv. 5; *Strabo*, xvii. 813;

*Champoll.*, *L'Egypte*, i. 267; *Pococke*, *Trav.*, p. 115.

<sup>14</sup> Especially *Am.* i. 6, 7; *Zeph.* ii. 4; *Jerem.* xlvii.; *Zech.* ix. 5.

<sup>15</sup> *Smith*, *Dict. of Geog.*, i. 704.

<sup>16</sup> *Ezek.* xxv. 16; *Zeph.* ii. 5; 1 *Sam.* xxx. 16.

<sup>17</sup> *Hist.*, v. 2.

<sup>18</sup> Egypt and Thebes, ii. 123.



a people so habitually engaged in distant commercial journeys, should be easily tempted to emigration; a considerable number left Coptos and joined the Casluhim, in the southern plains of the coast of Canaan, where, after having subdued and extirpated the tribes which had before occupied those tracts,<sup>1</sup> they either assumed, or received the name of the "emigrants";<sup>2</sup> but so that Philistia itself was sometimes called the maritime country of Capthor,<sup>3</sup> and that they obtained, either by their number or by their courage, the ascendancy over the former kindred settlers, who are later no more mentioned among the population of Philistia.<sup>4</sup> And if we, besides, suppose that the district of Chemmis comprised originally Coptos also, as there are, indeed, traces of a much higher antiquity of the former, and that from there the first emigrants proceeded to Philistia; whilst later, when the population of Coptos grew, other colonists followed: we shall have another reason why the Philistines are here represented as settlers from the Casluhim, and later from the Capthorim.

III. PHUT (פִּיט) is, in the Old Testament, either coupled with Cush and Lud, or the Ludim, or with Cush and Persia; the former connection describes it as an African nation; the latter as a warlike, well-armed tribe, sought as allies, and dreaded as enemies.<sup>5</sup> That the Phutim inhabited districts of Africa, cannot be doubted; but their exact abodes are again to be ascertained by inference only. Gesenius has employed his sagacity and learning to support the opinion of Josephus, who calls Phut the founder of Libya, and observes that there is a river of that name in the country of the Moors, whence the whole adjoining region was, by most of the Greek historians, denominated Phut. It is, indeed, difficult to reject a statement so decided, and so plausible, especially as the Septuagint also translates, in almost all passages, Phut by Libyans; in the Coptic dialect Libya is called *Phaiat* (ΦΑΙΑΤ), and the inhabitants of that part of Libya especially which adjoins Egypt in the east, bear a corresponding name, so that, whilst Lehabim (ver. 13) denotes the whole of the vast, and but dimly known territory of Libya, Phut designates one chief part of it, more familiar to the Egyptians on account of its vicinity, and bearing, no doubt, a greater resemblance with their own customs. Phut itself signifies *a bow*, so that it would here be a nation of archers, in perfect harmony with the military character in which they appear in the Bible.<sup>6</sup>—If this deduction should not be deemed satisfactory, we think that nothing is more simple, than to explain Phut by *Buto*, or *Butos*, the capital town of the Delta of the Nile, on its Sebennytic arm, and the southern shore of the Butic lake. A city famous for the temples and oracle of the goddess Buto (the Greek Leto), of Horus (Apollo), and Bubastis (Artemis), is still traceable in the modern *Kem Kasir*.<sup>7</sup> As it is more than improbable that in the whole genealogy of Ham, there should not be one representative of the people of Lower Egypt, which became of such painful interest to the Hebrews, the almost perfect resemblance of the names of Put and Buto, may not improperly lead us to suppose their actual identity.

IV. The youngest son of Ham is CANAAN (כְּנָעַן). The descendants here ascribed to him (vers. 15—19), fix the extent of the land which bears his name, from the boundaries of Syria in the north, to Gaza, or almost the Egyptian frontier, in the south, including Phœnicia, and those parts of the southern coast which were not inhabited by the Philistines, whilst it is in the east bounded by the Jordan, although its more powerful tribes manifested a tendency to spread beyond its banks, in the tempting districts of Gilead.<sup>8</sup> If we allow the author of the Pentateuch any geographical knowledge at

<sup>1</sup> Deut., ii. 23.

<sup>2</sup> מִן הַיָּם, from הַיָּם, to migrate; Sept., Ἀλλόφυλοι; Am., ix. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Jer. xlvii. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Am. ix. 7.

<sup>5</sup> Comp. Jer. xlv. 9; Ezek. xxvii. 10; xxx. 5; xxxviii. 5; Nah. iii. 9.

<sup>6</sup> Comp. Joseph., I. vi. 2; Champollion, L'Egypte, i. 104; ii. 31, 243; Gesen., Thes., p. 1093.

<sup>7</sup> Compare Herod., ii. 69, 63, 67, 155; Ælian, ii. 41; Champollion, L'Egypte, ii. 227.

<sup>8</sup> Comp. Isai. xxiii. 11.

all, we must admit him to have been familiar with the inhabitants of Canaan, their character and their origin; and if he distinctly represents them as belonging to the race of Ham, it is bold, indeed, on the part of some critics, to transform them into Shemites; for which dictatorial assertion, the only alleged reasons are, that the kings of the Philistines had the Shemitic name, Abimelech;<sup>9</sup> that the five Philistine towns also have Shemitic appellations, and the Hebrews apparently understood the language of the Philistines;<sup>10</sup> whilst they were unable to converse with the Egyptians.<sup>11</sup> Now it is, in the first place, obvious, that in these arguments the Philistines are tacitly substituted for the Canaanites, whilst both are in our list represented as different nations. Further, there scarcely exists a more precarious support than that derived from linguistic inferences; modern studies in comparative philology have shown the relationship of the principal Asiatic and African languages, and have proved especially the general analogy in the primitive, or fundamental notions. That many Hebrews should, in the course of time, have learnt to understand the idioms of the Philistines and Canaanites, is but natural, if we consider their constant intercourse, the vicinity of their domiciles, and their frequent, though unlawful, intermarriages, none of which circumstances assisted them in acquiring the language of the Egyptians. Nor can it be surprising that after the Hebrews had been for many centuries the chief occupants of Canaan, their language should have been called the "tongue of Canaan,"<sup>12</sup> whereas we have positive proofs that the Hebrews did not even generally understand the Aramean language, of which the Canaanitish idiom is said to be a dialect.<sup>13</sup> If the candid student is, indeed, willing to penetrate into the spirit of the Biblical records, he must perceive the direct opposition which prevails throughout between the Canaanites and the Hebrews; in their religious notions and their social organisation; in their ultimate aims and their ordinary pursuits. The former emigrated into the land from the south, the others from the east; the one transplanted into their new abodes all the superstitions and abominations which they had inherited from their race, whilst the first settler of the others was a believer in the one Almighty God, the possessor of heaven and earth; the one were scattered into many isolated tribes, each ruled by its own sovereign, and following its own policy, and not unfrequently raging in internecine wars, whilst the Hebrews perpetually strove to effect, and ultimately succeeded in obtaining, a political unity under one common head; if worldly splendour, or military renown, formed the highest ambition of the Canaanites, the constant aim of the Israelites was the amelioration of their morals, and the strengthening of their religion; and if the one were reputed as a nation of traders,<sup>14</sup> the others were intended as a kingdom of priests, and a holy nation.<sup>15</sup> It is impossible to conceive a greater national difference than that which existed both in the feelings and the life of the two nations; and the war of destruction carried on between them with almost unparalleled virulence, proves that the internal antagonism was so vehement that not even centuries could remove it. But if it is objected that Canaan must, by its position, necessarily be a Shemitic country, we remind the reader that the Canaanites were as little as the Hebrews regarded as indigenous; that Hamites and Shemites lived promiscuously both in Arabia and Mesopotamia; and that if the former inhabited Egypt far beyond the Delta, there is no reason why they should not have spread a little more northward into the plains of Canaan. There is, indeed, a variety of ancient authorities in support of the origin of the Phenicians from the shores of the Persian Gulf and the southern parts of Arabia,<sup>16</sup> and the objections of recent writers are insufficient to overthrow their statements.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Gen. xx. 2; xxvi. 1; Ps. xxxiv. 1.

<sup>10</sup> 1 Sam. xvii., etc.

<sup>11</sup> Gen. xlii. 23.

<sup>12</sup> Isai. xix. 18.

<sup>13</sup> Isai. xxxvi. 11; 2 Kings xviii. 26.

<sup>14</sup> Job xl. 13.

<sup>15</sup> Exod. xix. 6; comp. Zech. xiv. 21; Isai. xxiii. 8; Prov. xxxi. 24.

<sup>16</sup> *Herod.*, vii. 89; *Strabo*, i. 42; xvi. 766; *Sil. Ital.*, i. 89; *Just.*, xviii. 3.

<sup>17</sup> *Movers*, *Phœnizier*, ii. 23—62; comp. *Heeren*, *Researches*, ii.

About the name Canaan, we observe, that it originally means "low or flat land" (from כנע), in opposition to the highlands of Syria (אֲרָם); its ancient appellation seems to have been *Chna* (Χνα), which occurs in Greek writers,<sup>1</sup> and which, like Canaan, was applied to the whole land between the Jordan and the Mediterranean up to Sidon; but later the name Phœnicia was substituted,<sup>2</sup> either from a brother of Cadmus; or from the Erythrean or Red Sea, from the coast of which they were said to have emigrated; or from the purple dye (ποινός), which formed one of the most famous articles of their commerce. Gradually, however, the designation of Phœnicia was limited to the northern district on the coast, or Phœnicia Proper, which is, in our text, expressed by—

1. *Sidon* (צִידֹן), the first-born son of Canaan; for, this name includes here Tyre and the other Phœnician towns in Canaan also. Phœnicia was that narrow slip of land, scarcely twelve miles broad, between the Mediterranean Sea and Mount Lebanon, extending about 120 miles from north to south, between Aradus and the river Chorscas or Crocodilon.<sup>3</sup> Sidon was situated on the Mediterranean Sea, four hundred stadia south of Berytus, in a plain scarcely one Roman mile in extent, with a double harbour, the inner one serving as a shelter for the vessels during the winter. It was built on a rising mound, protected by the sea on the north and west, whilst the bed of a river formed a natural fosse to the south, and the high hills shielded it to the east. To its position as well as to the enterprising character of its inhabitants, Sidon owed, at a very early period, an exceeding prosperity, so that it was generally considered the chief town of Phœnicia;<sup>4</sup> was both by Biblical and profane writers used to designate the whole country;<sup>5</sup> received the denomination of "the great city";<sup>6</sup> and was able to send out numerous important colonies, not only to the districts in its own vicinity, but to Cyprus and the coast of Asia Minor, to Rhodes and Crete, to Cilicia and Caria, and the Cycladic Islands, to Imbros, Lemnos, and especially Thasos, where the gigantic mining operations caused the astonishment of later travellers;<sup>7</sup> to the coast of Thrace and Bubœa, and even to some parts of Sicily and the islands which lie between it and Africa; to Sardinia and Spain, where they founded Gadeira, or Cadiz, at least as early as B.C. 1100; to the coast of Cornwall and the tin districts, and the Baltic or the amber shores; to the northern parts of Africa, where Carthage, Utica, Hippo, and other towns soon obtained wealth and importance; whilst Tyre surpassed all in power, and was, already in the seventh century before Christ, regarded as the representative of Phœnician greatness; and though here not even mentioned, it was admitted to exercise the sovereignty over Sidon, and other towns.<sup>8</sup> The commerce of the Sidonians was lucrative and extensive, chiefly in their manufactures of glass and excellent linen, in purple dyes and perfumes, and the numberless valuable articles which they acquired in their distant journeys and voyages.<sup>9</sup> They were also reputed and sought as skilful builders,<sup>10</sup> and as mariners,<sup>11</sup> who were the first to steer by observation of the stars;<sup>12</sup> whilst their gold and silver vessels, trinkets, and works in bronze and ivory, were esteemed both by Hebrews and Greeks.<sup>13</sup> Although Sidon was, in the ideal distribution of Canaan, assigned, by Joshua, to the tribe of Asher,<sup>14</sup> it belonged to those cities which were never conquered,<sup>15</sup> and it entered even into alliances with the deadliest

<sup>1</sup> *Steph. Byz.*; *Euseb.*, *Præp. Ev.*, i. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Φοινίκη*, the red country; the Septuagint already often uses it for Canaan.

<sup>3</sup> *Plin.*, v. 17; *Ptol.*, v. 15.

<sup>4</sup> *Isai.* xxiii. 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Deut.* iii. 9; *Ezek.* xxxii. 30; *Strabo*, i. 40; *Virg.*, *Æn.*, i. 677.

<sup>6</sup> *Josh.* xi. 8; xix. 28; צִידֹן רַבָּה.

<sup>7</sup> *Herod.*, vi. 47.

<sup>8</sup> *Jer.* xxv. 22; *Ezek.* xxvii. 8; *Joseph.*, *Antiq.*, IX. xiv. 2.

<sup>9</sup> Comp., especially, *Ezek.* xxvii.

<sup>10</sup> 1 Kings v. 21.

<sup>11</sup> Comp. 1 Kings ix. 27; x. 22.

<sup>12</sup> *Plin.*, vii. 56; *Strabo*, xvi. 757.

<sup>13</sup> *Hom.*, II., xxiii. 743; *Odyss.*, iv. 618; *Isai.* iii. 19; 2 *Chron.* ii. 15; *Strabo*, pp. 767. 826; *Humboldt.* *Kosmos*, ii. 162.

<sup>14</sup> *Josh.* xix. 28. <sup>15</sup> *Judg.* i. 31; iii. 3.

foes of the Israelites, and undertook aggressive wars against them, if they did not actually compel them into temporary submission.<sup>16</sup> Sidon surrendered itself to Shalmaneser; but was, both under Assyrian and Chaldean, and Persian dominion, permitted to chose its own rulers; it retained a considerable fleet, and made, under Artaxerxes Ochus, a valiant, though unsuccessful, attempt at independence; a hazardous step, which ended in its capture and destruction. The town was rebuilt, and stood thenceforth successively under the Macedonian and Egyptian, under the Syrian and Roman sceptre. At present, there is a little town, Saida, somewhat to the west of the ancient Sidon, belonging to the Turkish Pashalik of Acre, with about 8,000 inhabitants, who seem to have inherited a part of the commercial spirit of the ancient merchant princes.—The language of the Phœnicians had, indeed, a remarkable affinity with the Hebrew and other Shemitic dialects; the testimony of St. Jerome and St. Augustine, the *Pœnulus* of Plautus, and the bilingual inscriptions found at Athens, are no more the only proofs of that relationship; it is irrefragably established by the inscription on the Carthaginian tablet discovered at Marseilles,<sup>17</sup> and by that on the sarcophagus of king Eshmun-Ezer, found a few years since;<sup>18</sup> by far the greatest portion of both consists of Hebrew roots. But yet, if even the Phœnician dialect should not be included in the "language of Canaan," which Isaiah mentions as a distinct idiom,<sup>19</sup> the Phœnicians were not, at least in the commencement of their contact with the Hebrew nation, animated with brotherly feelings towards it; they aimed at its extermination;<sup>20</sup> and it was only in the time of David, when the Hebrew monarchy began to flourish, that the worldly shrewdness, for which they were proverbially noted, induced them to cultivate a friendship which promised, and, indeed, procured them unusual advantages.<sup>21</sup> And if they were, further, distinguished by the darker hue of their complexion, their derivation from the Hamites is the more justified. It is the chief end of this ethnographical list, to show the original unity of the human families; it effaces, therefore, intentionally in many respects the separating differences of the races; Hamites are represented as possessing many points of similarity with Shemites; and these analogies form the basis of the prophetic hopes regarding a future re-union of all nations.—This dogmatic or practical view leaves, of course, the researches of scientific ethnography perfectly unfettered.—The name יִשְׂרָאֵל is to be derived from יִשְׂרָאֵל *fishing*, a favourite pursuit of the ancient Sidonians.<sup>22</sup>

2. The Hittites, who sprang from *Heth* (חֶת), lived in the southern part of Palestine, around Hebron and Beersheba; in the mountainous tracts near the Amorites; in Bethel, and in several other districts; spreading so extensively, that the "land of the Hittites" was used for Canaan in its widest extent.<sup>23</sup> They inhabited Canaan already in the time of Abraham;<sup>24</sup> and ranked among the chief tribes at the period of Joshua's conquests; but they were made tributary by Solomon,<sup>25</sup> although a part of them remained, even in later centuries, under their own kings,<sup>26</sup> and had not even disappeared after the exile.<sup>27</sup>

3. The *Jebusites* (יְבוּסִים) had their chief abodes, as is well known, in and around Jerusalem, which bore the name Jebus; but they lived also in the mountains of Judah, which they shared with the Hittites and the Amorites. Though defeated by Joshua, they remained the masters of their town Jebus, which was unsuccessfully attacked by

<sup>16</sup> Judg. x. 12.

<sup>17</sup> In 1845.

<sup>18</sup> xix. 18.

<sup>19</sup> Judg. x. 12.

<sup>20</sup> Isai. xxiii. 15—17; *Strabo*, iii. 170; *Hom.*, II. vi. 290; xxiii. 743.

<sup>21</sup> Compare *Justin.*, xviii. 3; *Reland*, *Palæst.*, 1010, *et seq.*; *Gesen.*, *Thes.*, p.

1153; *Winer*, *Bibl. Wört.*, ii. 457, 636; *Kenrick*, *Phœnicia*.

<sup>22</sup> Josh. i. 4.

<sup>23</sup> Gen. xv. 20.

<sup>24</sup> 1 Kings ix. 20.

<sup>25</sup> 1 Kings x. 29; 2 Kings vii. 6.

<sup>26</sup> *Ezr.* ix. 1; comp. *Num.* xiii. 30; *Dent.* vii. 1; *Josh.* iii. 10; *Judges* i. 24; 2 Sam. xi. 3, 6; xxiii. 39.

the tribe of Judah;<sup>1</sup> assailed, with the same unfavourable result, by the Benjamites, at a later period;<sup>2</sup> and conquered only by the valour and perseverance of David; after which time it became the centre of the Hebrew monarchy. The Jebusites, however, who are still mentioned after the exile,<sup>3</sup> were never entirely extirpated;<sup>4</sup> Solomon made a portion of them tributary;<sup>5</sup> but the rest maintained themselves even in Jerusalem.<sup>6</sup>

4. The *Amorites* (אֲמֹרִי) seem to have been the most powerful and the most numerous tribe among the Canaanites; they are frequently taken as denoting the inhabitants of the whole land, and as representing the multifarious forms of their idolatry;<sup>7</sup> they lived not only in the west of the Jordan, in the mountains of Judah, but also in the east between the rivers Arnon and Jabbok, and, perhaps, northward to Mount Hermon; and they formed on both sides powerful kingdoms, five on the western, and two on the eastern side (Heshbon and Bashan), all distinguished by their military fame and their wealth. Though subdued by Mooses, and deprived by him of their transjordanic possessions, which were assigned to Reuben, Gad, and a part of Manasseh, and though, in the west also, conquered by Joshua, they were far from being annihilated; they vexed the Israelites frequently during the whole period of the Judges; but they were subjected by Solomon, and remained in submission till after the exile.<sup>8</sup>

5. The habitations of the *Girgasites* (גִּרְגָּשִׁי) are nowhere clearly alluded to in the Old Testament; they are, however, mentioned in a connection which places them, with some probability, in the middle part of western Palestine, although Eusebius, Origen, and others, fix their abodes round Gadara, in the east of the Jordan, later the province of Manasseh; and Gesenius identifies them with the inhabitants of Gerasa in Batanea, or the land of Gad; reasons or arguments for these opinions are not produced; the readings of Γερασινῶν and Γεργεσινῶν, instead of Γαδαρινῶν (in Matth. viii. 28) are more than dubious.<sup>9</sup>

6. The *Hivites* (חִיטִּי, Ἑβαιοί) who apparently lived under a republican form of government, gathered round two chief centres; first, in the middle of Palestine, in Shechem and Gibeon, and secondly, in the north, near the foot of Hermon and Lebanon. But, as they did not belong to the more powerful tribes, they were often included under the name of the Amorites; the princes of Shechem, as well as the inhabitants of Gibeon, are alternately called Hivites and Amorites;<sup>10</sup> it is, therefore, unnecessary to suppose, that they gradually extended northward, and conquered a part of the territory of the Amorites. They were defeated by Joshua in the great battle against the united Canaanites;<sup>11</sup> but were, perhaps, only compelled to retire westward; for, in the time of David even they still inhabited their own towns;<sup>12</sup> and Solomon, unable to exterminate them, imposed upon them a tribute.<sup>13</sup>—The name חִיטִּי is explained, by Gesenius, as “inhabitants of villages” (pagani); and, by Ewald,<sup>14</sup> as “commonalties,” or settlers in cities; neither of which derivations throws great light upon the character or origin of the tribe.

7. The *Arkites* (אַרְכִּי) are, as Josephus states with great probability, the inhabitants of *Arca* or *Arce* (Ἀρκη), a Phœnician town at the north-western foot of the Lebanon, between Tripolis and Antaradus, one parasang from the sea. Here an early and famous worship of Astarte (Venus) was established; the town was flourishing in the

<sup>1</sup> Judg. i. 8; *Joseph.*, Antiq., V. ii. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Judg. i. 21; xix. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Ezra ix. 1.

<sup>4</sup> 2 Sam. xxiv. 16, 18.

<sup>5</sup> 1 Kings ix. 20.

<sup>6</sup> Josh. xv. 63; comp. ix. 1; xi. 13; xv.

<sup>8</sup> xviii. 28; 2 Sam. v. 6.

<sup>7</sup> Josh. xxiv. 18; 1 Kings xxi. 26; Amos ii. 9.

<sup>8</sup> Comp. Gen. xiv. 7, 13; Num. xiii. 29; xxi. 13, 26; xxxii. 33; Deut. i. 7, 20; iii. 8;

Josh. x. 5; Judg. i. 34, 35; iii. 5; 1 Kings ix. 20; Ezra ix. 1.

<sup>9</sup> Compare Gen. xv. 21; Deut. vii. 1; Josh. xxiv. 11; *Gesen.*, Thes., p. 300; *Winer*, Bibl. Wört., i. 383.

<sup>10</sup> Gen. xxxiv. 2, and xlviii. 22; Josh. ix. 7, and 2 Sam. xxi. 2.

<sup>11</sup> Josh. xi. 3.

<sup>12</sup> 2 Sam. xxiv. 7.

<sup>13</sup> 1 Kings ix. 20; comp. Josh. xi. 3; Judg. iii. 3.

<sup>14</sup> *Geschichte Israel's*, i. 286.

time of Alexander the Great, to whom a temple was here erected; it preserved its importance under the Roman emperors; here Alexander Severus was born;<sup>15</sup> but it bore the name of *Cæsarea* (*Libani*) already before this event.<sup>16</sup> It is later very frequently mentioned by Arabic writers; but, although it successfully resisted a long siege of the first Crusaders,<sup>17</sup> and preserved its prosperity even after its capture under the reign of Baldwin I., it fell a prey to the unrelenting ravages of the Mamlook. Its ruins are still extant at Tel Arka, four miles south of the Nahr-el-Kebir.<sup>18</sup>

8. In the immediate neighbourhood of Arka stood a mountain fortress of the name *Sinnas*, chiefly inhabited by the marauders who infested the Lebanon;<sup>19</sup> and, though it was destroyed after various sieges and wars, the site preserved the name of *Sini*;<sup>20</sup> and a little village, called *Syn*, at a small distance from the river Arca, existed still in the fifteenth century.<sup>21</sup> This is, no doubt, the locality of the *Sinites* (סִינִי).

9. The *Arvadites* (אַרְבָּדִי, Sept. *Ἀρᾶδιοι*) are the inhabitants of the celebrated little island *Aradus*, on the northern coast of Phœnicia, about two miles from the continent, opposite Antaradus. It is no more than seven stadia in circumference, and is, therefore, described, by Strabo, as a rock rising from the midst of the waves;<sup>22</sup> it is elevated in the centre, and steep at the sides. Sidonian exiles first peopled this uninviting place, which, however, soon grew one of the most flourishing settlements, in wealth and importance only inferior to Sidon and Tyre; and was itself enabled to send out colonies, for instance, to Tarsus. After having been ruled by its own kings for many centuries, it was compelled to yield, first to the authority of the Persians, and then to the power of Alexander the Great, and of Ptolemy Soter.<sup>23</sup> But, far from declining, it then rose to still greater prosperity; it was declared a city of refuge, by which right its wealth was greatly increased; it, probably, regained its independence, issued again its own coins, many of which are still extant; and, not long after, we find it offering alliance and support to Antiochus the Great. But, from the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, the town was exposed to many and violent vicissitudes; it passed into the hands of Syria, Armenia, and Rome; and, in the reign of Constantine, it was destroyed, to be rebuilt no more. The island itself is still inhabited by about 3,000 persons, living on fishery and navigation, and preserving the traditional skill of drawing fresh water from submarine sources; whilst the name of the village *Ruad* recalls the original name, and the massive Phœnician walls, partly preserved in different points, bespeak its ancient power and magnificence.—The prophet Ezekiel mentions the men of *Aradus* with great emphasis, both as experienced mariners, and brave soldiers, in both which capacities they rendered substantial service to Tyre, when in the zenith of its glory.<sup>24</sup>—The name אַרְבָּד signifies, the “place for exiles” (from אָרַב to err or stray about; comp. Jer. ii. 31; Hos. xiii. 1), in accordance with its first colonisation.<sup>25</sup>

10. The connexion in which the *Zemarites* (זִמְרִי) here appear, demands a locality either in Phœnicia or Syria; and, accordingly, the town *Simyra* (Σίμυρα), mentioned by Strabo and other ancient geographers, has with almost universal consent been fixed upon. Namely, about 24 miles south-east of Antaradus or Tortosa, near the river Eleutherus, are considerable ruins, surrounded by rich plantations of mulberry and other fruit-trees, and bearing the name of *Sumrah*. This is, probably, the site of the

<sup>15</sup> A.C. 205.

<sup>16</sup> *Eckhel*, Doctr. Num., iii. 360; *Reiland*, Pal., p. 575; *Gesen.*, Notes to Burckhardt, i. 520.

<sup>17</sup> A.C. 1099; *Raim. d'Agil.*, Gest. Dei. 163.

<sup>18</sup> Compare *Plin.*, v. 16; *Ptolem.*, v. 14; *Joseph.*, Antiq., I. vi. 2; *Macrob.*, Saturn., i. 21; *Abulfed.*, Syr., p. 11; *Edrisi*, p. 13; *Burckhardt*, Syria, p. 162; *Shaw*, Observ., p. 270; *Robinson*, Researches, iii. 578—582.

<sup>19</sup> *Strabo*, xv. 755.

<sup>20</sup> *Jerom.*, Quæst. in Gen.

<sup>21</sup> *Breidenbach*, Trav., p. 47.

<sup>22</sup> xvi. 753. <sup>23</sup> B.C. 320.

<sup>24</sup> *Ezek.* xxvii. 8, 11; comp. *Strabo*, xvi. 754; *Arrian*, Anab., i. 13, 20; *Curt.*, iv. 1, 6; *Polyb.*, v. 68; *Pliny*, v. 17; *Appian*, iv. 69; v. 1; *Mela*, ii. 7; *Eckhel*, Doctr. Num., iii. 393; *Mannert*, Geogr., VI. i. 398; *Cheesney*, Exped. Euphr., i. 451.

<sup>25</sup> *Gesen.*, Thes., p. 1269.

ancient Simyra, which was, at certain times, under the dominion of the Aradians. It is foreign to our purpose here, to discuss the relative position of Simyra, Marathus, Tortosa, and Caranus; but it appears to us, that the statements of the classical writers are not irreconcilable with the observations of modern travellers.<sup>1</sup>—The ancient opinions, that the Zemarites are the tribes round Edessa, or near the river Tamyrys, can no longer be maintained.

11. The Syrian town *Hamath* (חמַת), called Epiphania by the Greeks and Romans,<sup>2</sup> on both sides of the river Orontes, between Arethusa and Apamea, has become more familiar to us by the recent discovery and explanation of the Assyrian inscriptions; it occurs several times on the black pyramid,<sup>3</sup> from which source we learn that it was, like most of the other Syrian towns, attacked by the kings of Asshur, sought protection in an alliance with neighbouring cities, and was several times defeated without being materially weakened; it even organised, under the King Arhulena, an expedition against the mighty king of Nineveh; but, according to the Assyrian monuments, it was subdued, together with its allies; though we find it, later, once more at war against King Shalmaneser. It is, indeed, in the Old Testament, designated “the great” town,<sup>4</sup> for it had extended its possessions far beyond its original limits; “a land of Hamath” is, therefore, sometimes mentioned, including the town Riblah, and the extreme northern frontier of Palestine;<sup>5</sup> whence it could, in our passage, be included among the descendants of Canaan; and St. Jerome states, that, in his time, even Antiochia, which is 101 miles north of Epiphania, was comprised under the name of Hamath; it stood under its own king, and was, in the time of David, in alliance with the Israelites;<sup>6</sup> and though subdued in the reign of Jeroboam II., the son of Joash,<sup>7</sup> it preserved a certain independent position, till it tempted the irresistible arms of the Assyrian despots, who, when at last succeeding in conquering it, did not cease to glory in this achievement with particular pride.<sup>8</sup> Its prosperity, however, was only interrupted, not destroyed; it developed itself anew under the sovereignty of the Syrians, rose to higher political importance in the middle ages, and is still one of the most prosperous towns of Syria, with a very large population, and with the celebrated immense Persian wheels, seventy or eighty feet in diameter, driven by force of the current, for raising water to the upper town. A lofty mount marks the site of the former castle.—The extreme point of Palestine is called “the entrance of Hamath,” (מַבְעַת חַמַּת); and the whole extent of the land is described, “from the entrance of Hamath to the river of Egypt.”<sup>9</sup> It seems, therefore, to denote the great depression between the northern end of Lebanon and the Nusairiyeh mountains. “It may refer either generally to the whole of the great depression, affording as it does an easy passage from the coast to the plain of the Orontes; or specifically, to the pass through the ridge under el-Husn, and the low water-shed east of the Bukeia; or, more specifically still, only to this low water-shed adjacent to the plain of the Orontes.”<sup>10</sup>—The opinions that Hamath is Antiochia, or Emesa, or Apamea, or Heliopolis, are either without any, or without sufficient support.

These are the descendants of Canaan, who, though originally forming one great family, spread through the wide extent of the country reaching from Sidon in

<sup>1</sup> Comp. *Pliny*, v. 17; *Strabo*, xvi. 763; *Ptol.*, v. 15; *Assemani*, Bibl. Or., i. 504; *Shaw*, Travels, p. 268.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. *Eckhel*, Doctr. Num., iii. 312.

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix, § 3, ii. 3. F.

<sup>4</sup> Amos vi. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Num. xiii. 21; Josh. xiii. 5; 2 Kings xxv. 21.

<sup>6</sup> 2 Sam. viii. 9.

<sup>7</sup> 2 Kings xiv. 28.

<sup>8</sup> 2 Kings xvii. 24; Isai. x. 9; comp.

Judg. iii. 3; 1 Kings viii. 65; 2 Kings xxiii. 33; Jer. xxxix. 5; Zech. ix. 2, etc.; *Pliny*, v. 19; *Ptol.* v. 15.

<sup>9</sup> 1 Kings viii. 65; 2 Chr. vii. 8; comp. 2 Kings xiv. 25.

<sup>10</sup> *Robinson*, Researches, iii. 568, 569, 551; *Abulfeda*, pp. 108, 109, 149, 191; *Roland*, Pal., 119, 120; *Burckhardt*, Trav. in Syria, i. 249; *Stanley*, Sinai and Palestine, p. 399.

the north down to Gaza and Gerar in the south, and to the Dead Sea and the Jordan in the east (vers. 19, 20), comprising also the territory of the aborigines and of the Philistines. For to the districts of the latter belonged

*Gerar* (גרר), which was situated in a valley (perhaps the Vadi el Scheria), in the south of Palestine, near Beersheba, between Kadesh and Shur, and was inhabited chiefly by a pastoral population; it was already, in the time of Abraham, presided over by its own kings, and may, in those early ages, have exercised a political influence over other parts of Philistia also.<sup>11</sup> Gerar is, therefore, neither identical with Ascalon nor with Elusa. Its remains are, perhaps, still extant in the ruins of the old town Khribet-el-Gerar, three leagues south-east of Gaza, between this place and Khalassa (Elusa).<sup>12</sup>

The position and history of the strongly fortified Philistine town, *Gaza* (גזא), which was, perhaps, the capital of the province,<sup>13</sup> are too indisputably known to require more than a brief notice. It was situated on a lofty mound between Raphia and Ascalon, in the caravan and military road to Egypt, about 20 stadia from the Mediterranean Sea, where it commanded the stormy harbour Majumas, later, in the reign of Constantius, for a short time detached from it, under the name of Constantia. It may, originally, like the whole district, have been inhabited by the Avim, till the latter were from thence expelled by the immigrating Capthorim, or Philistines.<sup>14</sup> Although Gaza was assigned to the men of Judah, and was, indeed, conquered by them,<sup>15</sup> it soon gained, and almost uninterruptedly maintained, its independence, except that, during a short time, it was subjected by the Egyptians,<sup>16</sup> and, perhaps, by the king Hzekiah.<sup>17</sup> Alexander the Great, astonished at the massiveness of its spacious walls, and seriously humiliated by the resistance which he experienced, took it only after a contest of five months, and after having erected the battering engines on an artificial mound 250 feet high, and a quarter of a mile in width; however, he did not destroy it; it played a prominent part in the subsequent wars; and seems, in the times of the Maccabees, to have recovered its ancient power.<sup>18</sup> Destroyed by the king Alexander Jannæus (B.C. 96), and rebuilt by the Roman general Gabinus, it belonged, first to Herod, then to the Roman province of Syria, and continued to be an influential and independent town. Plutarch calls it the greatest city of Syria; it had a senate (or βουλή), of five hundred members, and enjoyed a democratical government; it struck its own coins, many of which are preserved, and prove that it was a sacred city, and enjoyed the right of asylum, and that it was, at that time, chiefly peopled by Greeks; for they bear the images of the principal Grecian deities, and the inscriptions of Minos, and of Marna, who is the Cretan Jupiter;<sup>19</sup> whilst the fair which Hadrian here held for the sale of the captured Israelites,<sup>20</sup> and to which it owed for many centuries the name of Forum Hadriani, shows its commercial reputation. Although the inhabitants clung long with a rare tenacity to their pagan traditions, it became one of the earliest episcopal sees; and it is not inconsiderably mixed up with many important events of the middle ages. A town in a rather neglected state, but with more than 10,000 inhabitants, bears still the ancient name, *Azzah*, the principal part of which is situated on a hill rising between 50 and 60 feet above the surrounding plain, covered with gardens and orchards, whilst two suburbs stretch out on the eastern and northern sides.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Gen. xxvi. 20; xx. 1; xxvi. 1, 20;  
<sup>12</sup> Chron. xiv. 12, 13; *Sosomen.*, Hist.  
Ecol. vi. 32; ix. 17; *Reland*, Pal., p. 804.

<sup>13</sup> Comp. *Williams*, Holy City, p. 488.

<sup>14</sup> Judg. xvi. 21; Am. i. 6, 7.

<sup>15</sup> Deut. ii. 19; see pp. 266, 267.

<sup>16</sup> Judg. i. 18.

<sup>17</sup> Jer. xlvii. 1; comp. *Herod.*, iii. 5.

<sup>17</sup> *Joseph.*, Antiq., IX. xiii. 3.

<sup>18</sup> 1 Macc. xiii. 43—48.

<sup>19</sup> *Joseph.*, Bell. Jud., XVII. xiii. 4;  
*Eckhel*, Doct. Num., iii. 448—454.

<sup>20</sup> A.C. 119.

<sup>21</sup> Comp. Josh. xv. 37, 47; Judg. xvi.  
1; *Arrian*, Al., ii. 26, 27; *Pliny*, v. 14;  
vi. 32; xii. 32; *Curt.*, iv. 6, 7; *Polyb.*, v.



About Sod m, Gomorrah, Admah, and Zeboim, see the notes on xix. 4—25.

As our text evidently describes the boundary lines of the land of Canaan, running from Sidon southward to Gaza, and thence eastward to the Dead Sea, to Sodom and Gomorrah; it follows, that *Lasha* (לָשָׁה), the last town here mentioned, must be situated beyond the Dead Sea, forming the utmost point to which Canaan was believed to extend in the east. The position of Callirrhoe, therefore, which place is, by Jerome and several ancient translators, understood to be Lasha, has every probability; and it is as unnecessary as it is fruitless to insist upon other conjectures. Whether a town was ever founded near the celebrated hot sulphureous springs of the river Callirrhoe, has been made doubtful by the recent examination of its valley, which is too narrow to allow of the erection of extensive buildings; but houses were here undoubtedly built for the reception of the invalids who, like Herod, availed themselves of these salutary waters; the ruins of tiles and pottery still found at the principal spring, about one hour and a half east of the Dead Sea, and the ancient (Roman) copper medals here discovered, prove that this part was not uninhabited; and the limited extent of the place was sufficiently overbalanced by its natural importance and its renown, to be employed, in our passage, for the description of Canaan's eastern boundary. The river Callirrhoe, to which the sulphur deposited on it imparts a brilliant yellow colour, precipitates itself, from rocks between 80 and 150 feet high, forming a chasm 122 feet wide, into the plain; its original hot stream is, within the space of half a mile, increased from four sources of an equal temperature (about 94°); and it rushes, in a southerly direction, with extreme velocity into the Dead Sea. The valley itself, in which, during the summer, an oppressive temperature prevails, is densely covered with canes, aspens, and palm-trees.—The name לָשָׁה, which is, in Arabic, *Assure* or *breach*, points, perhaps, to the springs and fountains breaking through the craggy soil.<sup>1</sup>

The word לָשָׁה (instead of לָשָׁה “thy coming”) entirely assumed the force of a preposition (ver. 30; xiii. 10; xxv. 18); but is to be distinguished from לָ, in that it denotes only the *direction* (towards), whereas לָ describes the actual *terminus ad quem* (to). If both words are connected (לָשָׁה לָ), the meaning of לָ prevails (2 Sam. v. 26; 1 Kings xviii. 46; in the passage xix. 22, the combination is only in appearance). Hence, if a greater accuracy is intended than the mere statement of the direction, a locality preceded by לָ is added to one introduced by לָשָׁה, as is twice the case in our verse.—The limits here fixed for the land of the *Canaanites*, are not intended to coincide with the far more extensive boundaries later assigned to the empire of the *Israelites*; <sup>2</sup> it is, therefore, an evident corruption of the Samaritan codex here to read: “The boundary of Canaan was from the river of Egypt to the great stream, the stream Euphrates, and to the western sea.”

### III.—THE SHEMITES. VERS. 21—31.

Our list passes, lastly, over to those branches of the human family, which form the chief interest of the Biblical narrative, and for whose sake principally this elaborate pedigree has been inserted. That this was the clearly defined end of the author, is obvious from the introductory remark, that Shem was “the father of all the children of Eber”; he now hastens, with an almost impatient step, to the glorious ancestors of the Hebrews, after having assigned to them their accurate position among the other nations of the earth. Shem is significantly called the elder brother of Japheth, not of Ham,

68; *Strab.*, xvi. 759; *Plut.*, Alex., xxv.; *Joseph.*, Ant., XIII. xiii. 3; XIV. v. 3; XV. vii. 3; *Sozomen.*, Hist. Eccl., v. 3; *Reland.*, Pal., 788; *Le Quien.*, Oriens Christ., iii. 603—622; *Robinson.*, Research., ii. 374.

<sup>1</sup> Compare *Joseph.*, Antiq., XVII. vi. 5; *Bell. Jud.*, I. xxxiii. 6; *Pliny.*, v. 16; *Roland.*, Palest., pp. 302, 678; *Rosenmüller.*, Morgenland, vi. 249—251; *Lynch.*, Exped. p. 371.

<sup>2</sup> xv. 18; Deut. xi. 24; Josh. i. 4.

because he should not even be compared with the curse-laden and frivolous man; and although it was a historical fact, too generally adopted to be concealed, that the southern regions of the globe were peopled before the northern and western parts, and that the Hamites were more primitive than the Japhethites: the highest antiquity was, with universal consent and great probability, ascribed to the central districts inhabited by Shem.

I. ELAM (עֵלָם) not improperly occupies the first place among the Shemites. He represents the vast district of *Elymais*, which long maintained a respectable position by the side of Assyria and Media, though it temporarily obeyed the former, and Babylonia;<sup>3</sup> it was governed by its own kings,<sup>4</sup> and formed a most powerful commonwealth;<sup>5</sup> it was the only nation which, far from being subdued by the Parthians, imposed a tribute upon them;<sup>6</sup> it is, both by Biblical and profane writers, celebrated for its prowess in battle, and its skill in archery,<sup>7</sup> though it was neither deficient in the ability nor the perseverance for husbandry; and it was even in the time of the Persian empire so powerful, that the whole country bore the name of Elam, and the capital, Susa, belonged to its territory.<sup>8</sup> It is difficult to fix its exact boundaries, especially as the various classical writers differ widely in their statements; no doubt, because the extent of the district changed in different times, according to the success of their arms, or the invasions of mightier conquerors. In our passage, where it is distinguished from Assyria as well as from Media (ver. 2), it most probably embraces the countries in the south and east of these two empires, down to and along the Persian Gulf, and, no doubt, comprising the territory of the later kingdom of Persia, which name is not mentioned in our list, and which Elam here represents. That it, however, does not include Babylonia, needs scarcely to be remarked.<sup>9</sup> It is, therefore, unnecessary to enter into the discrepant accounts given by the ancient geographers, concerning the extent of Elymais, some placing it more to the north between Mount Zagrus and Susiana,<sup>10</sup> others describing it as a southern maritime country between the rivers Eulæus and Oratia, and the Persian Gulf;<sup>11</sup> it is evident, that, except in very late times,<sup>12</sup> the Biblical Elam includes not only both these territories, but also Susiana itself, although it is historically established that Elymais was often in violent hostilities against Susiana.<sup>13</sup>—Saadiâh renders Elam, in Isai. xi. 11, by Chusistan, which is, in the Pehlvi dialect, *Airjama* (Elam).<sup>14</sup>

II. About ASHUR (אַשּׁוּר) see pp. 260 and 264; from the remarks at the latter place, it will be understood with what justice or propriety Ashur was included among the Shemites, whilst its principal towns were peopled by Hamites (vers. 11, 12).

III. ARPHAXAD (אַרְפַּכְשָׁד) is here evidently also the representative of a nation, not a mere mythic person, denoting some abstract historical fact, as, for instance, the "point of separation of the languages," according to a questionable etymology which takes Arphaxad for a Shemitic word, and assumes, without argument, the second part to be identical with *Casdim* (קַסְדִּים = קַסְדִּים). In connection with Elam and Ashur, nothing is more natural than to point to the northern district of Assyria, *Arrhaphachitis* (Ἀρράφαχτις), also called *Arjapakshata* (the country at the side of Arya or Persia), which adjoins Media, and extends chiefly on the southern side of the Gordyæan mountains.<sup>15</sup>—The statement of Josephus, therefore, who explains Arphaxad by Chaldeans, is too indistinct; and several modern derivations are purely conjectural.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Isai. xxii. 6; Ezek. xxxii. 24.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. xiv. 1; Judith i. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Jer. xlix. 34—39.

<sup>6</sup> Strabo, xi. 524.

<sup>7</sup> Isai. loc. cit.; Jer. xlix. 35; Strabo, xvi. 744.

<sup>8</sup> Dan. viii. 2.

<sup>9</sup> Isai. xi. 11; Gen. xiv. 1.

<sup>10</sup> Strabo, xvi. 744.

<sup>11</sup> Pliny, vi. 28; Ptol., vi. 5.

<sup>12</sup> Ezra iv. 9.

<sup>13</sup> Strabo, xi. 524; xvi. 744.

<sup>14</sup> Gesen., Theol., p. 1017.

<sup>15</sup> Ptol., vi. 1.

<sup>16</sup> Michael. Specil., i. 73; Ewald, Israel. Geschichte, i. 333.

The direct descendants of Arphaxad are the children of *Eber* (עֶבֶר), or the *Hebrews* (עִבְרִים), who is the father of *Peleg* (פֶּלֶג), but between the two former intervenes *Salah* (שָׁלַח), as the connecting link. Since the last twenty years, it has been customary among the historical expositors of the Bible, to take Salah and Peleg as mere appellative nouns, and to assert that they are fictitious names, invented to describe the supposed origin and diffusion of the Hebrews. But, although Salah means, indeed, dismissal or propagation, and Peleg is, by our text itself, explained as the patriarch in whose days the nations of the earth separated, it would be a total misconception here suddenly to understand individuals, and not tribes. For, when our list intends to introduce an *individual*, as in the case of Nimrod, it is very careful to describe him as such beyond the possibility of mistake (vers. 8, 9); in the case of Salah and Peleg, we have no such allusion whatever. That these names have an appellative meaning, makes them historically as little suspected as Babel, which is similarly explained as "confusion of tongues" (xi. 9), or as Hazarmaveth (חֲזַרְמַוֶּתַּת, ver. 26), or any other Biblical proper noun. It has not even been attempted to account for the indisputably genuine name of Eber in the midst of individuals supposed to be fictitious; and we see no alternative but either to reject the three persons equally as mythical, or to acknowledge the historical character of all. As the former is impossible, on account of Eber, there remains nothing but the latter; nor can the difficulty which we find in identifying the nations represented by Salah and Peleg, for a moment embarrass our decision. We have here the only instance of a genealogical descent to the fourth generation, Arphaxad, Salah, Eber, and Peleg and Joktan, after which a subordinate branch follows again; and this circumstance alone clearly points to ethnological complications which the Biblical student may candidly confess to be unable to unravel, consoling himself with the extreme uncertainty which often prevails regarding the origin of comparatively modern nations, about which we possess abundant historical materials. If this part of the genealogy is a fiction, it is remarkable that Eber should be represented as owing its existence to two anterior families, those of Arphaxad and Salah, and not as the original and eldest founder of his line; the priority of race was too marked an object of ambition among the ancients to be neglected in an imaginary pedigree. But the Hebrews are truthfully introduced as a younger branch of the Shemites.—It is enough to trace the apparent course of the progeny of Arphaxad. From the boundaries of Armenia, his immediate descendants, the *Salahites*, spread (שָׁלַח) along the Eastern side of the Tigris, and in the mountains of the Median highlands; a part of their population gradually wandered and settled *beyond* (עֲבַר) the Tigris and Euphrates, whilst the chief stock of the latter, in their turn, no doubt urged on, and accompanied by, a general commotion of nations, was the origin of *extensive* and *distant* colonies (שָׁלַח, ver. 25) in the wide tracts of Arabia, to the Indian Ocean in the south, and the Mediterranean Sea in the west. This progress of nations is so natural, that we feel no hesitation whatever to declare the names of our verses as those of authentic historical tribes, in the sense, however, explained in the introductory remarks to this chapter (p. 235); they were intended, and, at least, believed as such by the author of our list. We derive, therefore, שָׁלַח from שָׁלַח in the meaning of extending, or spreading, especially used of branches of trees (Jer. xvii. 8; Ezek. xvii. 6, etc.), whence שָׁלַח shoots (Isa. xvi. 8), and then distinctly applied to the diffusion of races and nations (Ps. xlv. 3), so that Salah expresses *nomadic* tribes, extending their migrations in various directions, and to distant districts, a fact proved by the dependencies ascribed to them in our text, though they were later merged in those mighty empires which successively forced large portions of Asia under their dominion.

The name, "the children of Eber" (בְּנֵי-עֶבֶר), is here attributed to all those who crossed the rivers of Mesopotamia, and thence proceeded westward or southward; it is, therefore, originally not limited to the Israelites, who were, indeed, in their inter-

course with foreign nations, invariably called Hebrews (עִבְרִים), that is, those who came from the other side of the river Euphrates,<sup>1</sup> but who properly bore this name only as members of a larger family of nations, whilst they applied to themselves the distinctive, or theocratic, appellation of Israelites. However, the usage of their idiom gradually restricted the word Hebrews also to their tribes alone, a change easily explained by their isolation from kindred nations; and hence the name of Hebrews is, in the Old Testament, applied to no other people. We believe that when, in their migrations, they first reached the western districts, and more particularly Canaan, and were interrogated respecting their former abodes, they introduced themselves, as a transeuphratic tribe, or as Hebrews;<sup>2</sup> and that they were, henceforth, naturally called by the same name among their new neighbours, who would scarcely have designated them by a purely Shemitic word, if the name had proceeded from them.<sup>3</sup> The name *Judæi* is of far later origin, and passed into use, for the whole nation, not before the exile.—The identification of the descendants of Eber with the inhabitants of Iberia, a Caucasian tribe, is inadmissible,<sup>4</sup> because it disregards that they were transeuphratic; but it proves, at least, a just desire to raise Eber from a mythical into a historical person.

The younger brother of Eber is *Joktan* (יֻכְתָּן, 'Ιεκτάν), the reputed ancestor of Arabic tribes occupying large districts. Although the extent of the territory peopled by his descendants is stated with some accuracy (ver. 20), it is only to the attention of modern travellers that we owe the information, that, about a three days' journey north of Nedaheeran, are a province and a town of Kachtan, which is the ancient Arabic name for Joktan;<sup>5</sup> and this statement agrees with a similar remark of Edrisi. It is no matter of surprise, that the zeal of the Arabians was busy to fix and to enlarge the traditions concerning the ancestor of their chief tribes. They assert, with confidence, that Kachtan is the father of all the pure and genuine Arabians of Yemen, through his eldest son Jareb, whose grandson, Saba, gave birth to the future founders of the various noble communities, whilst they derive from Adnan the origin of the mixed, or later tribes.<sup>6</sup>

1. About the eldest son of Joktan, *Almodad* (אַלְמֹדָד), it is impossible to give any decided opinion, although the word itself betrays its origin, by the Arabic article.<sup>7</sup> The various conjectures, to which this uncertainty has tempted critics, are perfectly untenable; a mistake in the text is again assumed by many; Almorad is read instead of Almodad; and Morad is identified with the grandson of Seba, whose tribe lived in the mountains of Yemen, in the vicinity of Zabid.<sup>8</sup>

2. *Shaleph* (שָׁלֵף) represents, perhaps, the *Salapeni*, mentioned by Ptolemy<sup>9</sup> as an inland tribe of Arabia Felix,<sup>10</sup> in the south-east of the present Medina.

3 and 5. *Hazormaveth* and *Hadoram*, appear to belong to the same district; the former is the ancestor of those *Chatramotitæ*, who settled in the south of Arabia, near the Arabian Gulf; here incense and myrrh grow in luxurious abundance; and the capital, Sabotah, was the general market for these precious products. The inhabitants gradually acquired considerable wealth, and they were by Strabo reckoned

<sup>1</sup> עִבְרֵי הַנָּהָר, Josh. xxiv. 2, 14, 15.

<sup>2</sup> עִבְרִים, *ἑβραῖαι*; Gen. xiv. 13.

<sup>3</sup> About the name Hebrews, as used only in contradistinction to foreigners, comp. Gen. xliii. 32; Exod. i. 15, 16; xxi. 2; Jer. xxxiv. 9; 1 Sam. xiii. 3, 7; xiv. 21; and before Non-Israelites Gen. xl. 15; Exod. ii. 7; iii. 18; or with a certain pride in Jon. i. 9, as Ἑβραῖος in the New Testament, 2 Cor. xi. 22; Philipp. iii. 5, etc.; or by Non-Israelites, Gen. xxxix. 14, 17; Exod. i. 16; 1 Sam. iv. 6, 9; xiii. 19, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Ewald, Israel. Gesch., i. 336. The Koran calls Eber *Hud*, the supposed ancestor of the *Jehudim*, or Jews.

<sup>5</sup> Niebuhr, Descr., p. 275.

<sup>6</sup> See on xxv. 12—18; comp. Pococke, Spec. Hist. Arab., p. 32, et seq.; Schultens, Hist. imper. Joktanid.

<sup>7</sup> מֹדָד, comp. Josh. xv. 30; 1 Kings x. 11, 12.

<sup>8</sup> Com. Gesen., Thes., p. 93.

<sup>9</sup> vi. 7.

<sup>10</sup> 22° lat., 72° long.

among the four most important nations of Arabia. There is still a fertile district, the extent of which is differently stated, of the name of *Hadramaut*.<sup>1</sup> It signifies "abode of death," perhaps on account of the unhealthy character of the district. The inhabitants, who are of a very active disposition, carry on a lively commerce in frankincense, myrrh, gum, and other products; their language<sup>2</sup> is a dialect materially different from that spoken in Yemen. The Adramitæ, or descendants of *Hadoram* (הָדֹרָם), inhabited a part of the same province, especially on the coast, and participated in the same lucrative spice-trade.—The classical authors write the first name especially with various modifications.<sup>3</sup>

4. As *Jerah* (יֶרֶחַ) is mentioned between the two last territories, it must undoubtedly be situated in their vicinity; and we, therefore, readily adopt the opinion of Michaelis,<sup>4</sup> that *Jerah* (signifying the Moon) is the coast and mountain of the Moon,<sup>5</sup> in the neighbourhood of *Hadramaut*. If the Hebrew word is a translation of the Arabic name, or if, perhaps, the reverse is the case, this is no more than almost all languages have done in similar instances.—Bochart<sup>6</sup> has proposed an analogous exposition, likewise based upon the translation of the original term, and tracing *Jerah* to the *Alilæi*, that is, "children of the Moon" (*Beni Halal*), or the worshippers of *Alilat*, the Moon, or *Urania*.<sup>7</sup> But the *Alilæi*, who lived rather on the Erythrean Sea, near the gold districts,<sup>8</sup> are, geographically, less appropriate in connection with *Hadramaut*.

6. The name *Uzal* (אֻזַל), as *Sanaa*, the capital of Yemen, was originally called—and, perhaps, still traceable in its present suburb *Oseir*, chiefly occupied by about 2,000 Jews—was in use till at least the sixth century of the present era.<sup>9</sup> It was one of the oldest commercial districts of Arabia, and the natives themselves attribute to *Sanaa* an almost fabulous antiquity. It stood in lively intercourse with Tyre, and had, perhaps, its own port, *Javan*.<sup>10</sup> In this case, it is more than probable that they extended their maritime expeditions to India, from whence they exported cinnamon, cassia, and perhaps manufactured iron, although they appear to have excelled themselves in the last named article.<sup>11</sup> *Sanaa* is situated on a plateau 4,000 feet above the level of the sea, in 15° 21' N.L.; the air is most salubrious, and an almost equal temperature pervades during summer and winter; the rain, which falls within the months from June to August, descends generally during the night; but the district not unfrequently suffers from protracted droughts, and, in consequence, from fearful famines. The inhabitants are still celebrated for the manufacture of certain beautiful stuffs.<sup>12</sup>

7, 8, 9. *Diklah*, *Obal*, and *Abimael* (דִּקְלָה, עֹבָל, אַבִּימָאֵל), are no more to be ascertained with any degree of certainty; although *Diklah* has conjecturally been taken for the *Minaei* (near Mecca), a region rich in *palm-trees*,<sup>13</sup> or, with scarcely any probability, for the tribes at the mouth of the *Tigris*;<sup>14</sup> *Obal* for the *Avalites*, on the eastern coast of Africa, near *Bab-el-Mandeb* (see p. 93); and *Abimael* for the *Mali*, whose

<sup>1</sup> حَضْرَمَوْت, the letters of which correspond exactly with those of the Hebrew appellation, הָדֹרָם.

<sup>2</sup> Which is, perhaps, the *Ehkili*; see *Ritter*, Arab., i. 48.

<sup>3</sup> For instance, *Xarapaurai*, or *Xarapaurai*, etc.; comp. *Strab.*, xvi. 768; *Plin.*, vi. 32; xii. 30; *Ptol.*, vi. 7, 25; *Ritter*, Arab., i. 609—663.

<sup>4</sup> *Specil. Geogr. Hebr. extar.*, ii. 60.

<sup>5</sup> القمر.

<sup>6</sup> *Phaleg*, ii. 19.

<sup>7</sup> *Herod.*, iii. 8; *Bacchus* was adored under the name of *Orotai*.

<sup>8</sup> *Diod. Sic.*, iii. 45; *Ritter*, Arabia, i. 492.

<sup>9</sup> *Assem.*, Bibl. Or., i. 360; *Kamus*, p. 1388.

<sup>10</sup> *Ezek.* xxvii. 19; where, according to St. Jerome, יָן מִצְאֵי is to be read.

<sup>11</sup> *Hamas.*, p. 384; comp. *Abulfeda*, *Descript. Arab.*, p. 48; *Bochart*, *Phal.*, ii. 21.

<sup>12</sup> See *Ritter*, Arab., i. 240, 723, 745, 820—839.

<sup>13</sup> *Strab.*, xvi. 776; *Bochart*, *Phal.*, ii. 22.

<sup>14</sup> דִּקְלָה, *Michael*, *Specil.*, ii. 176.

very name is doubtful.<sup>15</sup> The frequently-shifting tribes of Arabia defy our identification, the more as they seldom leave lasting monuments of their stay, and their earliest written documents which have reached us are considerably later than the beginning of the Christian era.

10. About the *Sabaans* (סבאים), see p. 251.

11. The incredible fluctuations which have prevailed, and still exist, concerning the locality of *Ophir* (ופיר), are indeed astonishing, if we consider the copious and almost unmistakeable Biblical statements. Our present passage alone is sufficient to decide its general situation. It cannot be sought in any other country but in Arabia; for the tribes of Joktan are, without any exception, Arabians, and the boundaries within which they lived are distinctly stated (in ver. 30); if Tarshish lies beyond Greece, and Babylon beyond Cush, their distant position is sufficiently clear from the context; whereas, both in the notions and the language of the ancients, Joktanites and Arabians were synonymous. *Ophir* is here mentioned between *Sheba* and *Havilah*, the situation of which, in Arabia, is undisputed; all difficulties which have been found in the Arabic position of *Ophir* are artificial or trifling; the goods which King Solomon, assisted by the Tyrian monarch, *Hiram*, and his famous mariners, imported from *Ophir*, and which consisted of gold and silver, of precious stones, ivory, and sandal-wood, of apes and peacocks,<sup>16</sup> were either native products of eastern Arabia, or were, from India, brought to those parts, either by an active caravan or coast trade, to be carried to Egypt or Syria; and Arabians, as well as Phœnicians engaged in these remunerative pursuits. If at present these districts do not yield the precious metals, because the mines are either exhausted or neglected, it would be arbitrary and fanciful to oppose a mere denial to the unanimous testimony of profane and sacred writers concerning their former abundance in Arabia; the gold of *Ophir* was particularly plentiful:<sup>17</sup> it was so much esteemed, that the word *Ophir* alone gradually assumed the meaning of purest gold;<sup>18</sup> and the prodigious wealth of Solomon was chiefly derived from that source;<sup>19</sup> the name itself is Arabic, and signifies the *opulent country*;<sup>20</sup> and the existence of peacocks there cannot be disproved; and although ivory and sandal-wood were chiefly, if not exclusively, found in India,<sup>21</sup> they were at least equally accessible from *Ophir*; the notice in the Books of Kings and of Chronicles, that the ships of Solomon went to *Ophir* every three years,<sup>22</sup> can by no means be used as an argument against so neighbouring a land as Arabia; for it is not even necessary to point to the extreme slowness of ancient navigation along the coast, especially in the dangerous waters of the Arabic Gulf,<sup>23</sup> or to the incessant winds which, in the northern part of the Red Sea, blow nine months almost constantly downwards, and, in the southern part, as long upwards, whilst they are changeable in the middle; or to suppose, that the ships of Solomon had to wait in *Ophir* for fresh arrivals of cargo from India: those passages in the historical books state simply, that between one voyage and the other intervened a period of three years; how long the ships remained in the port of *Eziongeber* to be refitted, and, perhaps, to be filled with export goods, it was unnecessary to add; and we have other notices which seem to prove an *annual* journey to *Ophir* and back.<sup>24</sup> It is, therefore, undoubted that *Ophir* was an Arabian district, either on the southern or south-eastern coast; which result remains unshaken, even if the present town *Ophar*, in the province of Oman,

<sup>15</sup> *Theophr.*, Hist. Plant., ix. 4; *Michael.*, Specil., ii. 179; *Bochart*, Phal., ii. 24.

<sup>16</sup> 1 Kings ix. 28; x. 11, 22; 2 Chron. viii. 18; ix. 10, 21.

<sup>17</sup> Job xxviii. 16; Ps. xlv. 15, etc.

<sup>18</sup> Job xxii. 24. <sup>19</sup> See p. 251.

<sup>20</sup> From *وفير*; comp. *Euseb.*, Præp. Ev., ix. 30.

<sup>21</sup> Compare, however, 2 Chron. ii. 7; and the Arabic article in the Hebrew name *אֶלְכָנִים*.

<sup>22</sup> 1 Kings x. 22; 2 Chron. ix. 21.

<sup>23</sup> 1 Kings xxii. 49.

<sup>24</sup> 1 Kings x. 14; 2 Chron. ix. 13.

which, by Edrisi, and later by Seetzen, was identified with our Ophir, should not be its exact locality.<sup>1</sup> It will now be unnecessary to dwell upon the various other positions which have been assigned to the Biblical Ophir, in Armenia, Iberia, Phrygia, and many other still more distant parts of the globe; but the opinion, that it is a province or town of India, has had many zealous and intelligent advocates; and it has, indeed, far more probable claims than the other conjectures alluded to. The Septuagint renders Ophir several times *Σώπειρα* or *Σουφείρ*, which was an ancient name for India;<sup>2</sup> and Josephus followed this explanation;<sup>3</sup> it is, therefore, natural that Ophir should have been compared with the town *Σουράρα*<sup>4</sup> or *Οβάρρα*,<sup>5</sup> at the coast of Malabar; but the authority of the Greek translators is, in matters of geography and natural history, far from decisive; the names mentioned bear a resemblance to Ophir too distant to afford a criterion, and are to be traced to very different etymologies;<sup>6</sup> and the place which Ophir occupies in our list, forbids us to proceed beyond Arabia. This latter consideration is equally fatal to the coast of Sofala, in eastern Africa, which others have selected. Besides, the name Sofala (سوفالا) signifies "low-land" (נָּפְלָה), and has nothing in common with Ophir; and the gold region of Fura is nearly 200 Spanish leagues distant from the coast.—But the assumption of a double Ophir, one in India, and one in Arabia, is evidently a compromise, and the result of an indecision scarcely worthy of the scholars who proposed it. It is stated in several passages that voyages were made in "ships of Tarshish" (1 Ki. x. 22; xxii. 49; 2 Chr. ix. 21). This remark has long been so understood, that the expeditions went both to Tarshish and to Ophir, an interpretation which materially increased the difficulty of the subject, and required new conjectures with regard to both localities. But it is at present universally acknowledged that that term denotes vessels originally or generally used for the distant journeys to Tartessus (see p. 243).—It may be interesting to add, that Columbus wrote from Haiti to his king, that he had there found the renowned Ophir (Sopara), with all the treasures coveted by King Solomon; whilst others sought Ophir in Ceylon, Sumatra, or Mozambique; on the eastern coast of Africa, or in Peru.<sup>7</sup>

12. About *Havilah* (חַוִּילָה), see p. 249.

13. *Jobab* (יֹבָב) is, according to the etymology, a district in *Arabia Deserta*;<sup>8</sup> but more than this we are unable to ascertain; for the double conjecture of Salmassius and Bochart, that Jobab represents the Jobaritis ('*Ιωβαρίταις*) of Ptolemy,<sup>9</sup> on the Erythrean Sea, near the Sacalites Sinus; and that this is a corrupt reading instead of Jobabitis ('*Ιωβασιτίαις*), is not much more probable than the identification of Jobab with Job!

The Hebrew author is not satisfied with enumerating the brotherly tribes of the Jok-

<sup>1</sup> Especially on account of an orthographical difficulty, that town being written *Ἰβύ*; *Zach*, Monatl. Corresp., xix. 331.

<sup>2</sup> *Champollion*, L'Egypte, i. 68.

<sup>3</sup> *Antiq.*, VIII. vi. 4.

<sup>4</sup> *Ptolem.*, vii. 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Edrisi*, i. 67; ed. Jaubert; *سوفارة*.

<sup>6</sup> *Lassen*, Ind. Alt., i. 537; *Tuch*, Gen., p. 262.

<sup>7</sup> The Greek variations of the name are very manifold; we have *Ούφειρ*, *Ούφειρ*, and *Οφείρ*; *Σουφείρ*, *Σουφείρ*, and *Σωφείρ*; *Σωφισά* or *Σωφισαίρ*, *Σωφαραί*, and *Σωφηνά*; *Σαφείρ* and *Οφείρ*; but most of them were the consequence of individual conjectures concerning the identity and chief

treasures of the province.—There exists a rich literature concerning the position and products of Ophir; we mention only: *Michaelis*, Specileg., ii., 184; *Bochart*, Phal., ii. 27; *Reland*, Diss. Misc., i. 165; *Bellermann*, Handbuch, iv. 416; *Ritter*, Erdkunde, v. 440—443; xiv. 348—431; *Keil*, Dorpater Beiträge, ii. 269; *Salt*, Voyage to Abyssinia, p. 99, *et seq.*; *Recherches Asiatiques*, i. 366; *Bredow*, Untersuch., ii. 149; *Hartmann*, Aufklär., ii. 78; *Gosse*, Recherches, ii. 118; *Rosenmüller*, Alterth., iii. 177; *Gesen.*, Thes., p. 141; *Humboldt*, Kosmos, ii. 167, 415.

<sup>8</sup> *يباب*, a desert.

<sup>9</sup> vi. 7; comp. *Dion Cass.*, lxxviii. 28.

tanites individually and separately; he cannot dismiss them without describing their abodes as a whole, and as a continuous country; and he does this with an accuracy which is a new proof of his extensive information, as well as his carefulness. The Arabians are said to have dwelt "from Mesha towards Sephar to the mountain of the east." We are, fortunately, at present enabled to fix these three localities with a probability almost amounting to certainty. Mesha (מִשָּׁה) seems, like Media and Mesopotamia, to have originally been an appellative noun, signifying "a middle district";<sup>10</sup> and there are, in fact, at least two places of the same name, both formed by two diverging branches of the Tigris, which enclose important islands. Before that stream discharges its floods into the Persian Gulf, it divides itself, at the confluence of the Karun (Pasitigris) and the Shat-al-Arab, into two branches, and forms the island *Mesene*, at once a river and a sea-island. This is the Mesha of our text. It had its own rulers, and was, even in later times, not without political influence. It was of great importance for the commerce of the Euphrates and of the Persian Gulf, and for the possession of the coast-districts.<sup>11</sup> The other island of the same name, considerably northwards, at Apamea, has no reference to our present purpose.<sup>12</sup> The boundaries of Arabia extend, then, from the extreme north-western point of the Persian Gulf towards Sephar (סֶפָר). Between the port of Mirbat and cape Sadjir, and belonging to the province of Hadramaut,<sup>13</sup> along the coast of the Indian ocean, and a little inland, are a number of villages called *Tsafar* (ظَفَار), or, by the natives, *Istar* (إِسْفَار); and near one of them, in Belid or Harikam, are the magnificent ruins of the ancient Sephar, once the seat of Himyaritic kings, and boasting primeval antiquity. There was another town, Sephar, considerably further in the interior of the peninsula, near the present Sanaa, which, though frequently confounded with the former by ancient geographers, is scarcely intended here. The line indicated by our text runs, therefore, from north to south and south-west, till it reaches "the mountain of the east" (הַר הָהָרָם), that is, that range of peaks which is known under the name of the mountains of *Nedshd*, and which intersects central Arabia, in an almost unbroken line, from the vicinity of Mecca and Medinah, to the Persian Gulf. These limits are comprehensive enough to include Sheba and Havilah, Uzal and Ophir.<sup>14</sup>—הַר הָהָרָם is here the accusative denoting the direction, "to the mountain of the east"; for a motion is certainly included in the words, "from Mesha towards Sefar," etc., so that, as regards the sense, לוֹ is to be supplied before הַר הָהָרָם; and we have a similar construction with בְּמִצְרָיִם, as in ver. 19; see p. 276; compare Ezek. xxx. 6: מִמִּגְדֹּל סוּנָה, "from Migdol to Syene."

iv. The fourth son of Shem is Lud (לֹד, ver. 22). The enumeration of the Shemites is evidently more systematic than that of the other great branches of the human family; the progress from Elam to 'Asshur and Arphaxad is geographically so continuous, that we must suppose a similar regularity in the advance to Lud and Aram. And yet, we can scarcely avoid identifying Lud with the *Lydians*, who were originally called Ludi, and whom Josephus and other ancient authorities here understand. But Lydia lies in the distant west; there is, therefore, a sudden and unprepared step over the whole of Asia west of the Tigris, as far as the Ægean sea. But the history of Asia Minor is here sufficient to remove the difficulty and to decide the dilemma. The

<sup>10</sup> Μεσσην; comp. *Polyb.*, v. 44; and p. 25.

<sup>11</sup> *Philostorgius*, Hist. Eccl., iii. 7; *Dion Cassius*, lxviii. 28; *Strabo*, ii. 84; *Steph. Byz.*, sub Σααίνου; *Ritter*, Erdk., x. 55, 121, 150, 181.

<sup>12</sup> *Stephan. Byz.*, sub Ἀνάμεια and Ὀπάδα; *Pliny*, vi. 27; *Ammian.*, xxiv. 3.

<sup>13</sup> See p. 280.

<sup>14</sup> Compare about Mesha and Sephar, *Bochart*, Phal., ii. 20; *Michael.*, Specil., ii. 214; *D'Arville*, L'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 135; *Fraenel*, Lettres sur la Geogr. de l'Arabie, in *Journ. Asiat.*, v. 516; *Mannert*, Geogr., v. 2, p. 359; vi. 73; *Ritter*, Erdk., xii. 252—267; 293—304.



tract of land between the rivers Hermus and Mæander, which formed later the chief part of Lydia, was originally peopled by a Tyrrhenian or Pelasgian race, the *Mæonians*, under which name alone its inhabitants are mentioned by Homer.<sup>1</sup> In the eighth century before Christ, however, a tribe which ancient writers describe as wholly different in descent,<sup>2</sup> invaded the land from the east, and subdued the Mæonians. These were the Lydians. For some time after this conquest, both nations are mentioned promiscuously; but the governing race of the Lydians obtained gradually the preponderance so completely, that the land was called Lydia instead of Mæonia, and its original inhabitants either merged in the strangers, or retired to the northern parts of the river Hermus, where, even in later times, they formed distinct communities.<sup>3</sup> The original abode of the Lydians cannot, therefore, on the whole be held to be doubtful; no tradition represents them as invaders from the sea; their language was totally different from that of the Greeks, who called it like that of their kinsmen, the Carians, a barbarous tongue; and the earliest historical reminiscences connect even the first Mæonian dynasty with Aseyria. They were, then, from choice or necessity, induced to leave the southern parts of the *highlands of Armenia* to find new homes by force of arms; for the ancient Lydians were an extremely brave and warlike nation, renowned especially for their excellent cavalry, before the despotic and infamous policy of Cyrus converted a nation of warriors into a tribe of dancers and singers; but even under the Persian dominion they formed the most important satrapy of Asia Minor;<sup>4</sup> and the fertility of their plains, and the excellence of their climate, secured ease to their lives, and cheerfulness to their character.<sup>5</sup>—It is necessary to distinguish between the Ludim, mentioned in ver. 13, as belonging to the Egyptians, and the Shemitic Ludim in our passage. We believe that the latter are alluded to by Isaiah (lxvi. 19), who introduces them in connection with Ionia and the distant maritime countries, and as men renowned in warfare; and by Ezekiel (xxvii. 10), who includes them among the formidable allies of the Tyrians, the latter being well known to have strengthened their army with auxiliary troops from Asia Minor;<sup>6</sup> whilst the Egyptian Ludim are easily discernible in passages where they are coupled with Cush and Phut.<sup>7</sup> The Lydians never came into direct contact with the Hebrews; the only distant relation between both was occasioned by the Cimmerians, whose partial occupation of Lydia caused the invasion of the Scythians into Palestine (see p. 240).

v. The ARAMEANS, or the descendants of ARAM (אַרָם), as distinguished both from the Babylonians and Assyrians, were supposed to have chiefly inhabited the northern part of Mesopotamia, which was, accordingly, called "Aram of the two rivers,"<sup>8</sup> above the Median Wall; further, the districts westward as far as Syria, which, thence, bore the name of "Aram of Damascus,"<sup>9</sup> though this appellation was originally only applied to the immediate territory around that town;<sup>10</sup> they spread, also, beyond the Euphrates, in many parts of Arabia Deserta, and we find their traces in Aram-Maachah, in the east of the Jordan, near Bashan;<sup>11</sup> in Aram-Beth-Rechob, near Lachish, or Dan, in northern Palestine;<sup>12</sup> and besides various other towns, in the mighty commonwealth of Aram-Zoba, probably between the Euphrates and Orontes, north-east of Damascus.<sup>13</sup> Aramæa was, therefore, understood to comprise the wide territories between the Tigris

<sup>1</sup> Il. ii. 865; v. 43; x. 431.

<sup>2</sup> Dions., i. 30.

<sup>3</sup> Ptol., v. 2; Pliny, v. 30.

<sup>4</sup> Herod., iii. 90.

<sup>5</sup> Comp. Herod., i. 7, 154, 171; Strabo, xii. 572; xiv. 679; Justin., i. 8; Minnermus, Fragm., 14, ed. Bergk.; Niebuhr, Lect. on Anc. Hist., i. 87.

<sup>6</sup> Herod., ii. 152, 154, 163; iii. 11.

<sup>7</sup> Jer. xlv. 9; Ezek. xxx. 5; see p. 264.

<sup>8</sup> אַרָם נְהָרִים.

<sup>9</sup> אַרָם דְּמֶשֶׁק; Isai. vii. 1, 8; xvii. 3;

comp. Plin., v. 13.

<sup>10</sup> 2 Sam. viii. 6, 6.

<sup>11</sup> Ib. x. 6, 8.

<sup>12</sup> Ib. x. 6.

<sup>13</sup> 1 Sam. xiv. 47; 2 Sam. viii. 3.

and the Syrian coast of the Mediterranean, and from the Taurus, indefinitely southward down to the Arabian tribes. But frequently even the southern districts of Mesopotamia are included in that designation,<sup>14</sup> which, indeed, in accordance with its etymological meaning of high-land (כּוֹכַב), was variously attributed to different mountainous or hilly regions, in opposition either to the low-lands of Canaan, or to the *plains* or *fields* of Aram,<sup>15</sup> which were other names for Mesopotamia or for *Aram-Naharaim*.<sup>16</sup> The Euphrates divided, as near as possible, the Aramæan abodes from north to south; and they seem to have been distinguished by their position on the east or west of the river.<sup>17</sup> The Biblical appellation *Aram* is, therefore, in one respect, even more comprehensive than the *Syria* of Strabo and Ptolemy, who made the Euphrates its eastern boundary, although it does not, in the south, stretch so far as the frontiers of Egypt; whilst Pliny and Mela give it an imaginary extent, adding, besides, not only Mesopotamia, but Comagene and Sophene in the north, and Assyria in the east; so that, whilst the name Aramæa originally included Syria, the term Syria was subsequently employed to embrace Aramæa.<sup>18</sup> Of the frequent identification of Syria and Assyria it is not necessary to treat in this place (see p. 110).—In our list, therefore, not the whole of Mesopotamia is assigned to the Aramæans; for, whilst the southern districts were inhabited by Cushite settlers, the northern parts were peopled by tribes which had probably immigrated from the north,<sup>19</sup> and whose language and notions proved them to be original kinsmen of the Israelites. The Aramaic idioms, the Chaldee and Syriac, belong to the stem of the Shemitic languages, and the variations which they show from the Hebrew, imply dialectic rather than fundamental differences, sufficiently accounted for by the climatical and social conditions, and by the foreign influences to which Aramæa was exposed; at a later period, Hebrew received no inconsiderable Aramaic tincture; the Aramæan language was even spoken by Assyrian officers; and it was used by the Persian kings in public documents.<sup>20</sup> Nor did the political relations between the Hebrews and Aramæans show protracted national animosity; for, although David combated against, and defeated the powerful king Hadareser of Aram-Zoba, his successor entertained friendly connections with the growing commonwealth of Damascus;<sup>21</sup> till both were forced under the Assyrian yoke.—The Aramæans are mentioned, by Homer and Hesiod, under the name of Ἀριμοί.<sup>22</sup>—The sons of Aram are:—

1. *Uz* (עֶזְרָא). The position of the land of Uz, which is immortalized by the Book of Job, may, with some accuracy, be determined from the following facts. It lies in the vicinity of the nomadic Sabæans;<sup>23</sup> of the marauding Chaldeans,<sup>24</sup> and of the Idumæan town Teman, about five miles from Petra, the birth-place or residence of the chief friend of Job,<sup>25</sup> but yet not belonging to the district of Idumæa,<sup>26</sup> although Edomites later conquered, or, at least, inhabited it.<sup>27</sup> If we hereto add, that the Septuagint renders Uz (in Job i. 1) by Ausitis (Αὐσιτίς), and that Ptolemy (v. 19) mentions a tribe Aesitæ (Αἰσιταί), in the northern part of Arabia Deserta, near the Euphrates up to Babylon: we believe, that scarcely a more accurate geographical description for the land of Uz is necessary. It occupied a tract of the Deserted Arabia, between the territories of the Idumæans and the Euphrates. That a country lying so far to the south, should be brought into genealogical connection with Aram, will not surprise those who

<sup>14</sup> Comp. *Plin.*, vi. 31.

<sup>15</sup> שְׂדֵה אֲרָם, שְׂדֵה אֲרָם.

<sup>16</sup> Gen. xxv. 20; xlviii. 7; Hos. xii. 13; comp. *Campi Mesopotamiæ* in *Curt.*, iii. 2; iv. 9, etc.

<sup>17</sup> 2 Sam. x. 16.

<sup>18</sup> Comp. *Strabo*, xvi. 749; *Ptol.*, v. 15; *Plin.*, v. 13; *Mela*, i. 11.

<sup>19</sup> Amos ix. 7; and, hence, by Saadiah interpreted as Armenians.

<sup>20</sup> Comp. 2 Kings xviii. 26; Isai. xxxvi. 11; Ezra iv. 7; *Strabo*, xvi. 737; ii. 84.

<sup>21</sup> 2 Sam. viii. 3–9; x. 6–19; 1 Kings xv. 20, 22; 2 Kings vi.; x. 32, etc.

<sup>22</sup> Il. ii. 783; Theog. 304.

<sup>23</sup> Job i. 15.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, i. 17.

<sup>25</sup> ii. 11.

<sup>26</sup> Jerem. xxv. 20, 21.

<sup>27</sup> Lament. iv. 21.

consider the great, and, to the south, almost indefinite, extent of the Aramæans. Some valuable hints concerning the life and the social relations of the people of *Us* may be gathered from the opening chapters of the Book of Job, whilst we learn from Jeremiah (xxv. 20), that they possessed a monarchical form of government.—It is evident, from the facts above adduced, that *Us* cannot be understood as the valley *Guth*, near *Damascus*, for which it has been taken by many interpreters since the time of *Josephus* (Antiq. I. vi. 4). The name *Us* is mentioned, in the Book of Genesis, in two other somewhat different genealogical relations, which will be discussed in their respective places (xxii. 21; xxxvi. 28).

2. 3. *Hul* and *Gether* (חול, גֶּתֶר) are uncertain; and we are again reduced to conjecture. *Hul* is asserted to be the sandy (חול) or barren part of southern Mesopotamia, or a district of Coele Syria, or of Armenia, or a valley, *Chulat*, near the Anti-Libanus; and *Gether* is taken for the Bactrians or Carians, for the river *Kentrites* or for the town *Karthare*, at the mouth of the *Tigris*. *Hul* may be the province of *Golan* or *Gulan* (גולן), in the east of the *Jordan*, extending from the Sea of Galilee to the sources of that river, and to the roots of the *Lebanon* and *Hermon*, where the Syrian language was spoken, where still in *Jerome's* time a populous town flourished, and where even now are fertile plains, bearing the name of *Dshaulan*; whilst *Gether* may be identical with the kingdom of *Geshur* (גֶּשׁוּר), to which *Abesalom* fled, which is expressly stated to have belonged to *Aramæa*, and was situated on the banks of the *Orontes*.<sup>1</sup> חול and גֶּתֶר may be the Aramaic forms for the Hebrew גול and גֶּשׁוּר; for, ח in Hebrew corresponds not unfrequently with ג in Syriac, as חריץ, Syr. נִרְצִיחָא; אפרח, Syr. פֶּרוּנָא;<sup>2</sup> and instances of the transmutation of ש and ת would be superfluous.

4. *Mash* (מַשׁ). *Herodotus* mentions, that the Mysians and Lydians were kindred tribes (i. 171), or that the former were colonists of the latter (vii. 74); and it was a generally acknowledged fact, that the Mysians were not aborigines, but settlers in Mysia, although the country of their original abodes is variously stated.<sup>3</sup> We believe, therefore, that we are entitled to identify *Mash* with the Mysians, and to maintain, that the latter immigrated, like the Lydians, from the eastern districts, either compelled by the same necessity, or tempted by the success of the Lydians in their new homes, or, which is most probable, urged on by both causes, since they appear, indeed, to have been a people of less ancient origin. Now, there is an important chain of mountains, forming the northern boundary of Mesopotamia, called *Masius* (and, at present, *Karja Baghlar*), and extending from the *Tigris*, between *Nisibis* and *Tigranocerta*, westward to the *Euphrate*.<sup>4</sup> This mountain has, by some, been considered to be the *Mash* of our text, an opinion sufficiently probable, but deriving still greater consistency, if we suppose, that the tribes inhabiting Mount *Masius* emigrated to Asia Minor, where they received, with a slight modification, the name Mysians, as, in fact, ancient writers assert, that *Mysia* and *Moesia* are only dialectic varieties of the same name.<sup>5</sup>

It is not surprising that only four provinces of the vast Aramæan country are here enumerated. The original tribes of the Aramæans occupied themselves the greatest part of these territories; they were known to belong to the primitive stock, and were partly so identified by names, such as *Aram Dammehek* and *Aram Zoba*; they could scarcely be said to have acquired districts which were always considered their own; and the comprehensiveness of the terms by which they were designated both by Hebrews and heathens, proves, that they were all regarded as one nation. However, *Us* gradually obtained an individual national importance, and had its own kings;

<sup>1</sup> *Joseph.*, Bell. Jud., IV. i. 5.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Sam. iii. 3; xv. 8.

<sup>3</sup> *Gesen.*, Thes., p. 252.

<sup>4</sup> *Strabo*, vii. 295, 303; xii. 542, 564.

<sup>5</sup> *Id.*, xi. 506, 527; *Ptolem.*, v. 18.

<sup>6</sup> *Eustath.*, ad *Dion. Per.*, 809; *Schol.* ad *Apoll. Rhod.*, i. 1115.

and, if our conjectures be correct, the tribe of Mash settled in a distant western region, whilst Hul and Gether followed their own development in the midst of strange tribes; it was, therefore, appropriate to mention them as separate tribes of the Aramæans, which, indeed, in course of time, grew to such vigour, that the Book of Chronicles represents them as direct sons of Shem, by the side of Lud and Aram (1 Chron. i. 17; where, however,  $\text{לֹד}$  is written instead of  $\text{שֵׁחַ}$ ).

---

We cannot conclude these remarks without a few final observations upon the whole of this unparalleled list, the combined result of reflection and deep research, and no less valuable as a historical document, than as a lasting proof of the brilliant capacity of the Hebrew mind. The arrangement of the different nations is as much *local* as *genealogical*; their *abodes* are as decisive for their place in the list as their *descent*; therefore the names of Sheba and Dedan recur several times, now among the Cushites and now among the Shemites, because their domiciles were so extensive that they could be reckoned both with the southern and the eastern nations, and because the Arabian peninsula, which is geographically in the middle between both, appeared to belong to either of those great branches. Hence, also, Tartessus (Tarabish) and Cyprus (Kittim), settlements of the Phœnicians, are classed among the Japhethites, although the Phœnicians themselves are numbered among the Hamites. The Medes are separated as Japhethites from the Assyrians and Elymæans, because their territory was supposed to extend indefinitely to the north. Further, the names of this table generally represent *tribes*, but they sometimes denote *countries*, as Mizraim and Canaan. Now it might happen, that a tribe spread beyond the country which originally bore its name: in this case, the same tribe is again mentioned among the population of its new abodes; and, if it was powerful and numerous, it was gradually identified with the whole combined tract of land; this was especially the case with the tribe of Havilah; for although we can no more determine whether it first occupied a Shemitic or Hamitic territory, it certainly later comprised parts of both; and although the *land* of Havilah was then considered as one connected whole (ii. 11), its inhabitants were classed partly among the Hamites and partly among the Shemites. An admixture of the subdued population, which no doubt remained in the newly acquired territories, justified the geographer the more in including them in the other race also. That which the list thus loses, perhaps, in ethnographic accuracy, it fully gains in purely geographical interest, without, however, denying us many important, and for the most part safe clues in the former respect also. We believe that these distinctions tend to remove a difficulty which has long engaged the attention of Biblical scholars. Total difference of languages and manners in adjoining districts could only be accounted for by immigration; thus the division of Mesopotamia among the Cushite Babylonians, and Shemitic Aramæans, was explained by the immigration of Nimrod from the south; and the possession of the Hamitic land, Canaan, by the Hebrews, could only be explained by the arrival of the latter from the east. But blind national antipathies have nowhere influenced the framing of this list, as we have endeavoured to prove.

We owe this precious document to the Jehovist (ver. 9); whilst the genealogical account of the Elohist follows in the next chapter (vers. 10—32), in direct continuation of his list of the Adamites in the fifth chapter.

---

# THE HISTORY OF BABYLON AND ASSYRIA.

## APPENDIX TO CHAPTER X.

THE recent researches on the banks and in the plains of the Euphrates and Tigris have indeed been laborious: but they have been no less successful than vigorous; they have spread a new magic light over the early history of Asia; they have rescued from oblivion deeds and works worthy of immortal fame; they have brought forth the almost breathing witnesses of a glory and gorgeous power of which history exhibits no parallel; and what had long been viewed as a series of beautiful fables, has in full reality been disclosed before the marvelling eye. These investigations are of extreme interest in themselves; but they are of the highest importance for Biblical studies; they confirm and enlarge the Hebrew records; they settle doubts, and reconcile difficulties. The human mind has achieved another brilliant victory. Inscriptions have been deciphered to which no clue whatever seemed to exist, which were apparently lost for ever, and which had the appearance of an insolvable mystery. Their charm has been broken, and—although reluctantly and sparingly—they have yielded the treasures which they once so jealously guarded. The results, however, of these extraordinary researches are either contained in voluminous, though mostly excellent, works, or they are scattered throughout the pages of learned periodicals, so that often no small difficulty is experienced in arranging and classifying the increasing mass of detail. We thought, therefore, that we might do a service to our readers, and enhance the usefulness of this volume, by preparing a brief outline of the discoveries hitherto made, preceded by a chronological view of the monumental history of Assyria and Babylon. The Biblical allusions to these ancient empires commence with the tenth chapter of Genesis, and they are frequent throughout the Old Testament (compare even Gen. ii. 14). A comprehensive sketch of their entire history, to which we might later be able to refer, seemed, therefore, preferable to single and abrupt remarks, which must fail to convey to the reader a well-defined view. But it could not be our intention to write elaborate treatises on these subjects, which would be wholly beyond the province of a Biblical commentary, and most abundant details may be found in the works which we shall later mention. The following condensed outlines are intended for the student who is desirous to see, at a glance, the positive results hitherto obtained, and to read, in a few pages, the undisputed facts, disencumbered of the numberless conjectures often too freely hazarded. Unadorned brevity was our object; we were content to furnish to the reader the materials in a systematic form, and to enable him to enlarge or to modify them himself, as new results arise;—a wide scope is left for his intellect to combine and to draw conclusions, and for his imagination to conceive the wonders of an unrivalled magnificence.

### § 1.

#### THE HISTORY OF BABYLON FROM THE DECIPHERED INSCRIPTIONS.

The astronomical observations which Callisthenes found in Babylon and sent to Aristotle date back to 1903 years before the occupation of the city by Alexander the Great, or B.C. 2234.

#### A. UNDISPUTED NAMES OF BABYLONIAN KINGS OF THE EARLY PERIOD (B.C. 2234—825).

B.C.

2230. URUKH was the first great and general builder in Chaldea; for his name appears on the masonry of Mugeyer, Wurka, Niffar, and Senkereh.

ILGI is not unfrequently associated with Uruk in the inscriptions of the earliest period.

SHINTI-KHAK, the termination of whose name is peculiar to the Scythic or

B.C.

Æthiopian kings of Susa, appears to have been of *Elamite* descent; *Khak* seems to be identical with the *hak* or *hyc* of the Egyptian shepherds, and the *Khakan* or king of the Turks. His name has been deciphered on the bricks of Wurka.

1950. KUDUR-MAPULA (that is, the Ravager of the West), perhaps identical with *Chedorlaomer* (Genesis xiv.), which name may correspond with "Kuddur el Ahmar," that is, Kuddur the Red, in contradistinction to the Scythian or Cushite aborigines, who were termed "the Black." His name occurs on brick legends of Mugeyer.

1850. ISMI-DAGON, "a Chaldean king, 1150 years before *Sennacherib*."

A LONG LINE of KINGS, above 25 in number, but unknown in history, has been ascertained from the ruins on the Lower Tigris and Euphrates. The principal names are:—

IBIL-ANU-DUMA, } of whom nothing but the names are known.  
GURGUNA, }

1800. PURNA-PURITAS; bricks with his name have been found in Senkereh.

DUREI-GALAZU, the son of the former, repaired the famous temple of *Sis* or the *Moon* at Ur of the Chaldeans; and built the great city of Northern Babylonia, now represented by the ruins of Akker-Kuf.

1500. KHAMMURABI, built a palace at Kalwada, near Baghdad; his bricks have been discovered in Mugeyer and Senkereh; a vast number of clay tablets were obtained by Loftus at Tel Sifr. A stone table dating from the reign of this king, is one of the earliest relics deposited in the British Museum.

SHAMSU-ILUNA's name is found on the curious enveloped clay tablets of the tombs of Tel Sifr.

SIN-SHADA, the repairer of the great palace at Wurka.

ZUR-SIN, founder of the city of Abu Shahrān.

RIM-SIN; a stone tablet bearing his name was found in Mugeyer.

NARAM-SIN, mentioned on the cylinder of Nebonidus as the repairer of an ancient temple.—The last four monarchs, bearing the epithet Sin, were especial devotees of the Moon-god.

1150. MERODACH-ADAN-AKHI, defeated the Assyrian king *Tiglath-Pileser I*.

800. Babylon was invaded by *Shamas-phul*; in

- 774 by *Phulakh* (Pul), who received the homage of the Babylonians; in

720 by *Sargon*, who defeated MERODACH BALADAN; and in

700 by *Sennacherib*.—The Babylonian empire was, during the whole of this period, at least since about 1300, alternately free from Assyria, and dependent on it; but seems to have been materially weakened, if not entirely subjugated, by *Sennacherib*; till Babylonia was conquered by the Chaldeans from Kurdistan, and a new Babylonian empire was founded under Nabopolassar.

#### B. CHALDEAN DYNASTY OF THE KINGS OF BABYLON.

- 625 NABOPOLASSAR. No autographic records of his reign are extant, though his name has been read on tablets from Wurka. He reigned 21 years.

- 604 NABO-KUDURI-UZUR (Nebuchadnezzar). He repaired the temple of the Seven Spheres in Birs-Nimroud, originally erected by Merodach-adan-akhi (about 561. 1150). The inscriptions enumerate the various works executed by him; detail his western conquests; record the subjection of the countries on the Mediterranean; they contain also an obscure allusion to his temporary insanity, but there is no mention of the captivity of the Jews; for, the Babylonians kept no annals, as the Assyrians did. His name is also mentioned on tablets of Wurka. He reigned 43 years.

561. EVIL MERODACH (or Elvarodam).

*Bel-adin-ingar* (or Bel-shum-ingar; comp. Samgar-nebo of Jerem. xxxix. 3). He probably never sat on the throne of Babylon; he had only been provincial governor of Nebuchadnezzar, although he was styled king of Babylon to give a colouring to his son's claim to the throne.

559. NERGAL-SHAR-UZUR (Neriglissar; see Jerem. xxxix. 3). On the monuments, he studiously avoided mentioning the name of Nebuchadnezzar, whose military chief he had been; he alluded to him only as "a former king." He had

married Nebuchadnezzar's daughter, but fought against his brother-in-law Evil Merodach.—A Babylonian cylinder (in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, obtained in Babylon by Sir John Malcolm, in 1808) describes, 1. the repairs and adornment of the four gates of *Bit-Saygath*, which is the general name of the mound on which the temple of Jupiter Belus was built; 2. certain repairs to *Bit-Zida* of Borsippa; 3. the cleaning out of the beds of certain canals; 4. a general repair of all the shrines of the two holy places *Bit-Saygath* and *Bit-Zida*; and 5. repairs of the great palace at Babylon, or the *Kasr*.

555. **NABONIDUS**, the last king of the Babylonians. He built a temple to the Moon at Ur of the Chaldees; the prayer on the monuments is for

**BELSHAR-EZER** (*Belshazzar*), his eldest son, who was probably co-regent in his father's life-time. The name of Nabonidus appears also on the bricks of the red mound of Senkereh.

538. Babylon was taken by Cyrus, who established the Persian empire.

### § 2.

## THE HISTORY OF ASSYRIA FROM THE DECIPHERED INSCRIPTIONS.

### A. THE UPPER DYNASTY OF ASSYRIAN KINGS

(B.C. 1273—747, or a period of 526 years).

The Chaldean empire was but very gradually subjugated, and Assyria was, down to the year 700 B.C., compelled to send armies against it.

1250 (about). **DERCETO**.

1200 " **DIVANUKHA** (or *Divanurish*). Under the early Assyrian kings, historical records were not kept; at least, such records have not been found in the excavations.

1150. **TIGLATH-PILESAR I.** was defeated by the Chaldean king *Merodach-adan-akhi*; in his time, Northern Syria and Asia Minor were peopled by Scythian nations, whilst Southern Syria was dependent on Egypt (the *Casluhim* or *Kasmonians*, the ancestors of the Philistines, being the dominant tribe); and the Arameans lived in the valleys of the Tigris and the Euphrates. The cylinders found at Kalah Shergat commemorate the restoration of a temple which had originally been built 641 years before, that is, nearly 1800 B.C. One large cylinder of Tiglath-Pileasar I., bearing an inscription of nearly 1000 lines, contains almost the whole of that king's history.

1130. **ANAKBAR-BETH-HIRA** (or *Shimishbel-Bithkira*).

1050. **MARDOKEMPAD** (*Meessimordacus*).

1000. **ADRAMMELECH I.** His name, like that of the following king, his son, is found in nearly every inscription from the north-west palace at Nimroud.

960. **ANAKU-MERODACH** (or *Shimish Bar*).

930. **ASSHUR-UBAR-BAL** (or *Asshur-akh-pal*, or *Sardanapalus*?), the son of the preceding monarch, the builder of the north-west palace at Nimroud, where four texts of his annals have been found; he conquered Carchemish, and proceeded into Chaldea, beyond Babylon; undertook an expedition against Syria, extended his march to the Mediterranean, and went northward to Armenia and Asia Minor.

900. **SILIMA-RISH** (the son of the former; also read *Shalmanubar*, *Temenbar*, or *DIVANUBAR*), fought several battles against *Ben-Hadad*, who was dethroned like his successor *Hazael*; he received rich presents from *Jehu*, the son (that is, a later successor) of *Omri*, king of *Samaria*. He probably founded the central palace of Nimroud, where his victories are recorded on the famous black obelisk, and upon the backs of the bulls; his name occurs also on cylinders in Kalah Shergat; his conquests appear to have included Bactria, and to have extended to India. He resided partly at Nineveh, partly at Kalah, which city he greatly embellished. He reigned more than 31 years.

**ANABARAXES** (*Ἀναβαράξης*, in which name the first part *Abn-ara*, is *Hercules*).

865. **SHAMAS-ADAR**. } Their names have been read on the pavement slabs of the

840. **ADRAMMELECH II.** } upper chambers of Nimroud.

**BALDASI.**

**ASHURKISH.**

} Read on a slab from the tunnel of Negoub.

800. SHAMAS-PHUL, carried on wars against Asia Minor and Babylon; he reigned but four years.

774. PHULUKH (*Pul*; Sept. Vat. Φαλώχ; Greek Βόλοχος; comp. 2 Kings xv. 19; 1 Chron. v. 26), married the foreign princess *Sammuramit* or *Semiramis*, invaded Syria, and received tribute from *Samaria*, *Edom*, and *Philistia*; marched against *Menahem*, king of *Israel*; and undertook a campaign against the king of *Damascus*, *Mariah*, probably the son of *Benhadad*, and the father of *Rezin*; *Damascus* was taken (in 750), and an enormous tribute exacted, a part of which was 20 talents of gold, 2300 talents of silver, 3000 talents of copper, and 5000 talents of brass. Phulukh marched to *Armenia*, and then to *Babylon*, received the homage of the Chaldeans, and sacrificed in the cities of *Babylon*, *Borsippa*, and *Cutha*, to the respective tutelary deities *Bel*, *Nebo* (on whose statue Phulukh's name is mentioned), and *Nergal*. He enlarged the central palace of *Nimroud*. His wife *Semiramis* survived him; and she is said by some to have then become either the wife or the mother of *Nabonassar*.

#### B. THE LOWER DYNASTY (B.C. 747—625).

747. TIGLATH PILESER II., probably a usurper who dethroned his predecessor. With him commenced the *Era of Nabonassar* (Febr. 26, 747). He waged numerous wars. He carried away the tribe of *Naphthali*, and became the ally of *Ahaz* against the Syrians (2 Kings xvi.). Among his tributaries were, *Menahem*, king of *Samaria*; *Rezin* of *Damascus* (in B.C. 739); *Hiram* of *Tyre*; the kings of *Byblos*, of *Casias*, of *Carchemish*, *Hamath*, and a queen of the *Arabs*, who seems to have reigned in *Idumea* or *Arabia Petraea*. He died in 729.

729 SHALMANESER. His name does not occur on the monuments, which seem to have been mutilated by his successor *Sargon*, who usurped the throne. He besieged *Samaria* unsuccessfully, in 724—723.

721 SARGON (Isai. xx.) took *Samaria* in 721; the inhabitants (the Ten Tribes) were carried to *Halah*, *Habor*, and the cities of the *Medes*. The annals of the first fifteen years of his reign are described with great detail in the palace of *Khorsabad*, which was his chief residence. He waged war with *Merodach Baladan*, king of *Babylon*; with *Susiana*, *Armenia*, and *Media*; with *Carchemish*, *Hamath*, and *Damascus*; with *Ashdod*, *Jabneh*, *Gaza*, and with *African* tribes; he received tribute from the *Pharaoh of Egypt*, the queen of the *Arabs*, and the chief of *Sheba*; he made also an expedition to *Cyprus*, where his memorial tablet, now in the *Museum of Berlin*, has been discovered; and carried off more than 27,000 *Israelites* into captivity to *Assyria*, replacing them by *Babylonian* colonists. He built the greater part of the palaces at *Nimroud*.

703 His son, SENNACHERIB, or *Sanherib*, founded the magnificent palace at *Kouyunjik*. His history is known from the ruins of this edifice, and is engraven to on the famous cylinders of *Col. Taylor* and *Bellino*, and on the great bulls at the centre portal and at the facade. He first subdued *Merodach Baladan*, who had recovered *Babylon*, took all the *Chaldean* towns, and made *Belib* governor; attacked the *Hagarenes* and *Nabathaeans*, and then *Median* and other northern tribes. In the third year of his reign, he crossed the *Euphrates*, attacked the *Syrians* (*Hittites*); defeated the kings of *Tyre*, and *Sidon* (*Luliyah*, or *Elulæus* of *Josephus*); the country of the latter was reduced, and received another king; *Sennacherib* took many other towns at the sea-coast; and, after some resistance, *Ascalon* also surrendered. The chief priests and the people of *Ekrón* had dethroned their king *Padiya*, who was dependent on *Assyria*, and had delivered him up to *Hezekiah*, king of *Judah*. The king of *Egypt*, *Tirhakah*, sent to *Judea* an army, mostly belonging to the king of *Ethiopia*; *Sennacherib* totally defeated the *Egyptians*; *Padiya* was restored to his throne; *Sennacherib* took 46 cities and fortresses, gave them to the kings of *Ascalon*, *Ekrón*, and *Gaza*, and carried away their spoil. *Hezekiah* was shut up in *Jerusalem*; a tribute, "in addition to the former one," was imposed; the treasure of *Hezekiah* in *Jerusalem* was taken (30 talents of gold, 800 talents of silver); his sons and daughters, his male and female servants, "and the whole population, fixed and nomade, which dwelt around *Jerusalem*," were also carried away. He undertook another expedition against *Merodach*, and made his son ruler over *Babylon*; crossed the *Tigris* with boats constructed with the aid of shipmen of *Tyre* and *Sidon*; and returned home with rich spoils, which he mostly employed for the erection of temples and palaces



at Nineveh. After a long reign, he was murdered by his sons. The monuments do not allude to the revolt and subsequent independence of Media (*Herod.*, i. 95, *et seq.*).

630. **ESAR-HADDON**, his son, waged war against Phœnicia, Syria, Asia Minor, Armenia, Media, Susiana, and Babylonia; sent a queen to rule over the Arabs of *Edom*; undertook an expedition into Africa, and was, therefore, called the "Conqueror of Egypt and Ethiopia." He obtained the aid of *Manasseh*, king of Judah, and of the kings of Syria, for the construction of the palace at *Sentah*, ruins of which are still extant in the west corner of the mound of Nimroud.

660. His son, **ASSHUR-BANI-PAL** (Sardanapalus III.), undertook a campaign against the people of *Susiana* and *Elam*; and added, at Konyunjik, a second palace to that of Sennacherib, in which the important clay tablets forming the Royal Library were deposited.

630. **ASSHUR-EBID-ILUT**, was, probably, the last Assyrian king; for, in

625, *Cyaxares*, king of Media, and *Nabopolassar*, king of Babylon, destroyed Nineveh (comp. *Herod.*, i. 103, 106).

It is scarcely necessary to add, that the greatest uncertainty still prevails in many parts of the monumental history of Assyria and Babylon; the decipherers disagree not only with each other, but with the monuments themselves; thus, "Sir Henry Rawlinson stated it as his opinion, that the introduction of the name of Menahem for the king of Samaria, in the inscription of Tiglath Pileser, was an error"; and that "the name of Pekah should have been used instead of Menahem, in the cuneiform list of the kings of Syria." It is, therefore, a boldness only excusable by the honest zeal of criticism, to propose, on so unsettled grounds, chronological theories which would require "rectification of the Scriptural numbers referring to the reigns of the kings of Judah"! The inscriptions are far from being read with certainty in every detail; it is, therefore, at least premature to use them as independent historical witnesses against the Hebrew records, from which they receive a not inconsiderable part of their light. But they have certainly yielded sufficient results to supersede, at once and completely, a host of those artificial conjectures, which have hitherto made the exact study of Assyrian history a bewildering task; a few incoherent names of Berosus and Abydenus have been used as a basis for endless combinations; ingenuity has reared aerial systems, and sagacity has framed specious theories; critics called in the aid of transpositions, of omissions, and interpolations; names and numbers were freely used as rough materials to be shaped at pleasure, and to be employed in whatever place a preconceived theory might require; imagination took its highest flight; few met with contradiction, but nobody found assent; and the framers themselves were generally the most conscious of the precarious nature of their invented systems. The darkness which alone could engender and shield such unwieldy phantoms, is now greatly dispelled; and though we are far from a meridian brightness, the rising dawn has illumined at least the towering heights, and the more prominent peaks.

### § 3.

## EDIFICES AND RELICS EXCAVATED NEAR THE EUPHRATES AND TIGRIS.

### I. FROM THE CHALDEAN PERIOD (B.C. 2200—1300)

(Or, to the institution of a Shemitic Empire on the Tigris).

The primitive capitals of Southern Chaldea were:—

1. **MUGEYER** (or **UMGHEIER**) is perhaps one of the earliest Babylonian cities, and has therefore, though erroneously, been identified with *Ur of the Chaldees* (Gen. xi. 31). It is situated in the vicinity of the marshes, formed near the confluence of the Euphrates with the *Shat-el-Hie* and *Shat-el-Kahr*; and, therefore, during high inundations completely surrounded by water. The ruins have an oval form, measuring about half a mile from north to south. Mugeyer signifies "the place of bitumen," because it contains a beautiful temple, built of large bricks, and partly cemented with that substance, 70 feet high, and, except the south-east side, still in good preservation. It consists of two massive stories, each gradually sloping inwards; and the lower one supported by thick buttresses, and perhaps erected by two different monarchs. It has the form of a parallelogram, the two sides of which measure 198 and 133 feet. The exterior of the edifice is faced with red kiln-baked bricks, whilst the interior is built of burnt or sun-dried bricks. Excavations were instituted at Mugeyer, in 1854, by Mr. Taylor, who

discovered, at the corners of the building, the commemorative cylinders with perfect inscriptions, bearing the names of kings from Uruk, B.C. 2230, to Nabonidus, B.C. 540. The temple was dedicated to the Moon (*Sin*, whence the Greeks called this region *Mesene*, and the Arabs *Camarina*); and the name Hur is supposed to have been read on cylinders. Besides the temple, traces of a house or small oratory have been found, chiefly remarkable for two regularly constructed semicircular *arches*, running through the entire thickness of the walls. The rest of the ruins contain a cemetery of the primitive ages (see Journ. R. As. Soc., xv. 260; *Ritter*, *Erdkunde*, xi. 991—994; *Loftus*, *Travels and Researches in Chaldea and Susiana*, pp. 126—134).

2. **WURKA** or **WARKA** (in 31° 19' N., and 45° 40' E., north-west of Mugeyer), likewise of very ancient origin, was a principal town of the surrounding country; it is most probably identical with *Erech*, mentioned in the great ethnographic list immediately after Babel (Gen. x. 10; see p. 258); and as it is one of the oldest towns, so it maintained its power for five centuries after the fall of Babylon, during the dominion of the Persians and of the Parthians. Often inundated by the Euphrates, and situated near the marshes of southern Chaldea, Wurka presents a scene of utter desolation. The ruins form an irregular circle, nearly six miles in circumference, divided into two unequal parts by a wide channel, and rising to the height of 20 to 50 feet; the suburbs occupied about three miles more. The edifice in the centre (called *Burwariya*, or "reed-mats") is a tower 200 feet square, furnished with massive buttresses, 19 feet high, with stamped and written inscriptions, and built in a primitive style; the bricks bear the name of King Uruk (B.C. 2230), and record the dedication of the edifice to Sin, or the Moon. There is a brick superstructure with the name of Sin-shada (B.C. 1500). The dedicatory cylinders have not been found; but a great amount of vitrified and inscribed bricks, pottery, scoria, and glass. More important for the history of architecture is the structure called *Wunooa*, in the north of the former; 246 feet long by 174 feet wide; the façade contains groups of seven rude half columns, repeated seven times, surmounted by a larger and smaller crescent. The style has every indication of antiquity. The excavations directed by Loftus, brought to light the walls of seven chambers, the largest measuring 75 feet by 30 feet. But no sculptures have been found, except a fragment of coarse columnar basalt, representing a warrior striking a prostrate foe. The bricks are marked with a triangular stamp, and some bear an inscription of thirteen lines in minute cuneiform characters, supposed to bespeak a less remote origin. Both buildings served, perhaps, as tombs; for Wurka was long the chief necropolis of Chaldea.—But these are far from being the only remains of the place; for, besides curious cones, forming a wall, and arranged in various tasteful and ornamental patterns, and besides large vases and much pottery, "Wurka contains a complete mine for extraordinary and unheard-of modes of decoration of architecture." One building of the Parthian period is especially remarkable for its elaborate ornamentation; and several conical mounds, both within and without the walls, are extremely imposing. An almost indescribable number of coffins, of very various forms and designs, arranged in huge piles for many miles, contain the mortal remains of the nation for several millenniums. Three of the glazed earthen coffins have been safely brought to England by the care of Mr. Loftus. Ornaments of silver and gold are frequently found in the tombs, chiefly rings, bracelets, necklaces, and ear-rings; many other objects are abundantly discovered in this dreary region, as lamps, coins, jars and jugs (for the dead were provided with food for their journey); fragments of a shell (*tridacna squamosa*), with the heads of two horses engraven upon it, in a style very similar to that of a shell found in an Etruscan tomb; and many small terra-cotta figures, no doubt representing household divinities, both male and female, some of which are painted, and some bear the characteristics of Greek art. Tablets of baked clay, with the names of Nabopolassar, Nabokodrossor, Nabonidus, Cyrus, and Cambyse, appear to have served a purpose similar to our bank-notes, for they seem to have been a substitute for currency, or orders upon the Babylonian treasury for payment; and other tablets, covered with beautiful engravings, chiefly connected with Chaldean worship, are of peculiar interest, since they date from the time of Seleucus and Antiochus the Great, and prove that cuneiform writing was used till so late a period as B.C. 200. Not less interesting is the discovery of a tomb-stone with a Himyaritic inscription, which dialect was, in early epochs, spoken in southern Arabia, and is supposed to be of Ethiopian derivation, thus offering another witness of the connection between the Hamites and Chaldea (see *Loftus*, *Chaldea and Susiana*, pp. 159—239. This explorer is certain that further excavations made at Wurka will yield results most important and most abundant).

3. **NIPUR** or **NIFFER**, about fifty miles south-east of Hillah (32° lat.), at the Shat-el-Nil, between the Euphrates and Tigris, has been identified both with Calneh and

with Accad (x. 10); but the former conjecture has been abandoned by those who first proposed it; whilst the latter seems still too little substantiated to be adopted in preference to the very plausible identity of Accad and Akari Nimroud (Akker-Kuf, pp. 258, 259, 298). The ruins stand on the edge of a marsh, and are frequently, during high floods of the Euphrates, covered by the water. The mound consists of two parts divided by a deep gully, about 120 feet wide, probably the dry bed of a canal; in the centre of the eastern portion, are the remains of a brick tower, rising seventy feet above the plain; the bricks bear the name of a king, and of a city which Rawlinson reads *Tel Ann*, identifying it with the Telani of Stephen of Byzantium, the native place of the earliest Assyrian kings. The western division is strewn with fragments of pottery; traces of the external wall of the ancient city have also been discovered in a low continuous mound. But the outlines of these ruins, crossed as they are by numerous deep ravines, are broken, and present the appearance of the remains of different buildings. Boats, coarse jars or urns, with the remains of men and animals, very numerous glazed coffins, containing, however, no metal ornaments whatever, and bowls covered with ancient Hebrew characters, have been dug up from the ruins. All those relics, however, are of a comparatively modern date, whilst the ruins of the ancient town lie buried beneath them (Compare *Layard*, Nineveh and Babylon, p. 550, 551, 556—562; *Rawlinson*, Outlines of Assyrian History, p. 16; *Loflus*, Chald. and Sux., p. 100).

4. **SENKEREH** (or Sikkara, or Sinkara) was first visited by Dr. Ross and B. Fraser, in 1834; but explored, and more fully described, by Loftus, about twenty years later. It is situated about fifteen miles south-east of Wurka, and, therefore, between the latter place and Mugoyer; or between the Euphrates on the west, and the marshes of the Shat-el-Kahr on the east. The ruins are about four and a half miles in circumference; the central mound is seventy feet high; many lower mounds surround it on almost all sides, all belonging to one period, and not covered with coins, glass, or glazed pottery. The central mound has an oval form; its summit is crowned by an edifice of the same shape, 320 feet by 220 feet in diameter; the bricks of the wall which enclose it, bear an inscription of Nebuchadnezzar; and the dedicatory cylinders state, that this monarch restored the old temple of the Sun, without, however, having been able to find the ancient idol. The original building had, perhaps, been erected by King Uruk, the founder of Wurka and Niffer, as the bricks of some tombs allow us to infer. A King Purna-Puriyas, believed to have reigned B.C. 1800, appears on some bricks; further, the name of the last Babylonian king, Nabonidus, is inscribed on a part of the red mound (El Heimer), about four hundred paces north-east of the great central ruin; consisting of large half-baked red bricks, the only relief of the monotonous gloom of the spot; and the structure which seems originally to have occupied the same place, was built by the Chaldean king, Khammurabi (about B.C. 1500). The latest record of Senkerah is a small clay tablet, bearing the name of Cambyses. After this time the town seems to have lost its significance, if not its existence, and was totally eclipsed by the greater fame and importance of Wurka. Senkerah also was a burial town, and the excavations have yielded in abundance the objects generally found in Chaldean cemeteries, such as clay tablets with cuneiform inscriptions, containing the family records of the deceased, and frequently presenting a burnt appearance; jars and vases, rings and trinkets of every kind; but also a table of squares, allowing us an insight into the arithmetical calculations of the Chaldeans; further tablets of baked clay, representing the every-day life, the costume, occupation, and worship of the people; for instance, boxing, playing music, and killing the lion (See *Loftus*, Chald. and Sux., p. 240—262; *Ritter*, Erdkunde, xi. 964).

## II. FROM THE ASSYRIAN PERIOD (B.C. 1800—625).

1. **KALAH SHERGAT** (or Kalaat-ul-Shirgath, "the earthen castle"), about 13 geographical miles south of Mosul, near the mouth of the Lesser Zab, on the western banks of the Tigris, which flows by the ruins with marvellous swiftmess, was the earliest northern capital, built by the founder of the central palace of Nimroud, the son of Sardanapalus. No sculptured walls have yet been discovered. But three terra-cotta cylinders record the history of Tiglath Pileser I. (B.C. 1150). There have further been found many sepulchral urns, especially along the façade at the river's side, earthenware, glazed terra-cottas, relics of every kind, cemented with bitumen, and, in many cases, inscribed; and painted vases, though the colour is less perfectly preserved than at many other places. The palace was, according to the Babylonian custom, erected on an artificial mound (in this instance, of red-brown sand-stone), although the country around offers many natural elevations. The mound, forming an irregular triangle, is upwards of 60 feet high, and not less than 4,635 yards in circumference, and belongs,

therefore, to the most colossal remains of Babylonian and Assyrian antiquity. There are still traces of four round towers of burnt bricks, probably erected for hydraulic purposes, as wells or pumps, communicating with the Tigris.

2. KHORSABAD, about thirteen miles north-east of Mosul, on the left bank of the little river Khauser, is a small village, distinguished by the insalubrity of its neighbourhood, as the many streams there uniting form marshes, and thus cause dangerous fevers during the summer-months; for which reason the natives explain the name to mean "dwelling of the sick." Here stood once the proud capital of King Sargon (B.C. 721), which was, therefore, called *Sarghun*, at least till the seventh century of the present era. The double mound has, from north-west to south-east, a length of 975 feet, and is between 40 and 50 feet high. Near the northern angle is a wall, probably of ancient date, pierced with seven holes. The walls of the enclosure, which was furnished with towers, apparently eight in number, formed nearly a perfect square, each side of which measured about 5,500 feet, was 46 feet thick, and was covered with a coating of calcareous stone. The excavations here instituted by Botta in 1843, and by Place in 1852, have made us fully acquainted with the general plan of the principal structure. The great entrance at the centre of the façade consists, at each side, of three gigantic figures, uniting the head of a man, the body of a bull, and the wings of a bird, each forming a single block of alabaster; that entrance leads to another platform, and to a large court, 340 feet by 157; here occur the same figures; and between them is a huge human figure, supposed to be the Assyrian Hercules (or, perhaps, Nimrod), and represented as strangling with his left hand a young lion which he presses against his chest, whilst he holds in his right hand a weapon common among many primitive nations, and known under the name of *boomerang*; in the recess of the façade is another large figure, supposed to be the Ilas of the Phœnicians, with four wings, two upraised and two depressed; holding in his right hand a pine-cone, and in his left a basket; and wearing an egg-shaped cap, terminating in a little flower, and ornamented at the base with four bull's horns: the remaining part of the wall contains representations of the king dressed in very rich garments; of eunuch officers; and of the preparations necessary for the building of a road or port. Then follows a passage paved with slabs of gypsum; the walls portray, in several rows, a procession of tribute-bearers, headed by the chief or Tartan, who is distinguished by a double wand which he carries; and followed by many persons, holding in their hands either the model of a city, or valuable articles of manufacture and of vegetable produce, or bags with gold; or leading horses, or camels with one hump of the Arabian breed. The passage leads into a court, 156 feet square, supposed to have been used for royal receptions, and paved with square kiln-baked bricks, stamped with a cuneiform inscription; the façade, besides exhibiting some of the figures before noticed, is ornamented with those of a priest, wearing a wreath, and holding in his left hand the branch of a tree, terminating in three pomegranates; and of a winged man having the head of an eagle, and wearing the short tunic without the long outer garment: many slabs with familiar groups were found lying on the ground; and near the threshold were secret cavities, containing long inscriptions and frightful images of baked clay, with lynx head and human body, or human head and lion's body, conjectured by some to be the Teraphim of the Bible. A door, at the western side of the court, brings us into the interior of the palace; the chamber which we first enter shows that a conflagration destroyed all the upper part of the slabs; the remains of eight figures only are left; but on the north-west corner is a group of fifteen persons, five of which are manacled prisoners; one is represented in the act of being flayed alive, whilst on another slab we see the king himself putting out the eyes of a captive with his spear, and holding two other prisoners by a cord proceeding from rings that had been inserted into their lower lips! The various other apartments of this magnificent building contain many more sculptural representations, among which we may mention a beautiful pleasure-house (or kiosc), the roof supported by columns resembling those of the Ionic order, surrounded by fruit-trees, with an altar in an adjoining hilly grove; hunting-scenes, sculptured on black stone with much truth and spirit; shooting at targets; symbolic trees; highly ornamented sieges with battering rams, and many inscriptions on the walls of the besieged city; an attack upon enemies; several assaults on fortified cities, with impalement of prisoners; burning of besieged towns, pursuit of the conquered, and other incidents of military expeditions; a sacred edifice with gabled roof; inscribed altars or tripods, and bricks ornamented with figures and designs in colour; feasting scenes, and chariots.—The palace suffered a conflagration, probably from the burning of the wooden roof, so that the whole interior of the chambers is calcined, while the outside walls are untouched. Many of the sculptures of Khorsabad were obtained by Botta for the French government, and now adorn the halls of the Louvre, belonging to the most valuable relics of that precious collection of

antiquities.—The British Museum possesses but few objects from Khorsabad; and these are mostly due to the energy of Mr. Hector, an English merchant of Baghdad, who succeeded in excavating and transmitting to England several figures, 3 feet and 9 feet high, representing the king, high functionaries, priests, and tribute-bearers; further, two colossal horses' heads, richly caparisoned in highly-decorated head-trappings; a colossal human head with a turban; various other portraits, and many fragmentary pieces with inscriptions. The last sculptures from Khorsabad secured for this country are those which Rawlinson forwarded, consisting in two human-headed and winged bulls, 15 feet high; colossal figures of a winged man or divinity, in high relief; and a frieze in basalt, representing a shooting-scene (see the large work of Botta; *Layard*, *Nin.* and *Babyl.*, pp. 130—132, 148; *Vaux*, *Nineveh and Persepolis*, pp. 191—205; *Bonomi*, *Nineveh and its Palaces*, pp. 130—218; compare, also, *Ritter*, *Erdkunde*, xi., pp. 221—247).

3. NIMROUD, on the Tigris, seventeen miles south of Mosul, mostly built by Sargon, but comprising, in its various parts, a very protracted period, forms a parallelogram about 1,800 feet in length, and 900 in breadth, with a high cone at the north-west angle, called *the pyramid*; and was opened by Layard, in 1845 to 1847. It consists of several parts or buildings.

A. In the *south-west* corner were found panelled walls with inscriptions, indicating that the edifice had been destroyed by fire. The palace was founded by Eсар-haddon, whose name is inscribed on the human-headed lions and bulls at the entrance. It is ornamented with sculptures taken from previously existing buildings. Several inscriptions have been found, but few are entire; they contain the records of Pul and Tiglath-Pileser, and the name of Menahem, king of Israel. The building gives manifest evidence of a change of tastes and habits; the costumes are different; the old religious emblems disappear; fire-worship seems substituted instead of the purer forms of Sabæanism.

B. In the *north-west* corner was a palace, perhaps built, about B.C. 900, by Sardanapalus or Aeshur-akh-pal, upon the fragments of a former edifice; the ruins contained an entire slab with a winged figure in bas-relief, but having the body of a lion instead of that of a bull; a colossal human head (with a round horned cap instead of the square one occurring in later figures), and a second human-headed lion, the two forming a portal into the grand hall (154 feet in length, and 35 in breadth); panels of alabaster slabs, with elaborate bas relief and inscriptions. Five and twenty halls and chambers were explored in a few months, and very numerous inscriptions were discovered. In the year 1849, many new chambers were found, but without sculptured slabs; they contained plates, bowls, cups, large copper cauldrons; a throne of ivory and precious wood, enclosed with plates of copper; elephants' tusks, glass bowls, and many ornaments; a glass vase, and two of alabaster, with the name of Sargon.

C. The *Upper Chambers* form a small edifice added to the north-west palace, and founded by Shamas-Phul (B.C. 800). Two inscribed slabs with a list of royal names have been excavated, besides a number of small cups of peculiar shape.

D. The *Pyramid* is the remains of an enormous square tower, at least 200 feet high; in the interior there is a vaulted gallery, 100 feet long, which is at present quite empty. It was probably a place of royal sepulture. The building covered by this mound is, perhaps, the tomb of Sardanapalus, whose annals are, in some detail, engraven on the walls.

E. At the *northern* extremity were two small temples, the one adjoining the pyramid, and dedicated to the Assyrian Hercules; on an entrance, the deity is represented driving out, with a thunderbolt, the Evil Spirit, a winged monster with a huge head, and extended jaws, the body of a lion, and the talons of an eagle; there is, further, a figure believed to be Dagon, the fish-god of the Philistines (*Judg.* xvi. 23; *1 Sam.* v. 4). In the same temple were found enormous slabs with inscriptions on both sides, containing, in 325 lines, the annals of a king who reigned B.C. 1000, chiefly recording his wars.

F. In the *Centre of Nimroud*, a palace founded by one king, perhaps by Silima-Rish, the son of Sardanapalus, and completed or enlarged by his successor, has been exhumed, very much damaged; but there are the remains of human-headed bulls and lions, with inscriptions of the highest interest. The most remarkable part is the *Obelisk in black marble*, which contains 20 bas-reliefs, and 210 lines of inscriptions, detailing the history of 31 years.—The kings mentioned on this relic are: *Shana*, king of Gozan (he brought as tribute copper vessels, horses, and ivory); *Yahua*, the son of *Khumriya*, that is, *Jehu*, the son (later successor) of *Omri* (offering gold-vessels for the ceremony of the

solstice, ointment, and oil of Sheba); *Khazail*, that is, *Hazael*, king of Syria (1 Kings xix. 15); *Ithbaal*, king of Sidon, the father of Jezebel, who was the wife of Ahab, and a contemporary of Jehu; further *Sutadan* of Shekai; and *Barhagrada* of the Shetui. Among the animals represented are the elephant and the rhinoceros, the lion and the monkey, and double-humped or Bactrian camel. The victories of the Assyrian king seem, therefore, to have extended to the distant east, at least to the confines of India; and the date of the obelisk seems to be between 890 and 860 B.C. It may, however, be remarked, that it is by some fixed at the 12th or 13th, whilst others place it at the end of the 8th century; the latter view is taken by Grotefend, who believes, that the Assar-adan-pul and Kati Bar of Rawlinson ought to be read Tiglath-pileser and Pul; he considers, therefore, that the first 21 years refer to the reign of Shalmaneser, and the last 10 years to that of his successor Sennacherib.—Another obelisk has been discovered containing the history of Shamas-phal (800); further, a part of the history of Phulukh (Pul) in the upper chambers of the central palace.

6. The *south-east* palace, built by the grand-son of Esar-haddon, Ashur-ebid-ilut, the last king of Assyria, has no sculptured or inscribed slabs; it is simply panelled with common stone. But it contained a statue of the god Nebo, of soft calcareous shelly limestone; on the drapery below the girdle is an inscription in twelve lines, stating that the statue was executed by a sculptor of Kalakh, and dedicated by him to his lord, king Phulukh (Phalukha), believed to be the Bolochus of the Greek lists, the husband of Sammuramit (Semiramis; see p. 291), and to have reigned in the eighth century B.C. Further, an obelisk with a bas-relief of an earlier Assyrian king, and a very long inscription have been found by Mr. Rassam (comp. *Layard*, Nineveh and its Remains; Nineveh and Babylon, p. 351, *et seq.*; *Vaux*, Nin. and Pers., 205—249; *Bonomi*, Nin. and its Palaces, 218—305).

Mr Bonomi has drawn a very interesting comparison between the palace and excavated remains of Khorsabad and those of Nimroud, which seems satisfactorily to establish the higher antiquity of the former (*loc. cit.*, pp. 312—319).

4. ΚΟΥΥΝΥΚ, (signifying “the little-lamb”), opposite Mosul, on the Tigris, has yielded the grandest and most interesting relics, both sculptural and architectural. The hill has its name from a little village, Kouyunjik, which formerly stood upon it, but was destroyed in 1836. The whole enclosure of Kouyunjik comprehends about 1800 English acres, and forms an irregular trapezium.

“A. The *southern* side of the mound marks the site of the most magnificent palace of Nineveh yet discovered; it occupied an area of 100 acres; but was injured by a fearful conflagration. It is known that a sepulchral chamber, which was accidentally discovered by Bekir Effendi when he was digging for stones for the bridge of Mosul, and in which several gems and golden ornaments were found, was entirely broken up and buried in the rubbish. The mound was first more fully described by Rich, in 1818, then partially opened by Botta, but more completely by Layard, in 1845 and 1849. It was erected by *Sennacherib*, the son of Sargon (about B.C. 700). The slabs of each chamber represent a different historical record; partly wars in a plain, partly in a mountainous region, or near marshes; they portray also architectural subjects. The entrances are formed by the usual human-headed bulls and lions, and by colossal winged figures of Assyrian gods, as Dagon, and other monstrous forms. The bas-reliefs, markedly different in character from those of the elder palaces of Nimroud, consist of numberless figures, but bear no inscriptions; the annals were separately engraved on the colossal man-bulls at the façades. In these vast ruins have further been found public archives, and many seals, two of which are extremely remarkable, one of an Assyrian king, and the other of the Egyptian king *Sabaco II.* (of the twenty-fifth dynasty), identical with *So*, who received ambassadors from *Hoshea*, king of Israel (2 Kings xvii. 4), and predecessor of *Tirhakah*, who fought against Sennacherib. Seventy-one apartments, covering an area of 720 feet by 600, have been excavated. The city gates also, which were probably arched, together with colossal bulls and winged figures, have been disinterred (See *Layard*, Nineveh and Babylon, pp. 66, *et seq.*, 96 *et seq.*, 136, 338, 589, *et seq.*).

B. At the *south-west* angle of the ruins, and separated from the elevation just described, by the rivulet Khanser, is the mound of the pretended *Tomb of Jonah* (Nebbi Junas), about 12 feet high, and 430 feet from east to west, smaller and more recent than that of the palace. On the spot which is supposed to cover the prophet's grave, was formerly a Christian church, which has now given way to a Mohammedan mosque, highly revered and jealously guarded by the faithful. Though in general accessible to believers only, it has several times been visited by Christians, among whom are Rich and Layard. It is a dark inner room,

spread with a carpet; "in the centre stands a square plaster or wooden sarcophagus, entirely concealed by a green cloth, embroidered with sentences of the Koran. Some ostrich eggs and coloured tassels hang from the ceiling. A small grated window looks into the hall where the true believers assemble for prayer." Round this sacred spot a village of about 300 houses has risen, inhabited by Turcoman families; and here the pious are anxious to bury their dead. Excavations commenced by Layard resulted only in the discovery of panelled walls with inscribed, but unsculptured slabs, containing the names, titles, and genealogy of Eсар-haddon. Later, a native uncovered a pair of colossal human-headed bulls, and two figures of the Assyrian Hercules slaying the lion (See *Layard, Nin. and Babyl.*, 596, 598, 638; compare *Ritter, Erdk.*, xi. 232, 233; *Rich, Narrative*, ii. 31, *et seq.*; *Ainsworth, Trav. and Res.*, ii. 141.).

c. At the northern part of Kouyunjik, Mr. Hurmuzd Rassam discovered and excavated, in 1854, another palace, erected by *Assur-bani-bal*, the grandson of Sennacherib, and consisting of numerous halls, corridors, and passages, all richly sculptured with the most diversified subjects and designs. The slabs, exhumed partly by Rassam and partly by Loftus, and selected by Rawlinson for transmission to England, are mostly in unusually perfect preservation, since the building which they adorned seems alone to have escaped the conflagration which destroyed the other palaces of Kouyunjik; they exhibit the highest class of Assyrian art, and belong to the culminating period of its history; they represent a royal lion chase, and other animated hunting scenes, in an almost continuous series of representations; a garden, with a lion crouching among reeds and flowers; a campaign against the Arabs on dromedaries; scenes of the highest interest connected with the conquest of Susiana; the façade of a columned temple; a bridge with pointed arches; pavement slabs of most beautiful patterns, distinguished by elegance and richness; two mythological figures "as perfect as if chiselled yesterday"; some dogs in terra-cotta; numerous clay tablets, piled in huge heaps from the floor to the ceiling, and forming portions of the royal library, or perhaps of the "house of the records" mentioned by Ezra (iv. 17; vi. 1); about 10,000 are already excavated, though all are more or less injured; they comprise almost every branch of Assyrian science; and include the very useful explanatory lists of the ideographs, with their phonetic equivalents. The importance of this discovery for the history and literature of Assyria cannot be overrated.

d. KARAMELS, about fifteen miles almost exactly south of Khorsabad, is supposed to have formed the south-eastern corner of Nineveh's boundaries. The excavations on this mound have hitherto been of but limited extent; but a platform of brickwork with Assyrian inscriptions has been uncovered.

### III. FROM THE BABYLONIAN PERIOD.

BIRS-NIMROUD (Borsippa, near Babylon), probably the Temple of Belus or the Tower of Babel (Gen. xi. 1-9), is nearly 300 feet high, and from 200 to 400 feet in width (see on xi. 1-9). These ruins were chiefly opened by Rawlinson. Besides the two cylinders describing this spot as that of the "Temple of the Planets of the Seven Spheres," a slab of *Nebuchadnezzar* has been discovered; it was brought to England in 1807 by Sir Harford Jones, and is deposited in the museum of the East India House.—Birs-Nimroud has also furnished relics of *Nabonidus*, the last Babylonian king, who built the temple of the Moon; the excavations have here yielded four cylinders on the history of that temple; fragments of a hollow barrel cylinder, with an account of the king's edifices, and of the monarchs who founded and repaired temples; further, many signet cylinders which were used as seals; a small cube of ivory with mathematical tables, the inscriptions of which are so small that they were evidently read with the aid of *magnifying glasses*. The name *Barzip* is Hamite, and probably means "the weedy lake."

iv. The other places where relics were discovered, or which are otherwise remarkable, are:—

1. AKKER-KUF, believed by the natives to mean "place of rebellion against Allah," and called by them also *Kusr*, that is, palace of *Nimrod*, is situated in the midst of a marsh to the west of the Tigris, near the canal *Nahr Isa* (Saklewiye), about four or five miles from the city gates of Baghdad, about nine miles from the Euphrates, where it approaches nearest to the Tigris, and at the same distance from the Median wall, near the ancient town of Sittace, with which some antiquaries have identified it. Formerly Akker-Kuf was erroneously regarded as a suburb of Babylon, and thence received the name of Akkari Babel. The mound forms a lofty pile, 125 feet high, of sun-dried bricks, intermixed with layers of reeds. A thick stratum of clay, probably the result of decomposed bricks, covers as present the upper part of the edifice, the

construction of which is analogous to that observable in the ruins of Babylon, and bespeaks the same period. The bricks bear no cuneiform legends. The greatest part of Baghdad may have been built with the stones taken from the ruins of Akker-Kuf, which seem frequently to have been searched for treasures, and which have in consequence many fissures, holes, and apertures. It was by some travellers believed to have been a watch-tower, by others a Persian pleasure-castle, or an observatory of the Chaldeans, or a pyramid, or a sepulchral monument. It has not been attempted to make here excavations, which in Layard's opinion would scarcely lead to results of any interest or importance, since every valuable or remarkable article has long been carried away by Arabs and Turks. It is chiefly notable for its probable identity with *Accad*, one of the settlements of Nimrod (x.10), and no doubt one of the oldest towns (see p. 258; compare *Ritter*, *Erdkunde*, xi. 847—852; *Layard*, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 476).

2. **TAKI KESRA**, which, according to *Beauchamp's* Turkish etymology, means "the arch is broken," lies 18 miles south of Baghdad, on the Tigris, at the northern corner of a small peninsula, on which formerly a part of the residence town, *Ctesiphon*, was built. In the vicinity are some gardens, corn-fields, and thick groves of tamarisks. The east façade of the ruin is, according to Rich, 284 feet long, and is said to have been covered with white marble, whence the edifice was called the "White Palace." In the middle is a majestic arch of kiln-baked bricks, the astonishment of European travellers, now disfigured by many ruptures and holes, and filled with nests of birds, and particularly damaged at the base, in consequence of the annual inundations, when the water here remains for several months; it is 82 feet wide, and 101 feet high, whilst the thickness of the walls at the base was 19, and the depth of the arched hall 153 feet. The gorgeous portico, of which the arch is but a small fragmentary remnant, is supposed to have served as the reception hall of the Persian kings. The ruins indicate the existence of an extensive town. About one mile and a half eastward is a mound, which probably marks the site of the ancient citadel; and other elevations show the traces of the walls of ancient Ctesiphon, which seem to have also been built of kiln-baked bricks, cemented with bitumen.—In Taki Kesra many valuable coins have been found, from the Syrian and Parthian periods. When, in 633 of the vulgar era, the town of Madain, which comprises the united cities of Ctesiphon and Seleucia, was taken by the troops of Omar, that grand palace alone was preserved, amidst the general destruction, to serve as head-quarters of the garrison, and as an oratory for the reading of the Koran.—Some of the coins found there have been procured by Fraser, together with intaglios, cylinders, and small metal figures (see p. 259, sub *Culneh*; comp. *Ritter*, *Erdk.*, xi. 852—865).

3. The ruins of **HAMMAN** ("a bath"), believed to be the Gnlaba of the cuneiform inscriptions, are about a mile in diameter, consisting of a series of lower mounds round one grand central tower, which is about 50 feet high, and even in its present crumbled state, has a breadth of 78 feet. Here rose, no doubt, a temple devoted to Chaldean worship. In the neighbourhood were found the fragments of a remarkable male human figure, skilfully cut out of finely-grained black granite, and in several parts covered with defaced inscriptions; but the head and arms are missing. The fragments were sent to England by Loftus (*Chald. and Sus.*, pp. 113—117).

4. The **KASR**, or "Palace" of Rich, which is part of the **MUJELIBE** (the "overturned," or, according to others, "the house of the captives,") of the Arabs—a part of ancient Babylon, and supposed to mark the site of the celebrated terraced palace with the hanging gardens—lies on the eastern side of the Euphrates, and is about 700 yards square. In the centre rises a solid mass of masonry, with architectural ornaments, piers, buttresses, and pilasters; the bricks are of a pale yellow colour, united by a fine lime cement, each bearing the name and titles of Nebuchadnezzar. "This wonderful piece of masonry is so perfect, and so fresh in colour, that it seems but the work of yesterday, although it is undoubtedly part of a building which stood in the midst of old Babylon." But the rest of the ruins is a mass of loose bricks, shattered tiles, fragments of stones, and rubbish; they have for ages furnished the building materials for the cities of the neighbourhood, and are still an unexhausted quarry. No sculptures or inscribed slabs have been discovered; but many enamelled bricks, which no doubt formed part of the painted and ornamented walls of Babylon, are spread on the ground; the colours, a brilliant blue, red, a deep yellow, white, and black, have preserved much of their original brightness, and allow, in many instances, parts of the figures to be recognised. The other remarkable features of the Kasr, as the subterranean passage, floored with bricks, the huge lion standing over a man with outstretched arms, and the solitary tree *Athale*, to which so many legends and miracles were attached, but which is now believed to be nothing else but the common



Babylonian tamarisk (*Tamarix orientalis*), have been described by Ker Porter and Rich, Fraser and Keppel, Ainsworth and Wellsted (compare *Ritter*, *Erdkunde*, xi. 903—924). Layard's excavations resulted only in the discovery of a fragment of limestone, consisting of parts of two figures, probably those of gods, and exactly resembling the forms of the Assyrian divinities, "with the same high head-dress ornamented with feathers and rosettes, the long curled hair and beard, and the embroidered garments, and also holding a staff with a ring" (see *Layard*, *Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 505—508). About the Babel of the Arabs, see on xi. 1—9.

5. The mound of AMRAN BEN ALL, on the south of the Kasr, has its name from a small domed tomb (koubbé) of a Mohammedan saint, standing on its summit; but it is sometimes called by the Arabs *Jumjuma*, from a neighbouring village of that name. Its dimensions are stated by Rich at 1100 yards by 800; no masonry is visible, but is probably buried beneath the nitrous earth. It served later as a burial-place. Here those curious terra-cotta bowls were found which have deservedly attracted such lively attention; they contain round the inner surface inscriptions in the ancient Chaldean language, but written in strange characters, exhibiting a mixture of the Syriac, Palmyrene, and ancient Phœnician. The inscriptions, which have partly been read by Mr. Thomas Ellis, are amulets, or charms against evil spirits, diseases, and every kind of misfortune, one being a "bill of divorce" to Satan and other demoniacal powers; they were either used in cases of illness, or employed at funeral ceremonies and then placed in the grave, and seem to have been made by Jews of Babylon, who adopted many superstitious usages of the land of their exile. Their age may vary between the third century before and the fifth century after the beginning of the Christian era (see *Layard*, *Nin. and Bab.*, pp. 504—526; comp. *Ritter*, *Erdk.*, xi. 921).

6. TEL SIFR, south of Senkereh, had its name from the very numerous and often curious copper articles found in the tombs and vaults; they include cauldrons, vases, and small dishes, hammers and hatchets, knives and daggers, rings and fetters, and many other objects, some of which are of very superior workmanship. It is supposed that they formed the stock-in-trade of a copper-smith, whose forge was close at hand. Articles of iron have not been found. Remarkable and inscribed clay tablets, enveloped in unbaked bricks, bear the name of the Chaldean kings, Khammurabi and Shamsu-Iluna, reigning about B.C. 1500.

We find several other edifices named on the inscriptions, for instance, BIT-SATGATE, a temple of Marduk (Merodach), who here holds the place generally occupied by Ashur, for he is called the "highest god," the "Lord of lords," the "elder of the gods." The temple was repaired by Nebuchadnezzar, and is mentioned on the remarkable tablets found at Birs-Nimroud. BIT-ZIDA and BIT-KUA are likewise temples repaired by Nebuchadnezzar, and read on the same relics. Bit-Zida was dedicated to Nebo, or Hermes.

v. Many other and often extensive mounds and artificial hills have been noticed in all parts of Mesopotamia and Assyria; but as they have not yet been sufficiently examined, we content ourselves with mentioning a few as instances:—

1. TEL EDE, or YEDE, and MEDINA, both near the Shat-el-Kahr, in southern Mesopotamia, the one on the west, the other on the east of it (*Ritter*, *Erdk.*, xi. 965, 990, 1016; *Leftus*, *Chald. and Sus.*, 117, 266).

2. AL HELMAR, about eight miles north-east of Hillah, forming the eastern portion of the aggregate ruins of Babylon, on the east of the Euphrates (*Ritter*, loc. cit., 891—894).

3. The ruins of TUWEIBEH, about fifteen miles south of Hillah (*Ibid*, p. 875).

4. TARBISI, near the village Shereef-Khan, three miles to the north of the enclosure of Kouyunjik, consisting of several mounds, the largest of which has the characteristic conical heap at one corner, and in which Layard found the remains of a building, a broad flight of alabaster steps, bricks with the names of Sargon and Sennacherib, and two inscribed limestone slabs, recording that the palace was erected on the spot by Esar-haddon for his son (*Layard*, *Nin. and Bab.*, 598, 599).

5. TEL KAIF, "the hill of delight," between the Tigris and Khorsabad.

6. BAASHEIKHA, south-east of Khorsabad, at the foot of the Dshebel Makloub, and separated from the large village Baasani only by a water-course, where quarries of alabaster are found; it is a vast mound, little inferior in size to Nimroud, though hitherto nothing has here been discovered except a few bricks, bearing the name of the early kings of Nimroud, and fragments of earthenware, with the guilloche and honey-suckle alternating with the cone and the tulip, painted upon a pale-yellow ground (*Layard*, loc. cit., 133, 134).

7. AL HADDER, south-west of Nimroud, situated in a kind of hollow, with the remains of a magnificent edifice and tall bastions, on the walls of which are sculptured the figure of a griffin, relief of beasts and birds, human-headed bulls, and other objects (*Ross*, in *Journ. R. Geo. Soc.*, ix. 443; comp. *Ritter*, *Erdkunde*, xi. 466—499).

It is anticipated, that whenever these mounds will be more carefully investigated, objects of high interest for the history of civilisation will be discovered.

#### § 4.

### PUBLIC AND SOCIAL LIFE OF THE ASSYRIANS.

The excavated relics have furnished information, both varied and distinct, regarding the internal condition, the religion, the laws, and the customs of ancient Assyria.

The king was at once the ruler and the chief pontiff; and the palaces contained, as in Egypt, the temples also. The government was absolutely despotic; the arbitrary will of the monarch was unlimited and unchecked; the people were held in servile obedience, and, consequently, fell into deep moral degradation. The subjugated provinces were governed by royal satraps; stood but in loose feudal vassalage to the kings; paid merely tribute, and sent auxiliary troops; hence, they frequently broke out in revolts and seditions, and compelled their proud masters to almost perpetual expeditions; for not even the nearest provinces could always be kept in obedience by the dread of arms.—The officers of the court were generally, though not always, eunuchs.

We have knowledge of nearly all the operations of war. We see, on the sculptures, cities besieged from artificial mounds, assaulted, captured, and burnt. We see all the various instruments of war, from the shield of wicker-work, or of the hides of animals, to the war-chariot and the battering-ram. We see all the horrors and ruthlessness of aggressive warfare; and all the misery and despair of a powerless population attacked by vast and sanguinary armies. Barbaric cruelty was exercised against captives of war; flaying alive, impaling, inserting a ring in the lip, cutting out the eyes or tongue; and beating out the brain with iron maces, were among the tortures inflicted upon their victims (comp. *Ezek.* xxvi. 7—12).

The Assyrians boasted of an endless multitude of gods; for they worshipped not only one supreme god, Asshur, who was the national deity, or the “king of the circle of the great gods,” and twelve (or twenty) greater gods; but they had besides 4,000 inferior deities presiding over all the phenomena of nature, and the events of human life: Asshur may be identical with the god Nisroch mentioned in the Bible (2 Kings xix. 37; *Isa.* xxxvii. 38), probably the deity with an eagle head occurring on the sculptures. The names of some of the minor deities are:—Anu, the Lord of the mountains or of foreign countries; San, Merodach (Mars), and Bar; Nebo (Mercury), and Dagon, a fish-deity; Bel (Jupiter or Saturn), and his consort Mylit (Gule or Venus); Shamesh and Ishtar (Sun and Moon). In the Old Testament, four other Assyrian gods are mentioned: Nibhas, Tartak, Adrammelech, and Anammelech (2 Kings xvii. 31; comp. ver. 30).

Whilst few tombs have been found in Assyria, they abound in Chaldea, from Niffer to Mugeyer, especially at Wurka; but the graves of the Assyrian kings at least are in Assyria (comp. *Arrian*, *Exp. AL*, vii. 22).

The architecture of the Assyrians, which seems to have had many and striking points of resemblance with that of the ancient Hebrews, has become almost familiar to us by the excavations, though many important points still remain disputed. The palaces, some of which were of very vast dimensions and imposing magnificence, were uniformly built on platforms or artificial mounds, thirty or forty feet above the level of the plain, consisting of solid layers of sun-dried bricks, and encased round the sides with well-squared blocks of lime-stone. Great precaution was taken to prevent the periodical rains from damaging the soluble material of the mound, by protecting the upper surface, where it was not occupied by buildings, with two layers of kiln-burnt bricks; generally inscribed on the under side, and cemented together with a coating of bitumen, both layers being separated by a stratum of sand, six inches in thickness. The platforms were intended either to add to the grandeur of the palaces, or to protect them against inundations, or to secure greater coolness of air, or to serve as a means of defence. Flights of steps led to the edifices. Beneath the foundations, generally in the corners, images of the tutelary gods, and dedicatory tablets were deposited. The buildings were mostly square, with two principal façades, each of which had three entrances; that in the centre was the largest, and was ornamented with two colossal human-headed bulls or lions; the two side gateways were differently embellished; some of them were arched. The edifice itself consisted of oblong chambers, often 200 feet long, placed side by side, and grouped round large, generally square, halls, either

open to the sky, or supported by lofty arches furnished with small windows. Those chambers led through doorways into smaller rooms. The apartments destined for the men were probably separated from those appropriated for the women. The walls were of great thickness, and were constructed of sun-dried bricks, some square, others oblong; some of a dark, and others of a light yellow colour; and many of them inscribed with cuneiform legends, in some cases consisting of eight lines, while some bricks bear rude figures of animals. The walls were then panelled with sculptured slabs containing single figures or entire scenes with inscriptions; or they were stuccoed and painted, or reeded with half columns placed side by side. The pavement was likewise formed of slabs of alabaster inscribed on both sides, or of large square bricks inscribed on the under side, in two layers separated by a bed of fine sand. The upper stories and the roof of the Assyrian palaces were almost entirely built of wood, mostly of cedar or of fir. The roof, mostly flat, but sometimes pitched, was probably supported by columns the tops of which were connected by massive beams of wood. The ceiling and the doors were adorned with precious woods, ivory, and gilding.—It is remarkable, that the architectural remains of Persepolis and Assyria nearly complete each other; for, while the former exhibit no sculptured and painted walls, nor successive courts and chambers; the latter show no more windows, columns, and the grand flight of stairs at the entrance.—In *Babylon*, no sculptures or inscribed slabs seem to have been used for panelling the walls of palaces, because in the alluvial plains surrounding the town, the necessary materials, alabaster and limestone, did not exist, as in Assyria, and could only have been procured from the northern districts by enormous labour and expense. The usual building materials were sun-dried bricks mixed with chopped straw to enhance their consistency, and often covered with a rich enamel to make them serve the purposes of ornamentation, and inscribed with peculiar complex characters, which were impressed upon them by a stamp; whilst the walls of the palaces were also coated with mortar and plaster, and profusely painted with historical and religious subjects. In most other respects, in language and writing, in arts and religion, in laws and customs, the Assyrians and Babylonians, descending as they did from the same origin, and intimately connected for many centuries, bore a very close resemblance with each other.

It is impossible to deny, that the fine arts were, by the Assyrians, brought to a certain kind of perfection; the sculptures are as various in their designs as they are spirited and faithful in their execution; they awe by their boldness, strength, and gorgeousness; they excel by skilful grouping, and by life and animation of expression; but it must be added, that they generally represent merely real events or personages, or the compound figures of fanciful and often monstrous deities; they contain but a few instances of strictly imaginative portraiture, whilst they exhibit no example of a free creation of ideal beauty. On the contrary, the mode of representation soon became conventional, and then remained fixed and stationary; it is, in many respects, analogous, though in some superior, to that of the ancient Egyptians; it shows no knowledge of the laws of perspective; no due distinction between front view and profile, whence the lion, the horse, and other animals, were delineated with *five* legs; while two horses have often not more than two fore-legs; without regard to the conditions of art, the objects considered as more important, were portrayed in larger dimensions than those deemed less prominent. However, the heads are generally well modelled; the figures are not merely drawn in outlines; the forms are less stiff, and show an attempt at anatomical detail and correctness. Animals are generally better sculptured than men, and women are very rarely represented. Assyrian art made the first decided steps beyond infancy. It was ascending till the time of Nebuchadnezzar, when it reached its zenith; but declined in the Persian period.

The Assyrians were skilled in the art of engraving even on the hardest substances; we possess cylinders of jasper and crystal, and many other precious stones; and the sculptures were often executed on very repugnant materials, as on basalt procured from the mountains of Kurdistan. They manufactured glass, enamels, and every variety of clay, either for bricks, jars and vases, or for funeral urns and inscribed cylinders. They were experienced in varnishing pottery, and painting on it with coloured enamels, and in carving ivory; many relics of the latter class have been found, peculiarly interesting from their resemblance with objects of the same kind discovered in Egypt. They were familiar with the art of founding, working, and hammering metals, of which copper was most extensively applied; and with all the multifarious operations necessary for the construction of magnificent palaces or vast tombs.

The inscriptions, as far as they have been deciphered, consist, besides occasional invocations to the gods, of a dry enumeration of marches, sieges, assaults, and destructions, without the insertion of a single thought or reflection; and though it may be conceded that such remarks cannot well be expected on public monuments, it is certain that the relentless despotism of the government was most unfavourable to the mental

development of the citizens, who, where they were not forced to serve as soldiers or builders to the monarch, seem to have had little energy left beyond the toils of material existence, or the acquisition of wealth, or the excesses of sensual pleasure; though they may have been accessible to the lessons of a religion which, under the influence of numberless magicians, astrologers, and deceitful and avaricious priests, assumed the most extravagant, and often most demoralizing forms of Sabæan superstition. It is scarcely necessary to observe, that the statements of the inscriptions must be received with the greatest precaution; for the monuments were not executed for the purposes of legitimate history, but for the gratification of the personal vanity of the kings; the records, though mostly exact and minute, are written in a vain-glorious and boastful spirit; they invariably describe victories and triumphs, and never allude to any defeat, or the least reverse; and sometimes a later usurper unscrupulously falsified the monuments of his predecessors.

The comforts and luxuries of life, though scarcely as varied and exquisite as those of Egypt, were both numerous and sumptuous. We are astonished at the richness of the costume and the pomp of the ornaments; we admire the cheerful splendour of the pleasure-houses, and the taste of the decorations and of the furniture. The men wore bracelets, chains, and ear-rings (but no finger-rings); ample and flowing robes, often very richly ornamented with emblematic designs of men, animals, or trees, wrought in gold or silver; long-fringed scarfs, and embroidered girdles, to which the Babylonians generally added a staff with a carved head, representing some plant or animal as a device (*Herod.*, i. 195). The garments of officials were generally symbolical; but the head-dress was peculiarly characteristic, and the king alone wore the well-known pointed tiara. The Babylonian carpets, silks, and woollen fabrics were long celebrated for the splendour of their hues and the excellence of their texture (comp. *Josh.* vii. 21). The beard and hair were cultivated with the utmost care, and skilfully arranged in artificial curls, whilst the eyebrows and eyelashes were stained black. The chariots were richly embellished, and the horses most gorgeously caparisoned. The weapons, especially the sword and quiver, the shield and buckler, were often ornamented in the most costly style; the helmets were of various, and some of elegant forms, and made of brass, or iron inlaid with copper.

All this wealth was acquired either by conquests (for both the Babylonian and Assyrian kings, being almost constantly compelled to pacify rebellious provinces, had an immoderate thirst for military excitement and martial fame), or by agriculture, which the unusual fertility of the land, secured by a most admirable system of artificial irrigation, and a careful embankment of the rivers, rewarded with a produce almost incredibly abundant; or by a commerce, which comprised both caravan and maritime trade; which united, by import and export, the east and the west; which, signally favoured by the geographical position of Mesopotamia, nearly central between the Indus and the Mediterranean, and adjoining the Persian Gulf, and supported by two majestic streams, by a complete net of navigable canals, by high-roads and cause-ways across the desert, by fortified stations, store-houses, and wells,—extended over the richest countries of the ancient world, or attracted the traders of all climes as to the great central mart of nations (see pp. 257, 260).

But the growing luxuries, effeminating the manners and fearfully depraving the morals of the inhabitants, accelerated the downfall of the Assyrian and Babylonian empires; and the proud capitals and magnificent palaces with their enormous treasures fell into the hands of conquerors more vigorous and less corrupted; till the latter, in their turn, dazzled by their own splendour, and unable to bear the burden of their happiness, tempted the ambition of a youthful hero, and succumbed to his irresistible arms (Comp. *Layard*, *Ninev.* and its Rem., vol. ii.; *Ninev.* and *Babyl.*, pp. 598, *et seq.*, 611—662, and in other parts of his fascinating volumes; *Fergusson*, *The Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis restored*; *Vaux*, *Nin.* and *Pers.*, pp. 263—282; *Bonomi*, *Nin.* and its Pal., pp. 323—357).

### § 5.

#### CUNEIFORM WRITING AND ITS DECIPHERERS.

The progress made in the reading of the cuneiform inscriptions forms a curious chapter in the history of learning. After some preliminary attempts of Pietro della Valle and Figueroa, Chardin and Niebuhr, Kopp and De Murr, Tychem, Münster and Hager, Millin and Wahl, the first solid foundations of the new science were, from 1800 to 1815, laid by *Grotfend*, who, in examining the trilingual inscriptions of Persepolis, determined nearly one-third of the alphabet; read first the names of Cyrus, Darius, Xerxes, and Hystaspes; and proved that the inscriptions must be read from left to

right; that the cuneatic characters are alphabetic, not syllabic, nor single or numerical figures; that the Persian alphabet contains forty different signs, and that the Persepolitan inscriptions contain three different systems of cuneatic writing. The next steps were made by *Saint Martin*, following the traces of his predecessor, and by *Rask*, who discovered the characters representing M and N; further, in 1836, by *Bournouff*, who interpreted two of the Hamadan (Ecbatana) inscriptions, fixed the reading of proper nouns of the Persepolitan inscriptions, and thus considerably extended the cuneiform alphabet; within the succeeding eight years by *Lassen*, who, rivalling the fame of Grotendorf himself, in various memoirs, the result of great perseverance and sagacity, developed the alphabet into a far more complete system, determining the value and phonetic power of at least twelve characters; and almost simultaneously by *Rawlinson*, who, by an independent examination of the sculptured tablets of Hamadan, and of the great Behistun inscription, constructed an alphabet nearly coinciding with that of Lassen, and satisfactorily read parts of the text. The language thus eliminated is an ancient *Persian*, with many analogies in the modern Zend and in Sanscrit. Rawlinson then applied the same process to the decipherment of the *Assyrian* texts, and, by remarkable ingenuity, succeeded in mastering difficulties apparently insuperable, and in acquiring a satisfactory knowledge of the *Assyrian* language, which will, no doubt, be considerably extended by the recent discovery of the explanatory lists, affording most useful lexicographical assistance (see p. 298). Other scholars have since worked in the same promising field of literature, and we may mention the names of Botta, Hincks, Ormsby and Cullimore, Forster, Talbot, Löwenstein and Oppert, and Westergaard and Norris, of whom the two last named expounded the third or Scythian part of the Persepolitan inscription. So confident are they of the certainty of their results, that lately a most interesting experiment has been made by Rawlinson, Hincks, Talbot, and Oppert, who all independently translated parts of the large cylinder of Tiglath Pileser I., with the view of ascertaining whether the method of decipherment at present adopted was based upon trustworthy principles; and the report of the committee appointed for the purpose was, on the whole, favourable for the present state of the science, though it was acknowledged that much remained to be done before perfect accuracy could be attained.

The inscriptions were generally engraved on stone; but they were also stamped or incised upon moist clay, which was then baked in the furnace. The Assyrians wrote also with a pen or stylus on parchment or papyrus; and though no such scrolls have yet been discovered, as they were probably destroyed in the lapse of time, many seals, once appended to them, have been found, and they are frequently seen on the sculptures in the hands of officials.

The cuneiform (wedge-shaped or arrow-headed) writing, which was probably confined exclusively to sculptures and impressions, while cursive characters, to be read from right to left, seem, from an early period, to have been employed for ordinary purposes, has, by Rawlinson, been divided into three chief groups, the Babylonian, the Assyrian, and the Elymaean.

The Babylonian, which is the oldest, offers two principal varieties: the one is found on the cylinders and bricks which compose the ancient cities of Shinar; on slabs, for instance, that which was secured by Sir Harford Jones; on a broken obelisk, found on the mound of Susa, and copied by Rawlinson in 1836, in 33 lines; and on the black stone, in the possession of the Earl of Aberdeen, excavated at Nineveh, and consisting of 104 short lines: the other variety occurs in the third column of the trilingual inscriptions, and seems to belong to the Achemenian period.

The Assyrian type, which is a simplification of the primitive characters, is the least ancient and least known branch of Babylonian writing; it remained in use to so late a period as B.C. 200, or the time of Seleucus and Antiochus the Great (see p. 293); it is, likewise, supposed to consist of two varieties, called the Medo-Assyrian, and the Assyrian; the former being found on the rocks of Van, at Dash Tappeh, in the plain of Miyandab; on the stone pillar at the pass of Kel-i-Shin; on a rock inscription on the banks of the Euphrates, between the towns of Maltieh and Kharput; and, perhaps, on the tablets at the mouth of the Nahr-el-Kalb, in the vicinity of Beyrout; the latter occurring exclusively in the palaces of Assyria, as on the marbles of Khorsabad, Nimroud, and Kouyunjik. The Assyrian cursive writing is extremely minute and confused, and a specimen of it may be seen on the hexagonal cylinder, in the possession of Gen. Taylor, the late British resident at Baghdad.

The inscriptions of Elymais contain many new characters, and have been found in the vicinity of Mal-Amir, where Layard and Baron de Bode found four tablets with sculptures, representing colossal figures.

It appears that the primitive cuneiform signs, like the Egyptian hieroglyphics, were originally mere pictures of natural objects, but that gradually by far the greatest part

of them assumed a phonetic or alphabetical value; for it is probable, that cuneiform writing was first introduced into Chaldea by a Hamite race cognate with the Egyptians. The Assyrian language, which consists of upwards of 600 characters or elements, has indeed some peculiarities in common with the Egyptian, but is, in many roots, very nearly allied to the Hebrew and Chaldee, thus affording another reason why Asshur is represented to be of Shemitic origin (x. 22; compare *Bonomi*, *Nin.* and its *Pal.*, pp. 358—399; *Vana*, loc. cit., 390—411; *Ritter*, *Erdk.*, viii. 71—111; and the various papers of Rawlinson, including his memoir on cuneiform writing, prepared in 1839).

## § 6.

We are anxious not to omit any available materials calculated to throw light upon the intricate subject of this appendix. We shall, therefore, in a compendious form, subjoin the essence of the accounts which *ancient profane writers* furnished with regard to Assyria and Babylonia, preceded by the *Biblical notices* concerning these empires. The information derived from the various and most heterogeneous sources have so often been indiscriminately mixed up with each other, that it may be profitable once distinctly to separate what is due to each authority.

## THE BIBLICAL ACCOUNTS ON ASSYRIA AND BABYLON.

B.C.

2450. NIMROD, the son of Cush, in the second generation after the Noachian deluge, immigrated into Mesopotamia from the south, seized or built *Babel*, *Erech*, *Accad*, and *Calneh* in the southern districts of Shinar; and founded, further, in the land of Asshur, the towns *Nineveh*, *Rehoboth-Ir*, *Calah*, and the great city *Resen* (x. 8—12; see pp. 253—263).
2130. AMRAPHEL, king of Shinar, a contemporary of Abraham, invaded Canaan and the adjoining countries in conjunction with three other East-Asiatic monarchs; he was at first victorious; but pursued by Abraham and his men, he was defeated, put to flight, and deprived of the booty which he had made (see notes on xiv. 1—16).—Here follows a long gap in the Biblical accounts, and neither Assyrian nor Babylonian kings are mentioned earlier than in the history of the eighth century.

## A. ASSYRIAN KINGS.

770. PUL invaded Samaria, in the reign of Menahem, king of Israel, who obtained the retreat of the conqueror by the payment of 1,000 talents of silver, exacted from the wealthier class of the population; but Pul seems to have deported a part of the Hebrew tribes of Gilead into Assyria (comp. 2 Kings xv. 19, 20; 1 Chron. v. 26).
740. TIGLATH PILESER was a contemporary of Ahaz of Judah, and Pekah of Israel. The latter sovereign had made a treaty with Rezin, king of Syria, against Ahaz. Their allied armies marched against Jerusalem, and besieged it; they gained great advantages, took an enormous amount of spoil, killed many, and led others as captives to Damascus and Samaria; but the Israelites appear, on the exhortation of the prophet Oded, to have sent back both the men and the booty. Ahaz, however, menaced by the Edomites and Philistines also, called in the aid of Tiglath-Pileser who, eager to find a pretext for extending his dominions, but unconcerned for the interests of Judah, marched against Damascus, took it, killed the king Rezin, and sent the principal inhabitants away to the banks of the river Kur (Cyrus); and was, besides, rewarded by Ahaz with the silver and gold taken from the Temple, and with the treasures of the royal palace. He now, probably through his generals, whilst he was staying at Damascus, continued his conquests in eastern and northern Palestine; he took Gilead, Galilee, and the towns Ijon, Abel-beth-Maachah, Janoah, Kedesh, and Hazor, all in the province of Naphtali, and sent the population, especially the two tribes and a half which dwelt in the east of the Jordan, into Assyria, to Halah, Habor, Hara, and the river Gozan (compare 2 Ki. xv. 29; xvi. 5—10, 17, 18; 1 Chron. v. 26; 2 Chron. xxviii. 5—21; Isa. vii.—ix.; xvii. 1—11).
720. SHALMANESER made war against Hoshea, king of Israel, and forced him to pay tribute; but Hoshea secretly concluded an alliance with So, king of Egypt, and refused to transmit to Assyria the imposed tax; wherefore Shalmaneser seized and imprisoned him; besieged during three years, and took the principal towns of Samaria, and carried the population to Assyria, where he as-

signed to them abodes in Halah, on the Habor, and in the cities of the Medes; whilst he transferred to Samaria people from Babylon, Cutha, Ava, Hamath, and Sepharvaim. The kingdom of Judah, then under the pious Hezekiah, maintained its independence. But Media and Persia, Babylon and Mesopotamia, Syria and a part of Phœnicia, were brought under Assyrian dominion (comp. 2 Ki. xvii. 3—6, 24; xviii. 7, 9—11; Isa. x. 9—11).

717. SARGON sent his general or *Tartan*, to Ashdod, the key of Egypt, with the view to invade this country. His army succeeded in taking Ashdod, seems to have marched into Egypt, and to have successfully fought both against the Egyptians and the Ethiopians (comp. Isa. xx.).

712. SENNACHERIB, anxious to continue the Egyptian expedition of his predecessors, invaded Judea in the fourteenth year of the reign of Hezekiah, and took a great number of fortresses and other cities. When he had advanced to Lachish, Hezekiah sent ambassadors to him, and offered his submission. Sennacherib accepted it, and imposed upon the King of Judah a tribute of 30 talents of gold, and 300 talents of silver. But after he had received this impost, he ordered his general and chief officers to lay siege to Jerusalem with a formidable part of his army, probably because he suspected Hezekiah of having entered into secret negotiations with the King of Egypt (2 Kings xviii. 21, 24). The chiefs, in an insolent and blasphemous address, exhorted the people to avow allegiance, and to pay the taxes to the Assyrian king, who seems to have contemplated their transportation to northern countries (*Ibid.* ver. 32). But the people, faithful to their king, made no reply. In the meanwhile, Sennacherib, who had conquered Lachish, and had advanced to Libnah, was informed that Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia, was advancing with an army, perhaps to aid the king of Egypt in the approaching danger, and he sent another message to Hezekiah, threatening the utter destruction of Jerusalem if he refused immediate submission. But either some unfavourable rumour which he received, or a fearful pestilence, which destroyed 185,000 of his soldiers, induced him suddenly to return to Nineveh (compare *Herod.*, ii. 141). Here, while worshipping in the temple of Nisroch, his god, he was slain by two of his sons, Adrammelech and Sharezer, who escaped into the land of Ararat (comp. 2 Kings xviii. 13—xix. 37; Isa. xvii. 12—xviii. 7; xxxvi.; xxxvii.; *Tobit*, i. 21).

696. ESAR-HADDON, the son of Sennacherib, sent Assyrian colonists into the towns of Israel, and seems to have led Mana-seh of Judah into temporary captivity to Assyria (2 Kings xix. 37; Isa. xxxvii. 38; *Ezr.* iv. 2; 2 Chr. xxxiii. 11—13).

#### B. BABYLONIAN KINGS.

720. MERODACH-BALADAN (or Berodach-Baladan) reigned in the time of Hezekiah, king of Judah, to whom he sent letters and presents when he had been informed of his serious illness, and who, to the great displeasure of the prophet Isaiah, made him acquainted, through his messengers, with all the treasures, resources, and military establishments of the Judah (2 Kings xx. 12—19; Isa. xxxix. 1—8).

The name of NABOPOLASSAR does not occur in the Old Testament.

607 NEBUCHADNEZZAR, his son, is in the Bible considered as king of Babylon from the fourth year of Jehoiakim, king of Judah, when he was appointed by his father general of a large part of the army, and defeated Necho II., king of Egypt, at Circesium (Carchemish) on the Euphrates (*Jer.* xxv. 1; xli. 2). In consequence of this victory, all the land "from the river of Egypt to the river Euphrates, that had belonged to the king of Egypt," fell into the hands of the Babylonians. It is uncertain whether Nebuchadnezzar then already attacked Judea also (comp. *Joseph.*, Ant., X. vi. 1); but he certainly invaded it not long afterwards, and forced Jehoiakim into submission. But when, after three years, the latter rebelled against him, he sent a Chaldean army, together with troops of the Syrians, Moabites, and Ammonites, against the land of Judah. But before the Babylonian forces arrived, or commenced operations, Jehoiakim had died in peace, and Jehoiachin had succeeded him. Now, however, Jerusalem was besieged; Nebuchadnezzar himself joined his troops; and the new king of Judah, who had sat but three months upon the throne of his fathers, delivered himself up to the Babylonian monarch, together with his mother, and the whole of his chief officers. This event took place in the eighth year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign (a.c. 599), who now

seized the treasures of the temple and of the royal palace, and carried away from Jerusalem ten thousand captives, including the king and his family, all the men of influence and wealth, and all the artisans, leaving behind nothing but the poorest part of the population, and appointing Mattaniah, the uncle of Jehoiachin, under the name of Zedekiah, king over them. But nine years later (B.C. 590), Zedekiah, expecting the assistance of Egypt, for which he had secretly applied, rebelled against the Babylonian king, and refused to pay the tribute. The Chaldean troops stationed in Syria marched against Jerusalem, and besieged it; but upon being informed of the approach of an Egyptian army, they returned northwards (Jer. xxxvii. 5—11). However, Nebuchadnezzar now advanced with a mighty army; staying himself at Riblah, he sent his troops against Jerusalem; and after an active siege of at least 18 months, the Hebrew king and his soldiers were compelled, by famine, to flee from the city; but the army was routed, Zedekiah himself seized, and brought before Nebuchadnezzar to Riblah; his sons were slain before his sight, and afterwards his eyes were cut out, and he was sent in fetters to Babylon. Nebuchadnezzar now (B.C. 588) sent Nebuzar-adan, the chief of his guard, to Jerusalem, where he burnt the temple, the palace, and all the better houses of the town; broke down the walls; took the large brzen pillars and vessels, and the other valuable implements; and carried away the people who had remained, though leaving a number of the very poorest to work as agriculturists, and setting over them Gedaliah, the son of Ahikam, as governor; whilst the chief priests, Seraiah and Zephaniah, and the other civil and military functionaries were brought to Riblah, where Nebuchadnezzar ordered them to be put to death. The contents of the Book of Daniel, as far as they concern this king, the distinguished position which Daniel occupied at his court, and the insanity which, to curb his haughtiness and to force him to acknowledge the Lord of heaven and earth, befell him during seven years, when "he was driven from men, and did eat grass as oxen, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven, and his hair grew like eagles' feathers, and his nails like birds' claws": all this is too well known to require more than a brief allusion (compare 2 Kings xxiv. 1, 2, 7, 10—17; xxv. 1—22; Jer. xxxvii. 1, 5—11; xxxix. 1—10; lii. 1—27; Ezek. xvii. 15. The statements of Jer. xxii. 19; xxxvi. 30; lii. 28—30; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6; Dan. i. 1, if compared with those of the second Book of Kings, contain chronological and other difficulties, which it is not here the place to explain).

562. EVIL MERODACH, in the first year of his reign, released Jehoiachin, who had been imprisoned during 37 years; treated him benevolently, assigned to him an honourable place at his court, and made him a liberal allowance during his life (2 Kings xxv. 27—30; Jer. lii. 31—34).

541. BELSHAZZAR, the son of Nebuchadnezzar, was the last king of Babylon. Despising the God of Israel, and defiling the holy vessels taken from the Temple by his father, by using them at his licentious revelries, was slain, after having been forewarned, while feasting with his courtiers and his wives, by an inscription mysteriously written on the wall of his chamber, and interpreted by Daniel. His death took place probably during the nightly attack of the Persians and Medians, in consequence of which the Babylonian empire fell into the hands of Darius, the Median, the son of Ahasuerus (Dan. v.; ix. 1; comp. *Herod.*, i. 191; *Xen.*, Cyr., VII. v. 15, 30, 22).

## § 7.

### THE HISTORY OF ASSYRIA AND BABYLON ACCORDING TO ANCIENT PROFANE WRITERS.

#### A. THE HISTORY OF ASSYRIA.

*First Period. From Ninus to Sardanapalus (B.C. 2182—876, or 1306 years).*

The account of Ctesias on the earlier dynasty of the Assyrians, offers the greatest comparative consistency, and claims therefore the first place in this sketch (compare *Diod. Sic.*, ii. 1—28; *Athen.*, xii. 38—40; *Justin.*, i. 1—3; *Strabo.* xvi. 737).

NINUS, an early king of the Assyrians, brave, and ambitious of martial fame, concluded friendship with the Arabians and their King Arizæus; both united their armies, and marched against Babylonia; the town Babylon did not yet exist; but the cities which their enemies inhabited were conquered; and the king of Babylonia was killed,



together with his family. They then made war against Armenia, whose king Barzanes offered his submission, and was accepted as an ally; and against Media, whose king, Pharnus, was defeated, taken captive and killed, together with his family. Ninus now alone prosecuted his campaigns, during seventeen years, over the whole of Asia, and his empire embraced nearly all the countries from the Tigris to the Hellespont, and from the Nile to the Caspian Sea. The Bactrians alone were enabled, by their formidable mountain fastnesses, and by the valour of their king, Oxyartes, to offer a longer resistance; he returned to Assyria, where he built Nineveh, 55 miles in circumference, with walls 100 feet high; and 1500 towers, 200 feet high. But resolved to conquer Bactria also, he undertook another expedition against it, with an enormous army (about two millions of soldiers), and besieged Bactra, the capital town, and a formidable fortress, long in vain, till Semiramis, the wife of Onnes, and fabled to have been the daughter of the fish-goddess, Derceto, of Ascalon, assaulted the citadel and took the town. Ninus, admiring both the beauty and the intelligence of Semiramis, married her.

After his death, SEMIRAMIS, masculine both in attire and habits, reigned. Besides other cities, she built Babylon on both sides of the Euphrates, upwards of 40 miles in circumference, with a wall of enormous dimensions, and furnished with 250 towers at those points where the town was not protected by the natural marshes; she further constructed a splendid bridge over the Euphrates, 5 stadia in length, and 30 feet in breadth; a grand palace on each side of the bridge, the western one being surrounded by a three-fold wall, high and massive, and like the towers, ornamented with coloured drawings representing royal hunting scenes; an imposing temple of Belus, for astronomical observations, in the centre of the town, embellished with colossal golden images of the principal deities, and with golden vessels; raised mounds 160 stadia long, on the banks of the Euphrates, to prevent its overflowing the plains (compare *Her.*, i. 184); she dug canals and lakes; raised a stone, 130 feet long, and 25 feet broad and thick, broken from the quarries of northern Armenia, as an obelisk; and completed many other magnificent works, among which was a huge pyramid, nine stadia (5,454 feet) high, and ten stadia (6,060 feet) in breadth, intended as a tomb for her husband Ninus! She then, accompanied by a large army, journeyed to Media, where she planted several gigantic parks, adorned with many regal buildings; on her way to Ecbatana, she cut a straight and broad path through the mountains which impeded that way; in Ecbatana itself she built new palaces, and supplied the town with water, led thither from a distant lake; she then marched through Persia, and executed everywhere stupendous works, both of ornament and of utility, building roads, walls, canals, ramparts, parks, bridges, water-works, and cities; she went to Egypt, and visited the oracle of Ammon; she proceeded to Ethiopia, and partly subjected it. But her ambition was not yet satisfied; she undertook, after most extensive preparations of three years' duration, with nearly four millions of soldiers, an expedition against the king of India, Stabrobates, and took with her 2,000 portable ships, to be used on the Indus, 300,000 hides of oxen, so stuffed as to give them the appearance of elephants. She defeated the Indian monarch, though well prepared to meet her, in a sanguinary battle on the Indus, destroyed about 1,000 ships, and made many captives; but she was afterwards, when her stratagem with regard to the artificial elephants had been betrayed by some deserters, completely beaten in a great land-battle, wounded, compelled to flee, and to return to Bactria, having lost two-thirds of her army (comp. *Strabo*, xv. 686, 687). When her son, *Ninyas*, attempted her assassination, she delivered to him spontaneously the reins of the government.

NINYAS was effeminate and licentious, scarcely ever appearing in public, and seen by nobody but his eunuchs and his wives; but he held the people in obedience by constant armaments, and by keeping enormous armies. Other monarchs equally voluptuous followed in direct succession; none of them distinguished himself by memorable deeds. But

SARDANAPALUS, called by some the son of Anacyndaraxes, and by others the son of Anabaxarus (*Athen.*, xii. 38), surpassed all his predecessors in degenerate effeminacy, assuming the dress and pursuing the occupations of women, spinning wool and purple threads, painting his eyes and body, and surrounded by none but his wives. A conspiracy was concerted against him by *Arbaces*, a Median, who, incited by *Belesys*, priest of Babylon, and assisted by the Persians and Arabians, gathered an army of 400,000 men. But to the astonishment of his enemies, Sardanapalus displayed an unexampled heroism; he placed himself at the head of his powerful army, and gained three brilliant victories over his opponents; but rendered careless by these successes, and opposed by the Bactrians also, who had joined the rebels, he was everywhere defeated; his chief general and brother-in-law, Salaemenes, was killed; he was besieged in Nineveh; but in the third year, when the Euphrates inundated a great part of the

town, and when he saw no prospect of relief, he burnt himself on an enormous funeral pile, with his wives and vast treasures, in his own palace.

ARBACES succeeded him, and he commenced the Median dynasty of Assyrian kings. He reigned 28 years.

The thirty-one kings from Ninus to Sardanapalus reigned, according to Ctesias, 1,306 years, terminating in 876; so that Ninus began to reign in B.C. 2182 (comp. *Diod. Sic.*, ii. 21, 28; *Vell. Pat.*, i. 6; *Justin.*, i. 2).

Herodotus remarks (i. 95, 130), that the Assyrians had already ruled over Upper Asia 520 years, when the Medes revolted from them, or perhaps when Dejeoces was elected as their king, in B.C. 710 (comp. *Diod.*, ii. 32). According to this notice, therefore, they established their sovereign power in Asia, in 1230, whilst their empire might have existed at the early date which Ctesias mentions. The Median revolt under Arbaces (as Ctesias reports), and that which resulted in the election of Dejeoces (according to Herodotus), were, no doubt, two different events: the former was only a change of dynasty in Assyria; whilst the latter implied the defection of an important part, and, therefore, a material weakening of the empire.

Ctesias mentions the following kings as the successors of Arbaces: *Manduces* (reigning 50 years); *Sosarmus* (30 years); *Artykas* (50 years); *Arbians* (22 years); *Artans* (40 years), against whom the Cardusians, incited by the Persian Farsodes, revolted; *Artykes* (22 years); *Asitbaras* (40 years), who fought against the Parthians and the Scæii; and, lastly, *Aspadas*, called *Astyages* by the Greeks, who was dethroned by the Persian Cyrus (*Diod. Sic.*, ii. 32—34). But these names obviously include the kings who ruled over Media alone, from Dejeoces (B.C. 710) to Astyages (*Herod.*, i. 95—107). It appears, therefore, that Assyria, though temporarily eclipsed by Media in consequence of the catastrophe under Sardanapalus, gradually recovered its power and importance, became again the principal seat of the empire, while Media was reduced into a tributary province, till, in B.C. 710, the latter freed itself from Assyria as an independent monarchy, and chose Dejeoces as its king, succeeded by Phraortes, Cyaxares, and Astyages, his direct descendants.

Eusebius observes, that Sardanapalus was a contemporary of Lycargus (B.C. 880); and counts from him up to Ninus 1,240 years, so that the latter reigned about B.C. 2120. It is obvious, that this account agrees as nearly as possible with that of Ctesias.

According to Æmilius Sara, the space of 1,995 years elapsed between Ninus and Antiochus III. (the Great, B.C. 190), which would again place the commencement of the Assyrian empire at about B.C. 2185 (*Vell.*, i. 6).

The tradition that Semiramis founded Babylon, is variously opposed by ancient writers; Berosus declares it a Greek fiction (*Joseph.*, Ap., i. 20); Orosius asserts, that it was built by Nimrod the Giant, but restored by Ninus or Semiramis, and Philo Byblius, that it dates back 1002 years before that queen (*St. Byz.*); while others attribute to her either the town, or the wall alone (*Curt.*, v. 1; *Ammian.*, xxii. 6).

Trogus Pompeius calls the Bactrian king whom Ninus attacked, Zoroaster, instead of Oxyartes, and attributes to him the first invention of the magical arts, a philosophical enquiry into the origin of the world, and observations on the celestial bodies (*Justin.*, i. 1).

Athenæus and others state, that Semiramis was a courtesan who gained the affections of the king Ninus, persuaded him to allow her the government for five days only, but that, in this short interval, she succeeded in securing the obedience of the princes, of the people, and the army; so that she could venture to throw Ninus into prison, and proclaim herself queen (*Diod. Sic.*, ii. 20); and Trogus Pompeius relates, that her son Ninyas attempted her assassination in the 42nd year of her reign, because she made to him disgraceful offers (*Justin.*, i. 2).

Diodorus Siculus mentions a tradition, that Tentamus, the twentieth king after Ninyas, sent 10,000 Ethiopians, and as many Susians, with 200 chariots, under Memnon, the son of Tithonus, chief general of Persia, to Troy to assist his vassal Priam, when he was attacked by the Greeks; and it is added, that, at that time, the Assyrians had already exercised the chief power in Asia for 1,000 years. But that tradition is improbable in itself, for if there were twenty kings only during 1,000 years, each would, on an average, have reigned for 50 years; and it is disputed by the ancients themselves, who represent Memnon as an Ethiopian (*Diod. Sic.*, ii. 22).

Some ancient writers, as Duris, maintain, that Arbaces, when introduced into the presence of Sardanapalus, by the eunuch Sparamisus, disgusted at his degrading appearance and conduct, and indignant that such a man should rule over the mighty Assyrian empire, stabbed him on the spot (*Athen.*, xii. 38). But the account of Ctesias is both more credible, and more generally adopted.—The same monarch is, on the inscription on his tomb, in which the vanity of all human affairs, except pleasure and enjoyment, is powerfully expressed, called the builder of Anchiale and Tarsus (*Athen.*, iii. 39): a statement which, considering the energy displayed in the latter part of his

life, is not exactly improbable, though the building of Tarsus is, by Berosus, attributed to Sennacherib (see *infra*).

*Second Period. The New Assyrian Empire, to the destruction of Nineveh.*

Of the kings who contributed to the second greatness of the land, we have two different lists:—

I. *Berosus*, in the epitome of Alexander Polyhistor (*Euseb.*, Chron. Arm., i., pp. 41, 44), gives the following names:—

1. PUL (more than 520 years after Semiramis); 2. SENNACHERIB, reigned 18 years; 3. ASORDANIUS (Esar-haddon), 8 years; 4. SAMMUGHES, 21 years; 5. SARDANAPALUS CHALDÆUS, 21 years (represented as a contemporary of the Median king Astyages, whose daughter married Nabucodrossor, the son of Sardanapalus); 6. THE BROTHER OF SAMMUGHES, 21 years; 7. NABOPOLASSAR, 20 years, and NABUDCROSSOR (Nebuchadnezzar), 43 years.

II. But *Abydenus* mentions the following monarchs (*Euseb.*, Chron. Armen., i., p. 53, *et seq.*):—

1. SENNACHERIB; 2. NERGILUS (Adrammelus); 3. AXERDIS (brother of Adrammelus); 4. SARDANAPALUS; 5. SARACUS.

Under the reign of Saracus, a vast army of barbarous tribes invaded the land from the side of the sea; he sent his brave general Bnsalossor (Nabopolassar) to Babylonia; but the latter proclaimed himself king of Babylon; married his son Nebucodrossor to the daughter of the Median king Astyages; and destroyed Nineveh and the Assyrian empire.

These meagre lists do not even furnish sufficient materials for a bare framework of Assyrian history; they are contradictory in themselves, irreconcilable with each other, and often at variance with the Biblical statements; the Sennacherib of Polyhistor and Abydenus corresponds, in many respects, with the Esar-haddon of the Scriptures; and the Sardanapalus of the former seems to be the Nebuchadnezzar of the latter (*Clinton*, Fast. Hell., i. 263—283); and learning and sagacity have been lavished in vain to give to those dry bones life and substance.

Herodotus (ii. 141) relates, that Sennacherib undertook an expedition against Egypt, then governed by the priest Sethon, who neglected and despised the military caste; but that, when his troops were encamped before Pelusium, which was only defended by tradesmen, mechanics, and sutlers, a vast number of field mice destroyed their quivers, bows, and the handles of their shields; in consequence of which their easy defeat and partial destruction ensued (comp. 2 Ki. xix. 35; *Joseph.*, Antiq., X. i. 4).

#### B. THE HISTORY OF BABYLON.

The completest account which we possess of Babylonian history, is that which Josephus preserved in his work against Apion (i. 19—21), and in his Antiquities (X. xi. 1), and which he extracted from the writings of Berosus. We shall, therefore, first insert a summary of those statements, and then add the few notices obtainable from other sources.

625. NABOLASSAR (Nabopolassar), who is, in the passage quoted from Josephus' Antiquities, constantly called Nabuchodonosor (Nebuchadnezzar), reigned 29, or, according to the passage just referred to, only 21 years. He seems, in the earlier part of his reign, to have invaded, and partly subjected, Syria and Egypt; for when he was exhausted by old age and received the news, that Judea and "the governor whom he had set over Egypt and the cities of Cœle-syria and Phœnicia," had revolted from him, he sent his son NABUCHODONOSOR (or Nebuchadnezzar II.) with a great army against the rebellious provinces. Nabuchodonosor marched against Judea, burnt the temple in Jerusalem, and led the inhabitants away as captives to Babylon. Five years later, in the twenty-third year of his reign, he conquered Syria and Phœnicia; Tyre was besieged during thirteen years under its king Ithobal or Ethbaal; he took the land of the Ammonites and Moabites, Egypt, and a great part of Libya, Arabia and Iberia; "and exceeded in his exploits all who had reigned in Babylon and Chaldea" (comp. *Joseph.*, Ant., X. ix. 7). On receiving the report of his father's sudden death, he hastened back to Babylon, and seized the government, which had been preserved for him by the Chaldeans. He adorned the temple of Belus and other sacred edifices magnificently from the spoil of his conquests; rebuilt the old city, added another part to it, and furnished it with imposing gates; constructing three round the inner city, and three round the outer part, so that besiegers should not have it in their power to divert the course of the river. He built, near the palace formerly

inhabited by his father, a new one, surpassing it in height; and, though prodigiously large and magnificent, it was completed in fifteen days; and, to please his queen, who had been brought up in the highlands of Media, he embellished it with hanging gardens, so that the scene had the appearance of a mountainous country. He reigned 43 years. His son—

561. **EVIL MERODACH**, followed him; he reigned tyrannically, and defied the laws; but was, after a reign of two years, killed by his sister's husband—

559 **NERIGLISSAR**, who occupied the throne of Babylon for four years. His son—

555 **LABOROSARCHOD**, though but a child at the death of his father, distinguished himself by infamous conduct, and was murdered only nine months later. One of the conspirators,—

555 **NABONNEDUS**, a Babylonian, was proclaimed king. He strengthened the walls to of Babylon by structures of burnt bricks and bitumen. But, in the seven-  
538. teenth year of his reign, he was attacked and defeated by Cyrus. He fled, with a few of his troops, to Borsippus; but when he was here besieged, he delivered himself, without resistance, into the hand of Cyrus, who assigned to him the province of Carmania as his future abode; and here he passed the rest of his life. The outer walls of Babylon were demolished; and Babylonia was merged in the Persian empire (B.C. 538).

Herodotus relates, that, five generations after Semiramis, the queen Nitocris, the wife of Labynetus, ruled in Babylonia; that she was extremely shrewd and enterprising; that she constructed, at Babylon, a bridge over the Euphrates, to connect both parts of the town, the only communication between which had till then been by boat only; that, when she heard of the conquests and progress of the Medes, she made the Euphrates, by digging channels, so winding that it touched the village Arderica three different times, and made, at a considerable distance above Babylon, a lake 420 stadia in circumference; she executed these works, "in order that the current, being broken by frequent turnings, might be more slow, and the navigation to Babylon tedious; and that, after the voyage, a long march round the lake might follow."—She was buried over the most frequented gate of the city, having ordered an inscription to be engraven there which later induced Darius to open the sepulchre; but he did not find the treasure which he had been led to expect. In the reign of her son Labynetus (Nabonnedus), Cyrus advanced against Babylon, and after having diverted the river Gyndes into 350 channels, because one of the sacred white horses had been drowned in it, he gave battle to the Babylonians, defeated them, and shut them up in their city. He then skilfully concealed his operations from the knowledge of the Babylonians, made the Euphrates fordable, by leading its water into the lake; and effected a sudden entrance into the town, to the great consternation of the inhabitants, who were still dancing and rejoicing in the centre, when the extreme parts were already taken by the Persian army (*Herod.*, i. 184—191).

The Canon of Ptolemy enumerates, from the time of Nabonassar, B.C. 747, nineteen Babylonian kings, comprising, together with a twofold interregnum, a period of 209 years; but some of them are certainly Assyrian satraps; one, *Belibus*, or *Elibus*, is mentioned by Berosus also (*Euseb.*, Chron. Arm., i. 43); but from Nabopolassar down to Nabonnedus, his list coincides almost entirely with that preserved by Josephus, except that a few orthographic modifications occur; that only 21 years, instead of 29, are assigned to Nabopolassar; and that Laborosarchod, who reigned but nine months, is omitted; so that from Nabopolassar to the destruction of the Babylonian empire by Cyrus, a period of 87 years elapsed (B.C. 625—538).

The account of Berosus, furnished by Eusebius, states, that *Merodach Baladan* made Babylon free from the dominion of Assyria, by killing the viceroys Acises; that he was, however, six months later, murdered by *Elibus*, who proclaimed himself independent monarch of Babylon, but was, after three years, defeated by Sennacherib; the latter restored Babylon as an Assyrian province, and appointed his son, Asordanius, governor over it; he marched with a large army to Cilicia, and here founded the town Tarsus.

According to Abydenus, Nabopolassar was originally Assyrian satrap of Babylon, but made himself independent by the assistance of the king of Media (*Euseb.*, Chron. Arm., i. 54; comp. *Rawlinson*, Notes on the early History of Babylon).

The sketch here attempted will, on future occasions, be further developed, when the controverted points, as well as the various theories proposed to settle them, will be more fully discussed.

## VI. THE TOWER OF BABEL AND THE DISPERSION.

### CHAPTER XI. 1—9.

**SUMMARY.**—The progeny of Noah left the regions where the ark had landed after the deluge, and they arrived in a plain of the land of Shinar. As they foresaw the great future increase of the human race, they determined to build a town with a prodigiously high tower as a centre of unity. Hitherto they had all spoken the same language, and derived from this common medium of intercourse a great part of their strength. But lest they should proceed still farther in their arrogance and vanity, God divided their languages, so that they did not understand one another; they were by this confusion compelled to leave the tower and the town unfinished, which have received the name of Babel. From hence they were spread over all parts of the globe.—The text then enumerates the representatives of the ten generations between Noah and Abraham, with similar chronological data to those given in the fifth chapter. But as the numbers are here again systematically corrupted in the Samaritan codex and in the Septuagint, we insert them in a tabular survey:—

PATRIARCHS.	HEBREW TEXT.			SAMARITAN TEXT.			SEPTUAGINT VERSION.		
	Years before birth of son.	Rest of life.	Extent of whole life.	Years before birth of son.	Rest of life.	Extent of whole life.	Years before birth of son.	Rest of life.	Extent of whole life.
Shem.....	100	500	600	100	500	600	100	500	600
Arphaxad .....	35	403	438	135	303	438	135	400	535
(Kaivān) .....	*	*	*	*	*	*	130	330	460
Salah.....	30	403	433	130	303	433	130	330	460
Eber.....	34	430	464	134	270	404	134	270	404
Peleg.....	30	209	239	130	109	239	130	209	339
Reu.....	32	207	239	132	107	239	132	207	339
Serug.....	30	200	230	130	100	230	130	200	330
Nahor.....	29	119	148	79	69	148	179	125	304
Terah.....	70	(135)	205	70	(75)	145	70	(135)	205

The history now passes over to the family of Terah; he had three sons, Abram, Nahor, and Haran. The latter died before his father, but left a son, Lot; Abram's wife was Sarai, who bore him no children; and Nahor's wife was Milcah, the daughter of Haran. Terah intended to emigrate with his family from Mesopotamia to Canaan; but he went only to Haran, where he settled, and, after a longer sojourn, died.

### CHAPTER XI.

1. And the whole earth was of one language, and of one speech. 2. And it came to pass, as they journeyed

1—9. The members of Noah's family had, after the deluge, landed in a certain region of the highlands of Armenia; here they were believed to have become the parents of the future founders of empires and nations, and to have dwelt and spread for an indefinable period. But

they were tempted by more beautiful and more fertile districts; they migrated all southwards as one enlarged family, till they reached the plains of Shinar. Here they settled, and began to form a great fraternal community. Having all grown out of the same parental house, they spoke

in the east, that they found a plain in the land of Shinar; and they dwelt there. 3. And they said one to another, Come, let us make bricks, and burn *them* thoroughly.

the same language and shared the same notions (ver. 1). Now, as these were the views regarding the origin of the human families, it could indeed be easily explained how, in the course of time, their increase must have caused them to spread beyond that centre, to occupy even distant countries, and to establish many states and commonwealths. This seemed so probable, that the early generations are represented as having clearly foreseen it (ver. 4). But growth of population alone, even if added to the external influences of different climes, was not sufficient to account for the astonishing variety of speech and thought which divided, and mostly placed in direct antagonism, the various nations, once the members of the same primitive family. This new problem necessarily forced itself upon reflecting minds. But it could naturally occupy those only who rejected the idea of aboriginal races, the offspring of the soil of the individual countries; it could, therefore, but cursorily engage the attention of the ancient nations in general. Plato, indeed, mentions the myth that the languages were divided because men arrogantly asked of the gods immortality and eternal youth; there are, besides, some later similar legends, though perhaps tinged by the Scriptural account: but this question forms no integral part of ancient history or philosophy; whereas it is an essential consequence of the great and fundamental Biblical doctrine concerning the original unity of the human race. The Hebrew writer could neither forget nor avoid it; he was too deeply impressed with the paramount moral importance of the doctrine, to endanger it by any doubts arising from the problem of the difference of languages. But another weighty reason urged him to introduce this subject. Most of the ancient nations possessed myths concerning impious giants who attempted

to storm heaven, either to share it with the immortal gods, or to expel them from it. In some of these fables, the confusion of tongues is represented as the punishment inflicted by the deities for such wickedness; and even Josephus mentions a similar tradition (*Antiq.*, I. iv. 3); the tower by which the rebellious offenders intended to ascend up to heaven, was overthrown by a mighty tempest; they were scattered into various regions, and henceforth spoke different languages (comp. *Euseb.*, *Præp. Ev.*, ix. 14; *Chron. Arm.*, i. 38, 59). It was necessary to eradicate such heathen fables, inconsistent with the purer ideas of the nature of the deity: and with the same admirable wisdom which we have already pointed out in several preceding instances, the Hebrew historian converted that very legend into a medium for solving a great and important problem. Nothing was retained but the building of the tower; and this edifice was only intended to reach a great and commanding height; the tradition that it extended up "to heaven" is taken in a figurative sense (*Deut.* i. 28; *Dan.* iv. 17); no attack against the Divine abodes is contemplated: for the sin which caused, as a deplorable consequence, the estranging variety of tongues, is represented to have been of a perfectly different character. The nature of that offence again reveals the totally spiritual tendency of the Bible. It consists in the immoderate desire for worldly greatness; in the vain longing for fame and glory on earth, and in the proud delusion that a name is, by gigantic monuments, for ever secured from oblivion (ver. 4). The people aspired to that perilous fame which, obtained by conquest and inseparable from violence, averts the mind from its better ends and its purer bliss; a fame, which was the characteristic of those "men of renown," whose impiety and pride caused the universal destruction of the deluge

And they had brick for stone, and bitumen had they for mortar. 4. And they said, Come, let us build for ourselves a city, and a tower whose top *may reach* to heaven,

(vi. 4). It is the same appetite for external distinction which was alluded to in the character of Nimrod, the ruler of Babylon, a town which, owing its origin to vanity, and governed by pride, was at last to be the victim of its haughtiness (see p. 255). This future character of the overbearing city is clearly mirrored in the history of its beginning; the same boastful spirit which the prophet Isaiah chastises in the Babylonian prince, "who speaks in his heart, 'I will ascend up to heaven, above the stars of God will I erect my throne'" (Isai. xiv. 13), prompts here the exclamation: "let us build a city and a tower, whose top may reach to heaven"; but just as there the arrogance is crushed by the words: "but thou descendest into the grave, and into the deepest pit" (ver. 15), it is here checked by the simple, but emphatic remark: "and they left off to build the city" (ver. 8).

Millenniums have passed since the splendour of ancient Babylon was buried under mouldering ruins; the very site of the tower and town was a perplexing mystery; they had indeed been swept away by the "besom of destruction";—it was reserved for our age to dispel the uncertainty, and to produce the authentic proofs of a once stupendous power.

On the banks of the Euphrates, about forty miles south-west of Baghdad, lies the town HILLAH, which, though next to Baghdad and Basra, the greatest in the Pashalik, is meanly and irregularly built, narrow and dirty, with dilapidated mosques and public baths; but it is enclosed by a strong wall, and well protected by a garrison, towers and a battery, and contains a population of about 10,000 Jews and Arabs, carrying on a rather animated commerce on the Euphrates. This town is in almost all directions surrounded by immense ruins, appearing the work of nature rather than of men; shapeless

heaps of rubbish; lofty banks of ancient canals; fragments of glass, marble, pottery, and bricks, mingled with a nitrous soil which impedes all vegetation, and renders the neighbourhood "a naked and hideous waste," re-echoing only the dismal sounds of the owl and jackal, of the hyena and the lawless robber. These piles mark the area once occupied by the mistress of the ancient world. They commence eight miles north of Hillah, where the ruins of the Mujelibeh, still called BABEL by the Arabs, indicate the northern extremity, or division, of ancient Babylon. The excavations here instituted by Rich and Layard have, besides coffins with skeletons, arrow-heads in bronze and iron, small glass bottles, differently ornamented, and vases sometimes glazed with a rich blue, a curious jug of soapstone rudely carved and ornamented, and the remains of a massive wall of sun-dried bricks, all of a comparatively recent, and certainly post-Babylonian period, only uncovered eight or ten piers, several walls branching out in various directions, bricks inscribed with the name of Nebuchadnezzar, and cemented together with bitumen: but no sculptured stone or painted plaster whatever, has been found in the enormous mass of loose rubbish.—The ruins spread from there in many irregular heaps southward along the eastern side of the Euphrates, which breaks the gloomy monotony of the region by the beautiful date-groves lining its banks; they are most probably the remains of the thousands of houses which formed the extensive streets of Babylon; they are, for nearly three miles, scattered in low mounds over the plain, and are enclosed by earthen ramparts, showing the traces of an old line of walls. Then follow, in a southern direction, successively, the ruins of the Kasr (or Mujelibeh of the Arabs), and of the Amran, large and imposing masses (see pp. 299, 300). But

and *by which* we may make us a name; *for* we might perhaps be scattered upon the face of the whole earth. 5. And the Lord came down to see the city and the tower, which

about six miles south-west of Hillah, at a place at present called BIRS-NIMROUD, and corresponding with the ancient Borsippa, lies a group of ruins peculiarly prominent by its colossal height and extent, standing on the edge of the vast marsh formed by the Hindiyah canal, and the inundations of the Euphrates: a dreary pile, unrelieved by a blade of grass, or a single herb.

The huge heap, in which bricks, stone, marble, and basalt are irregularly mixed, covers a square-superficies of 49,000 feet; whilst the chief mound is nearly 300 feet high, and from 200 to 400 feet in width, commanding an extensive view over a country of utter desolation. These are the remains of the far-famed "Temple of the Seven Spheres," most probably the "Temple of Jupiter Belus" of the classical writers, and the "Tower of Babel" of our text. It consisted of seven distinct stages or square platforms, built of kiln-burnt bricks, each about 20 feet high, gradually diminishing in diameter, and forming an oblique pyramid. The upper part of the brick-work has a vitrified appearance, for it is supposed, that the Babylonians, in order to render their edifices more durable, submitted them to the heat of a furnace (*Loftus*, Chaldæa and Susiana, p. 31), and large fragments of such vitrified and calcined materials are also intermixed with the rubbish at the base, which circumstance might have given rise to, or at least countenanced the legend of the destruction of the Tower by heavenly fire, still extensively adopted among the Arabians. The terraces were devoted to the planets, and were differently coloured, in accordance with the notions of Sabæan astrology; namely, the lowest stage was dedicated to Saturn, and was stained black; the second to Jupiter, and had an orange hue; the third was constructed in honour of Mars, and bore a red colour; the fourth belonged to the Sun, and shone in a golden

yellow, imitating the solar rays; the fifth terrace was white, and sacred to Venus; the sixth blue, and consecrated to Mercury; whilst the highest stage was that of the Moon, and was painted in a silvery green. The earliest record of this temple dates back to B.C. 1100, when Merodach-adakhi, a contemporary of Tiglath Pileser I., is stated to have erected it. Whether he continued a building previously commenced, or whether another edifice existed before on the same spot, we have, at present, no means of ascertaining. It is, however, certain, that he did not finish the temple, and that the parts completed by him were, by the neglect of his successors, allowed to fall into decay. More than five hundred years elapsed before his grand designs were resumed and carried out.

Among the many works by which Nebuchadnezzar desired to immortalise his name, was the repair and completion of this stupendous edifice. He left a part of its history on the two cylinders which have lately been excavated on the spot, and on which we read, according to Rawlinson's translation: "The building, named the Planisphere, which was the wonder of Babylon, I have made and finished. With bricks enriched with lapis lazuli, I have exalted its head. Behold now, the building named the Stages of the Seven Spheres, which was the wonder of Borsippa, had been built by a former king. He had completed 42 cubits of height, but he did not finish its head. From the lapse of time, it had become ruined; they had not taken care of the exit of the waters; so the rain and wet had penetrated into the brickwork. The casing of burnt brick had bulged out, and the terraces of crude brick lay scattered in heaps; then Merodach, my great Lord, inclined my heart to repair the building. I did not change its site, nor did I destroy its foundation platform; but in a fortunate month, and upon



the children of men built. 6. And the Lord said, Behold, the people is one, and they have all one language; and

an auspicious day, I undertook the building of the crude brick terraces, and the burnt brick casing of the temple. I strengthened its foundation, and I placed a titular record on the part I had rebuilt. I set my hand to build it up, and to exalt its summit. As it had been in ancient times, so I built up its structure; as it had been in former days, thus I exalted its head." The inscription concludes with an invocation to the gods, that this work "may be established for ever, and last through the seven ages," and that the king's throne and empire "may continue to the end of time"; and adds, that Nebuchadnezzar restored the building 504 years after the original foundation by Tiglath Pileser I. (See also p. 298).

But Birs-Nimroud, called Boursa by the Arabs, probably formed no part of Babylon itself; it was a separate temple in its vicinity, in the town *Borsippa*, to which Nabonidus fled when Babylon was taken by Cyrus; to which Alexander repaired when one of the Magi warned him not to enter Babylon a second time (*Joseph.*, C. Ap. i. 20; *Diod. Sic.*, xvii. 112; *Justin.*, xii. 13); which appears on the Black Obelisk (see p. 296), and several other Assyrian monuments, as a town of Shinar (*Asiat. Journ.*, XII. ii. 436); and which Strabo (xvi. 739) mentions as a Babylonian town, sacred to Diana and Apollo, and renowned for its linen manufactories.—The temple of Jupiter Belus with its tower, constructed of kiln-burnt bricks cemented with bitumen, was regarded as one of the most gigantic works of antiquity, and attracted the curiosity of travellers from every country. Herodotus, who saw it himself, dwells upon it with emphasis (i. 181). He describes it as a square building, extending two stadia on every side; the tower was one stadium in length, and one in breadth. On this tower, another was erected, which again bore another, and so on to the number of eight. They were ascended from the outside, by a way running spirally round them, and provided,

in the middle, with convenient resting-places.—In the uppermost story, which formed the adytum, was a spacious temple with a golden table for lectisternia; it was, perhaps, also used for astronomical purposes; for the astronomers of Borsippa formed a separate sect; and other planetary gods, besides Jupiter, were here worshipped.—It was partially destroyed by Xerxes, when he returned from Greece (B.C. 490), upon which the fraudulent priests appropriated to themselves the lands and enormous revenues attached to it; and seem, from this reason, to have been averse to its restoration. A part of this magnificent edifice existed still more than five centuries later (*Plin.*, vi. 30); but the other part was, in the time of Alexander the Great, a vast heap of ruins; the ambitious Macedonian determined to rebuild it: he issued the orders accordingly; but when the work did not proceed with the vigour and result which he had anticipated, he resolved to undertake it himself with his whole army; he lacked, however, the perseverance of the oriental despots; for, when 10,000 workmen were unable to remove the rubbish within two months, he abandoned his pretentious designs (*Arrian.*, Exped., vii. 17; iii. 16; *Strabo*, xvi. 738, 739). However, the portion of the structure which was in existence in Pliny's time, was imposing enough to be still called the temple of Belus; and Benjamin of Tudela, in the twelfth century, described it as a brick-building, the base measuring two miles, and the breadth 240 yards; he added, that a spiral passage, built round the tower, in stages of ten yards each, led up to the summit, which allows a wide prospect over an almost perfectly level country; and concluded with the old tradition, that the heavenly fire which struck the tower, split it to its very foundation (comp. *Plin.*, H. N., vi. 30; *B. Tudela*, p. 107, ed. Asher).

More than six hundred years, the ruins of Birs-Nimroud remained unnoticed and unknown; they were first re-discovered by Niebuhr, in 1756; then more accu-

this they begin to do; and now they will be restrained from nothing which they imagine to do. 7. Come, let us

rately described by Ker Porter, Rich, Buckingham, and the other eminent travellers, who inaugurated a new era in the history of East-Asiatic antiquities; but their examination, and the discovery of some of the monumental records they contain, were reserved to the last decennium (see p. 298). They consist of two distinct parts, but enclosed by the same wall. The western mound, though lower, is larger; it is more than 1,200 feet in diameter, is traversed by ravines and water-courses, and, though composed of loose accumulations of dust, has upon its summit two small mosques, to which the Mohammedans attach pious legends connected with the history of Abraham and Nimrod. It is supposed to represent the treasure-house, the dwellings of the priests, and the temple with the great altar of Belus, where, according to Herodotus (i. 183), full-grown sheep only were sacrificed; where, on the great annual festival, frankincense to the amount of a thousand talents was burnt; and near which stood a statue of the god, of solid gold, twelve cubits high, coveted by Darius, and taken away by Xerxes, after killing the priest who opposed him. The higher mound, though at present possessing scarcely more than half its original elevation, rises abruptly on the western face, amazing the eye by its gigantic proportions; but ascends on the other side by a series of gradations, which, though much obliterated by violent rains, creeks, and fissures, have been recognised by accurate observers as the sides of several distinct stages or terraces (probably for many periods the usual type of sacred architecture in Mesopotamia), which evidently represent the seven "spheres" above mentioned, and which some conjectured to have served for various astronomical purposes. The walls are of enormous thickness, and allow, at about half their height, an easy circuit round the ruins, as on broad steps; the bricks of the exterior structure, except a

part of the eastern side, are kiln-burnt, whilst those of the interior are sun-dried, mixed with chopped straw; and the whole mass is pierced with square holes, probably to admit air through the building. A large number and variety of gems, intaglios, amulets, and other valuable objects, have been found in the rubbish, both by natives and travellers, and many of them have been deposited in European museums. The uppermost part is a solid piece of masonry, twenty-eight feet broad and thirty-five feet high, one of the most beautiful examples of Babylonian architecture, so compact that no stone can be loosened from it, apparently indestructible, and, though split from one end to the other by some unknown catastrophe, still standing erect, with its bricks elegant and perfect. The view from this spot is vast and desolate beyond description; it includes not only the numerous other mounds scattered around the principal group, but the celebrated grave of the prophet Ezekiel, and ruins considerably beyond it (comp. *Rich*, *Memoirs on Babyl. and Persep.*, 1839, pp. 1—191; *Ker Porter*, *Travels*, 1822, ii. 283—417; *Buckingham*, *Trav.*, pp. 405—495; *Keppel*, *Trav.*, i. 172—219; *Fraser*, *Trav.*, ii. 9—37; *Wellsted*, *Trav.*, i. 218—232; *Rosenmüller*, *Alterth.*, II. i. 1—90; *Ritter*, *Erdk.*, xi. 865—903; *Layard*, *Nin. and Babyl.*, pp. 484—505).

But although the tower was reared to an immense altitude; the town itself was not completed; the men ceased to build it; and the vast circumference of Babylon's walls without a proportionate number of streets and houses, and with spacious fields and gardens within its precincts, might have given to the stranger the idea of an unfinished city, especially if Borsippa, where the tower of Belus stood, was considered a part of Babylon, as is the case in our text, and seems frequently to have been done by ancient writers, in consequence of the magnificence and prominent importance of that building.—

go down, and there confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech. 8. So the Lord

Traces of the tradition concerning the enormous amount of human beings concentrated for the building of Babylon, are preserved elsewhere also; for Diodorus remarks, that Semiramis collected for that purpose two millions of men *from all parts* of her vast dominions (ii. 7); and the antiquity of the Mesopotamian towns is testified by the calculations of Callisthenes, which reach so far back as B.C. 2230 (see pp. 288, 292—294; comp. x. 8—12).

The infinite variety of languages, which so much impedes and incommodes the general intercourse of nations, which is itself both the cause and the consequence of conflicting ideas and conceptions, and which may have been especially striking and bewildering in the plains of Mesopotamia, where the commerce of the east and the west met, and the tongues of all nations perplexed and confused the ear:—this antagonism of languages is, then, represented as the result of the arrogant aspirations of the human families, and as a wholesome check to their growing pride. Their unity had imparted to them a strength and a tenacity of purpose, which threatened to forget all human limits, and to banish that humility which is the root of practical piety. The sin in Paradise consisted in grasping after a spiritual advantage which was withheld from inscrutable reasons; the offence at Babel was the vain longing after external and perishable goods which poison the heart. The curse of exhausting physical labour was the punishment of the former, dispersion and mutual estrangement that of the latter; and in both instances, God Himself stopped the further progress in the same blameable direction by contrasting the past conduct with the possible future consequences (ver. 6, and iii. 22); but in the happy times of the Messiah, when the knowledge of God will be universal and perfect, and when all the nations of the earth will again, like one loving family, congregate round one centre, not the temple of an idol, but of the Lord of hosts, the dif-

ference of the languages will cease, and as God will be one, so His name will be one (Zech. xiv. 10). Such is the spirit of our narrative; but the form, as we have observed, was borrowed in part from a general and prevailing ancient tradition. It is marked by many of the peculiarities of the early Hebrew style; it does not avoid human expressions in reference to the Deity; God is represented as living on high; He descends from heaven to see the town and the tower; He reflects and soliloquizes; He seems, though without jealousy or envy, to fear the too great approach of mankind to His power, as formerly to His wisdom; He takes a resolution, and executes it. But this simplicity of language, which produces sublime and abstract thoughts in a familiar form, has ceased to appear objectionable to our more discriminating age; it is distinctly separated from the ideas which it embodies, and is but rarely and unsuccessfully used to traduce the Biblical notions.

The linguistic researches of modern times have more and more confirmed the theory of one primitive Asiatic language, gradually developed into the various modifications by external agencies and influences. Formerly, the Hebrew tongue was, by many scholars, advocated as the original idiom; for it was maintained both by early Jewish and Christian authorities, that as the race of Shem were no partners in the impious work of the Tower, they remained in possession of the first language, which the fathers of the earliest age had left to Noah; but this view, like the more recent one, that a child if left alone without human society would speak Hebrew, is now classed among the popular errors. At present, the scale of probability inclines more to the Sanscrit, although the disquisition is far from being concluded or settled (compare Pott, in *Erach and Gruber's Encycl.*, vol. xviii.; Art. "Indogermanischer Sprachstamm"). We must, however, warn against an inference which has been drawn in favour of the Babylonian cuneiform language

scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth: and they left off to build the city. 9. There-

from the circumstance, that those characters are found on the bricks forming the foundation of Birs-Nimroud, the supposed Tower of Babel. That temple, in its existing ruins and relics, does not date, at the utmost, earlier than the twelfth century before the present era; and cannot, therefore, in any way be employed in determining the question concerning the one primitive language.

The materials generally used for the construction of Babylonian buildings are here most faithfully described (ver. 3). As in Egypt, the edifices of Mesopotamia consisted of sun-dried, but often also of burnt bricks, baked of the purest clay, and sometimes mixed with chopped straw, which materially enhances their compactness and hardness; these bricks were generally covered with inscriptions, promising to prove of the greatest historical value. But instead of mortar, the Babylonians used as a cement that celebrated asphalt or bitumen, which is nowhere found in such excellence and abundance as in the neighbourhood of Babylon. We refer, for further details, to our notes on Exodus, i. 14, ii. 3, and v. 7. One of the most gifted of the modern explorers declared the ruins of Birs-Nimroud a specimen of the perfection of Babylonian masonry, and remarked, "that the cement by which the bricks were united is of so tenacious a quality, that it is almost impossible to detach one from the mass entire" (*Layard, Nin. and Babyl.*, p. 499).

Herodotus, who, both from inspection and personal enquiries on the spot, gives a similar account of the materials, adds, that about eight days' journey from Babylon, there is a city, *Is*, on a small river of the same name, which flows into the Euphrates, and brings down with it a great quantity of bitumen (i. 279). But this is not the only testimony we possess. Strabo, Pliny, Ammianus, Zosimus, and others, either speak in general terms of the abundance of asphalt occurring in Mesopotamia; or mention, though sometimes

with orthographic deviations, the town itself where it is chiefly found. Writers of the middle ages, as Edrisi and Abulfeda, allude to, or describe the same locality. But the fullest accounts are due to the observations of modern travellers, of Olivier and Chesney, Ormsby, Wellsted, and Winchester. *Is* is identical with the little town *Hit*; is situated on the Euphrates (30° 38' lat), in the vicinity of hills containing gypsum and chalk formations; is built on an elevation which it at present but partially covers, and protected by high ramparts provided with towers; it contains not more than 2,000 inhabitants, living in miserable, gloomy-looking huts; but it possesses, for the purposes of irrigation, colossal water-wheels, 30 to 40 feet in diameter, and aqueducts, led to the greatest current of the Euphrates; and it furnishes still, in undiminished quantities, the same material for which it was celebrated in antiquity. The inhabitants, who have no earthen jars, make them of plaited straw, covered with bitumen, which useful product, besides serving as fuel and light, is also employed for coating the roofs of the houses, for bath-rooms, boats and ships, and other objects required to be water-tight. The numerous asphalt-springs, the largest of which, almost 70 feet in circumference, lies about half an hour from the town, yield, besides, a great quantity of excellent salt, affording, in addition to the bitumen, the manufacture of wool and burnt bricks, and some other pursuits, the chief means of subsistence to the poor population, which is a fine and warlike race, and contains some families acknowledging Christ, revering St. John in the same manner as the Roman church honours the Virgin Mary, but inclining, in many points, to Sabeian paganism (compare *Ritter, Erdk.*, xi. 749—762).

Nothing but the violence of a fearful conflagration, the ravages of which are manifest in the ruins of Birs-Nimroud, would have been able to annihilate a

fore is its name called Babel; for there the Lord confounded the language of all the earth; and from thence

building which appeared to be beyond the destructive power of time.

God is stated to have frustrated the ambitious schemes of men by miraculous interference: it is, therefore, futile to guess whether flashes of lightning converted their speech into an unintelligible stammering, or whether a temporary suspension of the intellectual faculties changed the thought into absurdity. But the words of our text do certainly not imply that God destroyed by lightning the upper part of the building; "He descended" merely to confound the speech of the builders; and it is inadmissible to base the interpretation of this passage on the circumstance, that the higher portions of the temple of Belus present a glazed, fused, or burnt appearance; for this destruction, by whatever agency it might have been worked, did not take place till considerably after the time of Nebuchadnezzar.

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—If the new inhabitants of the earth immigrated from the Armenian province of Ararat (viii. 4) into the land of Shinar, that is, the lower part of Mesopotamia (p. 259), they moved southward; the words **בְּנִסְעָם מִקְרָם** mean, therefore, "as they journeyed in the east"; this is the usual sense of **מִקְרָם**, for instance in xiii. 11, and Isai. ix. 11 (comp. also Gen. ii. 8; Zech. xiv. 4); for **קָרָם** means generally the orient, or the eastern parts; and viewed from Palestine or Arabia, those migrations took place in the east (comp. Num. xxiii. 7). This removes the difficulties which have necessarily been found in the word **מִקְרָם**, if it is rendered "from the east."—The territory of Babylon proper consisted of an almost unbroken plain (**בְּקֶעֶת**, *pedion*; comp. Ez. iii. 23; xxxvii. 1, 2; *Strabo*, ii. 109; xvi. 734, etc.); and the "campi Mesopotamiæ" are celebrated (*Curt.*, iii. 2; iv. 9). Saadiâh's translation of **בְּנִסְעָם** with **القصر** (castle), has misled to the identification of the tower of Babel with

the *Kasr*, in the east of the Euphrates (p. 299).—The fourth verse has given rise to many discussions; but, we believe, it might simply be thus explained: the town had for its purpose the formation of a centre for the possible and probable event of a future separation of the tribes; it was intended to secure for them in all perpetuity the character of one family and one nation (ver. 6, first part); but the gigantic tower was at the same time designed as a permanent monument of their enormous power and resources, and as a proof of the mighty deeds which their united forces were able to achieve (ver. 6, second part). **וְעַד** is, therefore, here certainly *fame* or *glory* (as in 2 Sam. vii. 23; Isai. lxiii. 12, 14, etc.); but it is, at the same time, *the monument* from which that fame was expected; so that **וְעַד** unites here the two disputed significations (comp. 2 Sam. viii. 13). Josephus represents Nimrod as the wicked originator of the tower, and remarks that he built it chiefly for the purpose of frustrating the designs of God if he should inflict another deluge upon mankind. But this acceptance is without any Biblical foundation; whilst that of Perizonius (*Orig. Bab.*, p. 236), who takes **וְעַד** as a beacon, or rallying point for the people in the flat country of Shinar, is against the tenor of our passage (see ver. 6). But **וְעַד** has here almost the meaning of *perhaps*, as indubitably as in iii. 22; xxxi. 31; xxxviii. 11, etc.; they *feared*, indeed, that they would, in the course of time, necessarily spread by the progress of population (hence the conjunction **וְעַד**); but they had neither the power nor the will to avert it by building a city which, however large, they knew must ultimately become too small for their increasing numbers.—God *descends* to inspect the works designed by vanity and executed by arrogance; comp. xviii. 21; Exod. iii. 8; etc.—**וְהָיָה**, infinitive Hiphil of **חָלַל**, to begin, instead of **וְהָיָה** (as **וְהָיָה**, in Deut. ii. 31, instead of

did the Lord scatter them abroad upon the face of all the earth.

הִתְחִלָּה, with the suffix, "their beginning."—יְצַו, an abbreviated form of the future Kal of יָצַו, instead of יִצְוֶה, as in the following verse, נִבְלָה (from בָּלַל) is shortened instead of נִבְלֶה; and so נִסְכָּה for נִסְכֶּה (Ezek. xli. 7, etc., etc.; comp. *Gesen.*, *Lehrg.*, p. 372).—About the plural, "let us go down," etc., in the soliloquy of God, see p. 80; that He speaks to *Himself alone*, is obvious from ver. 8: "And the Lord scattered" (וַיִּפֶץ י').—The conjunction אֲשֶׁר is here (in ver. 7) used instead of the more usual one of אֲשֶׁר לִמְעַן אֲשֶׁר, as it is, in xxx. 18, applied for אֲשֶׁר יֵעַן אֲשֶׁר; similar instances are Deut. iv. 40; vi. 3, etc.—נִשְׁכַּח means, not unfrequently, to understand (compare Deut. xxviii. 49; Jer. v. 15; Ez. iii. 6, etc.).—The name בָּבֶל is here derived from the Hebrew root בָּלַל, to confound, instead of בָּלַל (compare מִשְׁכַּח instead of מִשְׁכַּח. Com. on Exod., p. 225), which form is usually employed in the Aramaean dialects (comp. *Gesen.*, *Lehrg.*, pp. 134 and 869), so that the great and mighty town assumed, or suffered the certainly

remarkable name of "Confusion": (σύγχυσις, Sept., and *Joseph.*, *Antiq.*, I. iv. 3); although it can scarcely be overlooked, that the second part of the name Babel is the chief national god *Bel*, or *Baal*, to whom the temple was dedicated; and the whole word is either باب بل, "the gate, or court of Bel," or, perhaps, contracted from בית-בל, "the temple of Bel," as בית עשתרה is composed of עשתרה (Josh. xxi. 27; comp. Deut. iii. 29; Josh. xvi. 41; *Gesen.*, *Thes.*, pp. 175, 193, 212). The foreign name, Babel, appears, therefore, like *Moses*, and some other proper nouns, to have been traced to a Hebrew etymology, which might illustrate the supposed origin and character of the town. Mr. Oppert believes he has found allusions to the Deluge and the confusion of tongues on a cylinder discovered at Birs-Nimroud, and considers this circumstance as an additional proof of the identity of Birs-Nimroud and the Tower of Babel.

## VII.—THE GENERATIONS BETWEEN NOAH AND ABRAHAM.

### CHAPTER XI. 10—32.

10. These are the generations of Shem: Shem was a hundred years old, and begat Arphaxad two years after

10—32. The genealogy of Shem, which forms the contents of this section, is the immediate continuation of the table of the Adamites contained in the fifth chapter; and both are parallel in every respect. Both consist of ten generations; and both end with the individual selected to glorify and to propagate his race; the one with Noah, the other with Abram. In both lists nearly the same chronological dates are inserted, and both are therefore

equally intended to serve for historical computations. But there is one great difference between both. Whilst the list of the Adamites contains individuals, that of the Shemites enumerates, at least partly, representatives of nations. We know from the preceding chapter, that Arphaxad and Salah, Eber and Peleg, were the founders of tribes; but the difficulty consists in ascertaining where here the *real* individuals begin. It may,

the flood: 11. And Shem lived after he begat Arphaxad five hundred years, and begat sons and daughters.—12. And Arphaxad lived thirty-five years, and begat Salah: 13. And Arphaxad lived after he begat Salah four hundred and three years, and begat sons and daughters.—14. And Salah lived thirty years, and begat Eber: 15. And Salah lived after he begat Eber four hundred and three years, and begat sons and daughters.—16. And Eber lived thirty-five years, and begat Peleg:

perhaps, not be impossible to find nations whose names have some resemblance with *Reu* and *Serug*; but it is undoubted that the three last names of our list, *Nahor*, *Terah*, and *Abram*, are intended as individuals; and although the uncertainty concerning *Reu* and *Serug*, deprives us of an interesting addition to our knowledge of ancient geography, their connection with *Eber* proves, at least, to which part of the Shemitic branches they belonged; and if they indeed represent cities or tribes, we must seek them in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates; and *Reu* can scarcely be the Median town *Ragau*, although *Serug* may be identical with the once blooming district *Sarug*, in northern Mesopotamia, including the towns of *Batna* and *Anthemusia*, only one day's journey south-west of *Edessa* (*Ritter*, *Erdkunde*, x. 1119, 1170; xi. 289). But however this may be, the general historical meaning of this genealogy is as certain as it is important. That branch of the Shemites which inhabited *Arphaxad* or northern *Assyria* (see p. 277), after having increased and crossed the Euphrates, was divided into several tribes, no doubt on both sides of the river, till the descendants, in the fourth generation, migrated westward to *Canaan* (see p. 278). Thus the descent and the journeys of *Abraham* and of his progeny are traced with an accuracy which will guide our judgment regarding the other geographical allusions of this passage. *Terah* and *Abraham* are stated to have been born in "*Ur of the Chaldees*" (אֹר כַּשְׁדִּים, ver. 28); they intended to exchange their

native abodes with those of *Canaan*; and on their way to this land they stayed in *Haran* (חָרָן). The identity of the last-mentioned town with *Carrhae* of the classical writers, is undisputed. It was situated on the river *Balissus* (*Bilecha* or *Belik*), 20 miles south-east of *Edessa*, in a country destitute of water and of trees, to which circumstance it may owe its name, which means a "dry or parched place"; surrounded by mountains, though itself built in a large plain. It was the point whence several caravan roads issued, one over *Nisibis* to the *Tigris*, another southward to the Euphrates, to *Circesium* and *Babylon*; and another south-west to *Syria* and *Palestine*. It belonged to the chief towns forced by *Sennacherib's* predecessors under the *Assyrian* sceptre (2 Kings xix. 12; *Isai*. xxxvii. 12); and stood with *Tyre* in commercial relations (*Ezek*. xxvii. 23) naturally favoured by its position; it was, after the time of *Alexander the Great*, peopled with *Macedonians* (*Diod.*, xix. 91; *Dion Cas.*, xxxvii. 57); offered efficient assistance to *Pompey*, who here stationed a Roman garrison; but became chiefly famous by the death and total defeat which *Crassus* suffered in its vicinity from the *Parthians* (a.c. 53); it preserved a faithful attachment to the Romans, who therefore made it the first Roman colony in Mesopotamia, and raised it to the metropolis of the country (165 a.c.); it was further renowned by its oracles, and its mysterious worship devoted to the moon-goddess, *Atargalis* (or *Anactis*), and shared by the Roman emperors, *Caracalla* and *Julianus*; it became

17. And Eber lived after he begat Peleg four hundred and thirty years, and begat sons and daughters—18. And Peleg lived thirty years, and begat Reu: 19. And Peleg lived after he begat Reu two hundred and nine years, and begat sons and daughters.—20. And Reu lived thirty-two years, and begat Serug: 21. And Reu lived after he begat Serug two hundred and seven years, and begat sons and daughters.—22. And Serug lived thirty years, and begat Nahor: 23. And Serug lived after he begat

the frontier town of the Byzantine empire, wherefore Justinianus fortified its walls; it is mentioned by Arabic writers, by Isthikri and Ebn Haukal, by Edrisi and Abulfeda, as a principal town of Sabaeans worshippers, who here possessed an oratory ascribed to Abraham; it was, therefore, by Syrian authors contemptuously called the "heathen town," in contradistinction to the Christian city, Edessa, and asserted to have been the centre from which idolatry spread over the whole earth; it was, in the twelfth century, according to Benjamin of Tudela, still inhabited by some Jewish families, which stated that their synagogue was built by Ezra, and pointed out the site where the house of Abraham is said to have stood, where no other building is allowed to be constructed, and which the Mohammedans also held in high veneration. But already in the thirteenth century, Haran was called an extinct town by Bar Hebraeus. At present it lies mostly in ruins, though some towers are left, and is still visited by pious pilgrims, as a spot hallowed by its connection with the patriarch Abraham (comp. *Ritter*, *Erdk.* x. 243, 1121, 1138; xi. 291—299). From the situation of Haran above described, the general position of Ur of the Chaldees cannot be doubtful. The identifications with the southern palaces, Mugeyer and Wurka, are out of the question (see pp. 292, 293). Equally untenable is the opinion of those who believe that Ur means *the town* (עִיר), and understand the Persian fortress Ur, between Dura on the Tigris, and Nisibis, mentioned by Ammianus in his narrative

of the return of the Roman army under Jovianus, after the death of Julian (*Ritter*, *Erdk.* x. 159; *Gesen.*, *Thes.* p. 55). For it appears that Ur is rather the name of a province than a town; and that Haran also belonged to it. For when Abraham was living in this town, God said to him: "Go out of thy country and the place of thy birth . . . to the land which I shall show thee" (xii. 1).—The reason why Terah resolved to leave his home, is not stated; we may, however, suppose that the increasing population, and, perhaps, the growing numbers of his flocks and herds, induced him to seek richer pasturage and a less occupied soil; he began his journey in the direction towards Canaan, but found already in the important town of Haran the object of his migration realised; here he settled, and stayed for a considerable time; for here his family acquired wealth and numerous servants (xii. 5). The distance from the original dwelling-place of Terah to Haran might, therefore, not have been very great; and this determines sufficiently the position of the district of Ur.

Terah the idolator intended, of his own accord, to leave Mesopotamia, and to settle in Canaan. His son, Abraham, received from God only the same command; and yet his obedience was regarded as the first great proof of his faith (Hebr. xi. 8). But the great difference is this, that whilst Terah's emigration was only the consequence of an *external* necessity or desire, that of Abraham had a *spiritual* or religious motive; so far from suffering want in Haran, Abraham had there risen to a



Nahor two hundred years, and begat sons and daughters. —24. And Nahor lived twenty-nine years, and begat Terah: 25. And Nahor lived after he begat Terah a hundred and nineteen years, and begat sons and daughters. —26. And Terah lived seventy years, and begat Abram, Nahor, and Haran.

27. Now these are the generations of Terah: Terah begat Abram, Nahor, and Haran; and Haran begat Lot.

state of flourishing prosperity; that country had, therefore, become to him endeared by all human ties; and God Himself seems with emphasis to have pointed to this happy abode, in addressing him: "go from thy country, and from the place of thy birth, and from thy father's house"; —but Abraham brought the sacrifice without murmuring or reluctance; he felt that the formation of a pure religious centre required the perfect separation from the pagan country, where the bonds of relationship or of patriotism might retard or check the progress of the new doctrines; and he, therefore, disregarded his worldly advantages, and conquered his prepossessions to secure the higher privileges of religion. Terah's wish for emigration was a matter of expediency, and he changed his plans at the first place which promised him the desired benefits; he stayed and died at Haran; but the unaltered end of Abraham's journey was Canaan (xii. 5); and he proceeded thither even during his father's life-time. For, as Terah was 70 years old at Abraham's birth (ver. 26), and died at the age of 205 years (ver. 32), and as Abraham was 75 years old when he left Haran (xii. 4): it is evident that the father survived his son's emigration by 60 years, namely 205 — (70 + 75). Thus disappears the difficulty which those dates imply, if we suppose that Abram left Haran only after his father's death, and which the Samaritan text endeavours to remove by arbitrarily changing the number 205 into 145, an expedient which in later times seems to have been extensively adopted (Acts vii. 4). But this is not the only falsification which the num-

bers of our chapter have suffered. The Septuagint endeavours here, as in the fifth chapter, to effect a greater amount of years for the ten generations; but the principles on which these alterations have been made are so obvious, that they betray themselves at the first glance as spurious. The reader will easily detect them by examining the table at the end of the Summary; and he will there also find similar unwarrantable alterations which the Samaritan text permitted itself (comp. *Michaelis*, De Chron. Mos. post dil., p. 128; *Gesen.*, De Pent. Samar., p. 48). — The Alexandrian version inserts, besides, between Arphaxad and Salah the name of Kainan from v. 9 (comp. Luke iii. 36), giving to him the age of Salah, evidently in order to complete the list of ten generations from Shem to *Terah*, whereas the list extends from Shem to *Abraham*. The family of Terah is, indeed, treated of separately, and even with a new heading (ver. 27); but this is done only in order to show more clearly the domestic relations of Abraham, and of his Mesopotamian kinsmen, with whom his family long remained in intimate connection; and Haran is no unimportant place in the later history of the patriarchs (xxiv.; xxvii. 43; xxix. xxx.).

Although the usual period of man's life had, by God, been fixed not to exceed 120 years (vi. 3), the ages in the generations between Shem and Terah are still considerably higher; but they show a decided tendency towards that limit, and indicate that the mighty strength originally granted to the human frame, was rapidly decreasing (see p. 173).

28. And Haran died before his father Terah, in the land of his nativity, in Ur of the Chaldees. 29. And Abram and Nahor took wives to themselves: the name of Abram's wife *was* Sarai; and the name of Nahor's wife, Milcah, the daughter of Haran, the father of Milcah, and the father of Iscah. 30. But Sarai was barren; she *had* no child. 31. And Terah took Abram his son, and Lot the son of Haran, his son's son, and Sarai his daughter-in-law,

Terah had three sons, Abram, Nahor, and Haran; the third son, Haran, died early in Ur *before* his father; but he left one son, Lot, and two daughters, Milcah and Iscah; Abram married Sarai, his half-sister (xx. 12); and Nahor took for his wife Milcah, his brother Haran's daughter: the matrimonial alliances were, therefore, formed within the same family; a circumstance which will later recur with increased emphasis. Nahor had eight sons by Milcah, and four by a second wife Remamah (xxii. 20—24); but Sarai had no children; this fact, which will form so prominent a part in the succeeding portions, is here significantly anticipated (ver. 30). The present part of our chapter is, therefore, throughout a systematic introduction to the subsequent narrative; it guarantees consistency and unity of design; and fragmentary notices can nowhere be suspected.

Terah's history is here concluded; and, therefore, his death is at once stated; but his existence extended much beyond the period comprised in our chapter; for, keeping in mind the dates above referred to, we find that he lived not only to the birth of Ishmael, which took place ten years after Abraham's emigration (xvi. 3), in the 86th year of the life of the latter (xvi. 16), and to his circumcision thirteen years later (xvii. 25); but survived even, by 35 years, the birth of Isaac, which happened in the 100th year of Abraham's life (xxi. 5), or 25 years after he left Haran. In a similar manner, Abraham's death is, mentioned before the birth of his grandson Jacob (xxv. 7), although he survived it by 15 years (xxv. 7, 20, 26). This mode of an-

ticipation belongs to the pragmatic style of the Pentateuch: the internal connection of the events, and not the external succession of time, forms the leading principle of the composition. Due regard to this characteristic will prevent many and often serious misconceptions (see note on Exod. xvi. 32—34, p. 303, where we have a perfectly analogous instance),

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS. — Modern critics identify, by mere conjecture, Peleg with Pelu or Pelude, near the sources of the Euphrates; Reu with Arghana, near the sources of the Tigris; and Nahor with the more southern city Haditha (New-Town), which is also called *Elnaura* (comp. *Ewald*, *Isr. Gesch.*, i. 358, 359). — *Ewald* renders Terah by *migration*; for he considers the roots תָּרַח and אֲרָח as equivalent (*Ibid.*, p. 366). An elaborate but necessarily unsuccessful defence of the higher numbers of the Septuagint has been attempted by *G. Smith*, *Sacred Annals*, i. 1—101. — The name אֲרָח has not only been explained to be identical with אֲרָח (see *supra*), because Eupolemus indistinctly interprets Ur as “a town of the Chaldees” (*Euseb.*, *Præp. Ev.*, ix. 17), and with the Zend term *vare*, meaning a district (which latter conjecture has been defended by Tuch with a speciousness quite at variance with his usually solid and rational principles of exposition, identifying Ur with the uncertain Median town *Oûipa* of *Strabo*, xi. 523, 594), but also with אֲרָח *fire*, which questionable acceptance has been made the basis of many extraordinary legends concerning the miraculous rescue of Abraham from the flames, to which Nimrod or other Babylonian tyrants condemned him,

his son Abram's wife; and they went with each other from Ur of the Chaldees, to go into the land of Canaan; and they came to Haran, and dwelt there. 32. And the days of Terah were two hundred and five years: and Terah died in Haran.

because he refused to worship the fire, or because he burnt the recognized idols. These fables may be found in *D'Herbelot*, *Bibl. Orient.*, pp. 12—16, 668; *Talm.*, *Erub.*, 43 a; *Midr. Ber. Rabb.*, cap. 38; *Maimon.*, *Hilch. Akkum*, c. 1; *Koran*, vi. 74—82; xix. 42—51; xxxvii. 81—95, etc.; *Cusari*, i. 95; comp. also *Joseph.*, *Antiq.*, I. vii. 1; *Hottinger*, *Hist. Orient.*, p. 50.—About the “Chaldees” (כְּשָׁדִים), see note on xxii. 22.—The Jews of the East generally call Edessa Orcastrum (אֲוֶרְסִי); *Niebuhr*, *Reiseb.*, ii. 409; but Ur is, as we have observed, no town, but a district.—The fact that Sarai was “barren” (ver. 30) is, by way of apposition, explained by the negative remark: “she had no child”; similar instances, but sometimes with the conjunction ו before the apposition, are: xlii. 2; *Isai.* xxxviii. 1; *Judg.* xiii. 2 (אִשְׁתּוֹ עָקְרָה וְלֹא יָלְדָה).—וְלֶדֶת *child*, is the Arabic form for وَلَدَ (ولد); compare 2 *Sam.* vi. 23).—Sarai is, as the wife of Abraham, called the daughter-in-law (כַּלְתּוֹ) of Terah (xxxiii. 11, 24); although she was, by birth, his daughter (xx. 12). That Sarai is identical with Ischah, is a

later fiction (*Hieron.*, *Quæst.*, in *loc.*).—The words אֶתְּ אֶתְּ have caused much discussion; the Samaritan text, the Septuagint, and Vulgate, change them into אֶתְּ אֶתְּ “he led them out”; and the first authority adds to the persons here enumerated, Nahor's family, which was later likewise settled in Haran (comp. xxiv. 10; xxvii. 43); others read אֶתְּ אֶתְּ; and others, whilst retaining the Masoretic reading, explain אֶתְּ אֶתְּ to include the other members of Terah's family here not mentioned: “they went with them”; but the forced and illogical construction involved in this interpretation is obvious; and we suggest, therefore, to take the pronoun אֶתְּ in a reflective or reciprocal sense: “they went with each other.” That the personal pronouns are in Hebrew used in this signification, requires scarcely to be proved (comp. iii. 7; xxii. 8; *Ruth* i. 4, etc.). Nahor's family is not mentioned, because it did not follow Abraham's further migrations.—That this genealogical list is to be attributed to the Elohist, is evident from its close analogy with that of the fifth chapter.

## II.

# THE HISTORY OF THE HEBREW PATRIARCHS.

## CHAPTERS XII. TO L.

### I.—THE HISTORY OF ABRAHAM AND LOT.

#### CHAPTERS XII. 1 TO XXV. 11.

## CHAPTER XII.

**SUMMARY.**—On the command of God, and encouraged by the promise of a blessed future, Abraham emigrated, in the seventy-fifth year of his life, from Mesopotamia

into Canaan; stayed near Shechem, at the celebrated oak of Moreh; and after having received the Divine assurance that his descendants should possess the land, he built an altar, journeyed to the neighbourhood of Beth-el, where he likewise erected an altar, and then proceeded southward.—A famine compelled him to journey to Egypt; and fearing the licentiousness of the inhabitants, he represented his wife, Sarai, to be his sister. But when the king took her into his house, he was visited with severe plagues, which made him conscious of his guilt. Abraham, re-united with his wife, left Egypt, enriched by the many and valuable presents.

# 1. And the Lord said to Abram, Go out of thy country, and from the place of thy birth, and from thy father's

The historian has reached the end of the first chief portion of his narrative; he has completed the introductory section of his grand composition; he has shown the origin of the world through the omnipotence of God, and the descent of the nations of the earth from one common ancestor; he has, by a universal pedigree, disclosed the beautiful hope that, however dispersed and inimical to each other the nations may be, they will, in a happier future, be reunited in brotherhood;—but before the human family reaches this aim, it has to pass through a long and wearisome career: during unnumbered ages the various tribes will continue in hostility and warfare; for unmeasured periods the omnipotent Creator will be forgotten, and darkness will shroud the earth. In one tribe alone the spark of truth will be preserved, and through that tribe “all the families of the earth will be blessed” (xii. 3). In Abraham's race lives the hope of the world. This is the Hebrew writer's avowed principle; and henceforth he devotes his narrative exclusively to the destinies of that race. Abraham's descendants begin to form the centre from which the history of nations is viewed; they are the heart from which life issues in every direction, and to which life and strength stream back; they are the only cultivated spot in the vast dreariness of mankind; their love is indeed ready to pour forth the waters of life, which convert the wilderness into a garden; they cast the seeds, and teach and advise; but they remain long alone and solitary, despised and misunderstood, and but too often in a desperate warfare against their own levity and inconstancy. They have

to educate *themselves* before they are capable and worthy of commencing their great mission; if the branches shall flourish, the root and the stem must be strengthened beyond the power of the tempests. The law of Moses shows the self-instructing tendency of Israel; whilst the prophets begin the work of universal education, to be continued till all unite in the knowledge of God, and to be completed in “the latter days” (comp. Gal. iii. 8; Acts iii. 25; Rom. iv. 13, 16).

Up to this point our narrative has shown very numerous similarities with the introductory history of most of the ancient nations, though the resemblance of the form is almost everywhere accompanied by a fundamental difference in the spirit; we have hitherto trod on universal ground, though the peculiar impress of the *Hebrew* writer can nowhere be mistaken; every trace of heathen elements is effaced: though almost all nations possess traditions concerning the Creation, a Paradise, and the origin of sin; concerning a deluge, a dispersion, and confusion of languages; the Hebrews alone purified and ennobled them; they used them as appropriate vehicles for important truths and lessons. But here their *national* history begins; every material resemblance, even in the form, ceases, and the Abrahamites pursue their own path; we shall but seldom be able to point out parallels with other nations, from which they are henceforth separated; but we shall the more highly admire their own special development; in faithfully following the progress of our narrative, we shall find that it nowhere deviates from the aim which it proposed to itself, and to which we have alluded;

house, into the land that I shall show thee: 2. And I will make of thee a great nation, and I will bless thee, and make thy name great; and thou shalt be a blessing:

and we shall be led to acknowledge the same comprehensiveness and skill in the history of a family growing into a nation, as were displayed in delineating the advance from the birth of one couple to the population of the earth.

1—9. For Abraham is the type of the Israelites as a nation. In his character and his destinies, their future history is faithfully mirrored. Abraham descended from an idolatrous family, and was born in a land of heathens (Josh. xxiv. 2); and Israel grew into a nation, in a country abounding in all the abominations of superstition (Deut. xxix. 15, 16). Abraham left a domicile which yielded him every material prosperity (xii. 5), and was dear to him by many social ties; and the Israelites, laden with treasures, quitted a land in which they had long found a hospitable reception, where their external necessities were so well provided for that they frequently remembered it with longing, and where they had formed the most intimate social connections (Exod. xii. 35, 36; xvi. 3; Num. xi. 18). Abraham followed, by faith, the guidance of God into an unknown land which He would show him; and Israel went, with reliance and devotion, "after God into a desert which is not sown," into a wilderness of sterility and horror (Jer. ii. 2). A covenant was concluded with Abraham as with Israel (Gen. xv. and Exod. xii.), and both covenants were ratified by a *sign* (Gen. xvii., and Exod. xii. 21; xxxi. 16, 17); both had the power of blessing or curse over others; their friends should prosper, their enemies perish (Gen. xii. 2, 17; Num. xxiv. 9); both received the promise of a numerous progeny, through which the nations of the earth should be blessed, but both saw all earthly probability of a fulfilment disappear; for Abraham was denied a son from his lawful wife (Gen. xi. 30; xvii. 1; xviii. 11), and the Israelites were not only in Egypt di-

minished by the cruelty of her rulers, but in the desert by famine, war, and pestilence: but at this point the character of Abraham diverges from that of Israel; henceforth the former shines as the model which the latter were unable to imitate; and the history of Abraham becomes the instructor of Israel. For whilst the former exhibited an unshaken courage and faith through all the severest trials, the latter wavered in temptations, and despaired in difficulties; the former believed in a distant promise (xv. 6), the latter did not believe the visible messenger of God, sent to effect their immediate rescue (Exod. iv. 1), and even that messenger himself succumbed in moments of despondency (Num. xx. 12): the former entered Canaan, where he could not claim one foot of land, for it was in the hands of hostile tribes, whose valour he saw, and whose cities he visited; but he placed his trust in the love and omnipotence of God, and built an altar at the place where the promise was made to him (xii. 6, 7); the latter trembled at the mere report of the power of Canaan's tribes, gave up all hope of possession, and pusillanimously lamented the credulity which had induced them to rely in extravagant assurances (Num. xiii., xiv.). When famine compelled Abraham to seek shelter in foreign countries, he emigrated with a heart full of confidence, certain that God would lead him back, in due season, for the realization of His promises (xii. 10); whereas a trifling defeat or national misfortune was sufficient to cause Israel meanly to apprehend, that God had abandoned and forgotten them. The life of Abraham was one of piety and religious contemplation; this was the model after which the Israelites had to strive, and which is delineated in their laws, and in their prophecies; Abraham, the peaceful, benevolent, ever-contented emir, is the direct contrast to the conquering, ambitious, and warlike Nimrod. So was the

3. And I will bless them that bless thee, and curse him that curseth thee: and in thee shall all families of the earth be blessed.—4. So Abram departed, as the Lord

people of Israel intended to distinguish itself from the other nations by its purer life, and its nobler aims. But, as Abraham could exchange the nomad's staff with the hero's sword where right and justice demanded (Gen. xiv.), so should Israel be ready to fight the battles of God, trusting in His invisible aid against the chariots and the horsemen of the oppressing heathens. OBEDIENCE was the innermost centre of Abraham's character; it culminated in his readiness to sacrifice that son through whom alone the future glories could be fulfilled (Gen. xxii.); thus should Israel, with an unlimited submission, rely on the Divine promises, even if kings and nations appeared to scheme their inevitable destruction (Ps. ii.). We shall not here pursue the parallel further; but it is a general historical truth, that the character and pursuits of the nations are reflected in those of their patriarchs and heroes; from this principle, the history of Abraham gains a wider scope and a higher interest; and we are justified in interpreting it from that enlarged point of view. We shall see, in the *prophet* Abraham (xx. 7), the germ of the future *nation of priests* (Exod. xix. 6); in the constructor of altars, the builders of the Tabernacle and the Temple; in the worshipper of the Creator of heaven and earth, the future preachers of the universal God of all nations. The struggle of Israel for reaching their ideal, was intense and protracted; it was often necessary to remind them of the "rock from which they were hewn," and to elevate them by the example of their "father Abraham, who was once called out to be blessed and increased" (Isai. li. 1, 2; comp. John viii. 39); but the goal was fixed; leaders were not wanting to guide their wandering steps; and the happiness proposed as their reward, encouraged and stimulated.

With the emigration of Abraham from Haran begins also, in the system of the

Old Testament, a new epoch in the relation between God and mankind. By the sin in Paradise, man forfeited God's immediate and paternal intercourse; and God, retiring to immeasurable distance above the human perversities, dictated, as a severe judge, the awful curse deemed an equivalent punishment for the enormous transgression. Ten generations lived and toiled under the influence of that fatal judgment; but human nature proved too weak for such rigid standard; sin and crime multiplied on the earth; seduction increased the natural wickedness; and the *justice* of God required a total destruction of the human race. But, as the Creator cannot annihilate, He preserved one family for the renewal of mankind; and as the Framer of man cannot change his nature, He altered the character of His own government. Since man is apt to sin from his youth, God concluded with him, for all eternity, the covenant of *mercy*, and sealed it with a heavenly sign; thenceforth, no more the austere measure of justice, but the indulgence of grace should preside over human actions. However, few generations only passed before it became evident, that the obstinacy of the human mind despises even that gentle guidance of God; that it boastingly exults in its own strength, and believes it to be self-sufficient for its existence and glory: it was, therefore, necessary to leave the refractory spirits to their own heedless forgetfulness; they were not rejected or destroyed—because the mercy of God had promised to be eternal,—but they were severed from the alliance which united them with the Father, no more acknowledged by them. But twenty generations could not have lived in vain; nor could the designs which God had formed with regard to the creatures of His own image, be annulled. He selected, therefore, one family on which He lavished all His love, and with which He entered into a connection,

had spoken to him: and Lot went with him. And Abram *was* seventy-five years old when he departed from Haran.  
5. And Abram took Sarai his wife, and Lot his brother's

stronger and closer even than that which had bound him to the first human pair; for the alliance between Abraham's family and God was a reciprocal covenant, based on self-conscious duties; it was an alliance not concluded with beings of slumbering intellects, but of awakened minds, matured by the vicissitudes of life, and the reflections enforced by varied experience. While the curse against Adam and the promise of Noah were pronounced to the whole human race; from the time of Abraham, promises and communications were addressed and restricted to one family or one people:—but, as God could not cease to love all His children, He included them distantly and indirectly in the blessings; the obedience of Abraham's race was intended to counteract the disobedience of Adam, and to effect, in the progress of ages, a re-union of all nations to be interrupted or broken no more.

There is scarcely any feature in the history of Abraham which is not intended to illustrate one of the two great objects to which we have alluded: the incidents either point to the future destinies of Israel, or to the advance of religious truth among the heathens; that which has no reference to either, was deemed unimportant, and omitted. We have here, therefore, no complete biography of Abraham, which was neither intended, nor would have been in accordance with the spiritual tendency of the Pentateuch; it would have caused the introduction of extraneous matter, in no way bearing upon universal theocracy, which was regarded as the final aim of universal history. But the consistency of the facts narrated is so complete, that abruptness or deficiency are utterly excluded; the narrative displays even a certain abundance and copiousness; and the chief ideas are sometimes emphatically repeated under modified forms. The Hebrew historian clearly considered all those facts and incidents as

possessing full objective truth; and though we must, in this part also, occasionally admit an analogy with the poetical or idealizing form of ancient historiography, it is just this independent elaboration of the form which constitutes the chief value of the narrative, since it converts barren events into truths and lessons. Abraham is an historical person; but, like almost all Biblical individuals, he represents a religious idea also; and as the former is often necessarily subordinate to the latter, we are not always allowed pedantically to insist upon the external details; as in the narrative itself, so in the interpretation, the spirit must decidedly predominate over the letter.

When Abraham, not by human interests but by a Divine call, and even with an effort to overcome the struggling sympathies of his heart, left the paternal house and his aged father, he was encouraged, not by promises of personal wealth and glory, but of a blessing which would ultimately prove the benediction of the human family. Abraham's emigration was a sacrifice unhesitatingly brought for an end concealed in an indefinite future, and scarcely fully understood by himself. Whilst the address of God was explicit and emphatic in describing the domestic felicity which he was commanded to renounce (ver. 1); it did not point out the least social compensation which he might expect in the strange land (vers. 2, 3). No allusion was made to the possession of Canaan; it was only after he had reached the aim of his long journey, that God for the first time promised it to his descendants (ver. 7); whilst Abraham himself, seeing it was in the hands of mighty heathen tribes (ver. 6), could during his life call no part of it his own, and was obliged to secure, by a heavy sum, a resting-place after his death (xxiii. 16). This was the first deed of Abraham's pious obedience. We must, therefore, take the words: "I shall make

son, and all their property which they had gathered, and the souls that they had acquired in Haran, and they went out to go into the land of Canaan; and they came

of thee a *great nation*" (ver. 2), not as is usually done, in an external sense, as implying the promise of a commonwealth with a numerous population, but in the meaning in which "the great nation" is later explained, as "a wise and intelligent people, knowing God, witnessing His presence, and deemed worthy of receiving His Law and His revelation" (Deut. iv. 6—8). This religious distinction was to constitute Israel's renown and "greatness of name," and was to surround it with a halo of sanctity in the eyes of the nations. The faith of the Hebrews was regarded as the source from which their external prosperity flowed. The assurance, therefore, of a powerful progeny enjoying the undisputed possession of the whole land, was given to Abraham only when in the midst of wanderings and privations; when it scarcely promised a rational realization (xiii. 15—17).

Although Lot accompanied Abraham into the unknown land (ver. 4), he followed him merely as his protector, just as Sarah and the members of his household were "taken" by him (ver. 5); he was not included in the command of God (ver. 1); nor was his sacrifice comparable with that of Abraham, since his father had died long since in Ur (xi. 28). It is, perhaps, for this purpose of showing the less degree of meritoriousness of Lot's emigration, that the notice of Haran's death was inserted in the text, the economy of which scarcely permits the mention of any irrelevant fact. But the journey of Lot was necessary, not only on account of his connection with the awful fate of Sodom and Gomorrah, but on account of the ethnographic relation in which his descendants, the Ammonites and Moabites, stand with Mesopotamia (see on xix. 30—38).

Chronological statements are, in the peculiar style of the Bible, among the surest indications of the commencement of a new epoch; they show the turning

points in the lives of the individuals, and the land-marks in the history of nations. When, therefore, Abraham passed from Chaldaea to Canaan, or, in other words, when he exchanged the superstitions of polytheism for the pure doctrine of the one eternal God, this great and momentous event was necessarily introduced with the insertion of the age which he had attained at that time (comp. xvi. 16; xvii. 24; xxi. 5, etc.; Exod. xii. 40). There was only one mode of expressing a crisis in a still more decided and characteristic manner, namely, by a *change of name*, which, in the case of Abraham, was reserved to another still more solemn moment (xvii. 5).

The first place in Canaan where Abraham halted with his family and his household, was at *Shechem* (שכם), near a celebrated oak-tree. As we might have expected, the first recorded encampment of the patriarch is not without significance. Shechem is situated in the very centre of Palestine; it is in the Bible even called the "navel of the land" (שֵׁם כְּבֶרֶת הָאָרֶץ), and was the natural place of assembly for all the tribes of the country (1 Kings xii. 1); the oak was, in the time of the Judges, still famous under the name of "oak of sorcerers" (אֵלֹן שַׁעֲרֵי־סוֹמָרִים), and near it was a rich temple of the idol Baal-Berith; but the region in and around Shechem was even at that time still partly occupied by the heathens (Judges ix. 4, 37, 38). Only by remembering these facts, our text will appear in its full and deep meaning. Abraham proceeded at once to the central town of the land intended as the future habitation of his descendants; a town obviously too important by its position to be left in the hands of the enemies; and there that promise of the land was for the first time made (ver. 7). The place of the ancient tree, which so long witnessed superstitious and cruel rites, was hallowed by a Divine vision, and converted into a sacred spot;



into the land of Canaan.—6. And Abram passed through the land to the place of Shechem, to the oak of Moreh.

and at the side of the idolatrous temple rose an altar dedicated to the God of heaven and earth (comp. Josh. xxiv. 26). Thus the facts related obtain a prospective and didactic force for which we have prepared the reader by some of the preceding remarks.—Shechem, perhaps one of the oldest towns of Palestine, and in early times inhabited by the Hivites (xxxiv. 2), is situated in a narrow but beautiful valley, between 1,200 to 1,600 feet wide, seven miles south of Samaria, not far from the confines of the ancient provinces of Ephraim and Manasseh, and in the range of the mountains of Ephraim, at the foot both of Mount Ebal and Gerizim, which enclose it north and south, which were themselves famous by early altars and sanctuaries, and were of the highest religious interest by the blessing and the curse proclaimed on them for the observance or the neglect of the Law (Deut. xi. 29, 30; Josh. viii. 30—35). The town was not only important in the history of the patriarchs, but in the theocratical and political history of the Israelites; it was a city of refuge and a Levitical town (Josh. xx. 7; xxi. 21); here Joshua delivered his last solemn address to all the tribes of Israel (Josh. xxiv. 1, 25); it was, in the time of the Judges, the principal town of Abimelech's kingdom (Judg. ix.); here Rehoboam was proclaimed king, and promulgated to the delegates of the people his insulting policy (1 Kings xii. 1); and when the ten tribes declared their independence of his despotic rule, it became the residence of the new empire (1 Kings xii. 25; comp. Gen. xlviii. 22). It was not unimportant in the time of the captivity, and became after its expiration the celebrated centre of the Samaritan worship, whose temple was only destroyed by John Hyrcanus (B.C. 129). In the first century of the Christian era it lay in ruins; but on its ancient site, or in its immediate vicinity, a new, though smaller town, Neapolis, was built, probably by Flavius Vespasianus; it was the birth-place of Justin

Martyr, and the seat of Christian bishops; although captured by the Moslems and the Crusaders, it suffered but little, or temporarily; after several vicissitudes, which could not annihilate its prosperity, it fell finally into the hands of the Turks (1242 A.C.), and the present Nablous, though enclosed by no walls, counting only about 8,000 inhabitants, and containing no more than fifteen to twenty Samaritan families, "the oldest and the smallest sect," carries on a not inconsiderable commerce, is celebrated for the manufacture of soap, and maintains a spirit of independence against the Egyptian government. Its neighbourhood, highly picturesque by its position, and abundantly watered by fountains, rills, and water-courses, is distinguished by beautiful olive-groves, a blooming vegetation, and a carefully cultivated soil; the delight and the praise of all modern travellers. About two miles east of Shechem lies the little village Abulnita, and here in an enclosure of plastered walls, without roof, the grave of Joshua is believed to be (Josh. xxiv. 32); and at a little distance south-east from there "the well of Jacob" is pointed out, celebrated by an incident in the New Testament (John iv. 12). The few Samaritan Jews at present inhabiting Nablous, are marked for "their noble physiognomy and stately appearance." They boast the possession of some very ancient manuscripts and commentaries of the Pentateuch. When, a few years since, Abbé Bergès on the spot enquired about the date of the celebrated scroll shown to him, he received the reply, that "it was copied at the door of the Tabernacle, on the skin of a lamb killed for a peace-offering by Abishua, the son of Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron, in the thirteenth year after the settlement of the Israelites in Canaan"! They have some other works on the history of the Jews, and ascribe especial authority to a "Book of Joshua," mostly composed in a highly legendary style. But they admit that the

And the Canaanite *was* then in the land. 7. And the Lord appeared to Abram, and said, To thy seed shall

race of the priests descending direct from Aaron is extinct since more than 500 years; and the present ecclesiastical chief, Shalmah ben Tobiah, traces his origin to Uzziel, the son of Kehath and grandson of Levi (comp. Exod. vi. 18; Num. ii. 19). Inoffensive and peaceful as they are, they were made the objects of civil and religious oppressions, which in 1842 they unsuccessfully attempted to alleviate by an appeal to the government of France. About 50 years since they were forbidden access to Mount Gerizim, on which they centre all their religious emotions and sacred reminiscences; which is hallowed by traditions of millenniums; where are pointed out the still considerable remains of the great Samaritan temple, the ten or twelve stones, the erection of which they ascribe either to Joshua or to the twelve tribes, and the famous rock on which they maintain the ark rested, Abraham tied his son for the sacrifice, and Jacob saw in his dreams the angels and the mystic ladder; where they assert the holy Tabernacle is hidden, and the pontifical robes of the last High-priest before the captivity are deposited in a cave, together with the treasures of their temple, which in the time of Pontius Pilate (36 A.C.) became the cause of a great carnage and of the deposition of that governor. Before the prohibitory decree was issued, they offered on the mountain their sacrifices, and observed the other rites of their worship; the paschal lamb especially was killed with great solemnity, and on the seventh day of Passover an imposing service was there held: at present the altar and the sanctuary are a heap of stones, the ambush of reptiles and wild beasts; and the paschal sacrifice is the only one they now offer, and they kill it in the town itself. Their little synagogue, which contains their literary treasures, is situated at the foot of the mountain. The heights of Gerizim command a magnificent view in the four directions, to the valley of the Jordan and the waves of the Mediter-

anean, to the mountains of Judah and of Galilee: a circumstance which contributed not a little to render the mountain dear and important to the Israelites.—Nablous shows still the portal of its ancient cathedral; and many fragments of marbles, columns, and other remains bespeak the threefold dominion successively exercised by the Hebrews, the Romans, and Mohammedans. Christianity is at present there represented by about 120 taxable individuals; and by a school recently established by the Church Missionary Society (comp. *Joseph.*, Antiq., XI. viii. 6; XIII. ix. 1; Bell Jud., I. ii. 6; John iv. 5; *Pliny*, v. 14; *Ptol.*, v. 16; *Abulfeda*, Ann., i. 229; *Reland*, Pal., 1004—1010; *Robinson*, Palest., ii. 273—301; iii. 127—133; *Schwarz*, Palest., 150; *Van de Velde*, Trav., i. 386—388; *Stanley*, Sin. and Pal., 229—248; *De Saulcy*, Voy. en Syr. etc., ii. 400, et seq.; *Bargès*, Les Samaritains de Naplouse, 1855).

The great age which oak-trees attain, makes them appropriate mediums for the description of localities, especially in districts which offer few other peculiarities; and the more so, as oaks are by no means frequent in Palestine except in hilly regions; they were generally designated after the name of the individual on whose property they stood; and thus we read of the "oak of Tabor" (1 Sam. x. 3), and in our passage of the "oak of Moreh" (עֹלֵן מֹרֶה), which is elsewhere also called "the oak which is in Shechem," or, as we have above observed, "the oak of sorcerers" (Judg. ix. 6, 37). But though the neighbourhood of Shechem might have boasted of one majestic oak of peculiar grandeur and celebrity, it possessed many specimens of the kind, and we read of the "oaks or grove of Moreh" (Deut. xi. 30); as in the vicinity of Hebron were the "oaks of Mamre" (Gen. xiii. 18, etc.). The high antiquity of the trees was alone sufficient to endow them, in the eyes of the Orientals, with a considerable degree of sanctity; they were distinguished by appellative names (xxxv. 8; Judg. ix. 37;

I give this land. And he built there an altar to the Lord who appeared to him.—8. And he removed from

1 Sam. x. 8); and in the time of Josephus there was near Hebron a terebinth which was believed to date back to the creation of the world (*Josephus*, Bell. Jud., IV. ix. 7). It is therefore natural that they should have been selected for solemn purposes (Judg. vi. 11, 19); great national meetings were held near them (Judg. ix. 6, 37); the dead were buried under their branches (Gen. xxxv. 8; 1 Sam. xxxi. 13); prophets pronounced here their advice and their exhortations (Judg. iv. 5); temples and altars were erected, and incense and sacrifices offered, under their mysterious shade; and the hymns, which celebrated the deities, not seldom included the praise of the refreshing places of their worship (xxi. 33; Ezek. vi. 13; *Virg.*, *Georg.*, iii. 332; *Ovid*, *Met.*, viii. 743; Hos. iv. 13); reasons enough why the "oak of Moreh" should be the spot for Abraham's first altar, as it was the place where Joshua erected the sacred monument intended for ever to remind the Israelites of their pledges of obedience and piety (Josh. xxiv. 26). Xerxes, on his way from Phrygia to Lydia, found a plane-tree, the beauty of which charmed him so much that he presented it with golden ornaments, and in order to secure its preservation, committed it to the care of one of the ten thousand immortals (*Herod.*, vii. 31). Celebrated, further, is the great palm-tree on Delos, and the old plane-tree in Arcadia, to which the Greeks attributed a peculiar sacredness; the Buddhists in Ceylon worship a colossal fig-tree (*Banyane*), which they bring into connection with the history of Buddha himself. The oak forests of the mountains of Bushan were particularly celebrated; they furnished the materials for the rudders of the Tyrians, and the idols of the Canaanites (Isai. ii. 13; xlv. 14; Ezek. xxvii. 6; *Pausanias*, viii. 17). At present also those hilly parts, more than the other districts, are distinguished by noble oaks, "scattered like orchards upon the hills, much like the olive-trees

on the west of the Jordan"; though even there the finest species (*Quercus robur*) does not appear, and the trees seldom attain the grandeur which sometimes astonishes us in our northern forests. They occur, however, in various other species (*Quercus ilex*, *crinata*, *agilops*, and *coccifera*), in the slopes of the Lebanon, near the sources of the Jordan, and along its eastern side so far south as the territory of the ancient Ammonites; their leaves, often broader than those of our oaks, afford a grateful shade, and their branches are frequently used for the construction of the flat roofs of houses. On the hills of southern Judæa, about Hebron, they are seen in great quantities, although they have here more the appearance of shrubs than of trees; but they are finer the more we proceed northward, between Samaria and Mount Carmel, on the banks of the Kishon, on Mount Tabor and its valleys, and beyond the plain of Acre (comp. *Buckhardt*, Syria, 45, 193, 265, 356, *et passim*; *Lord Lindsay*, *Travels*, ii. 51, 77, 122, etc.; *Stanley*, *Sin. and Palest.*, pp. 140—143, 317; *Robinson*, *Research*, iii. 317).

From Shechem, Abraham proceeded towards Bethel, situated in the direct thoroughfare of Palestine (Judg. xx. 31; xxi. 19). The text does not allude to the cause which induced or compelled him to resume his wanderings; but it is evident, from the aim and purport of this portion of Genesis, that Abraham is here designedly described as migrating through the land without finding a permanent or convenient resting-place. He had cheerfully left the rich pastures and the domestic comforts of Haran to be a stranger in a distant land, satisfied by building altars on his journeys, to leave the traces of his piety as marks and admonitions for his descendants. These anticipations are, with regard to Bethel, even more distinct than with reference to Shechem; and they must be considered the more decisive, as Jacob also experienced here occurrences of the

thence to the mountain in the east of Beth-el, and pitched his tent, *having* Beth-el in the west, and Hai in the east:

most extraordinary nature (xxviii. 10—22; xxxv. 1—15). In the period of the Judges, the Ark and the holy Tabernacle were, for a time, in Bethel; and Samuel chose it as one of the towns which he annually visited for the decision of litigations. But the sacred character which Bethel thus gained was, in the time of the Kings, converted into a perfect abomination; for Jeroboam made it the centre of the idolatrous worship of Apis, introduced by him in opposition to that of the temple of Jerusalem; his successors preserved his arrangements; and it was only in the time of Josiah that the town was purified from its pagan rites. The consequence of that perversion was a vehement abhorrence against Bethel on the part of the earlier prophets; and “the house of God” (בֵּית־אֱלֹהִים) was called “the house of iniquity” (בֵּית־אֲוִן) (Hos. x. 5, etc.). The altar which Abraham here erected, and the prayers which he here offered up to God, are a rebuke and a reproach for the heedless iniquity which so long prevailed in Bethel (comp. Judg. xx. 18, 26; 1 Sam. vii. 16; x. 3; 1 Kings xii. 28—33; 2 Ki. xiii. 15—18).—The original name of the town Bethel was, however, Luz (לֹז); the former appellation was introduced by Jacob after the extraordinary dream which there occurred to him (Gen. xxviii. 19); but, as Luz and Bethel were later distinguished as two different localities (“he went from Bethel to Luz”; Josh. xvi. 2), we must suppose that the sanctuary of Luz, perhaps surrounded by other buildings, stood on a hill in its vicinity; this was the holy place, and was called Bethel (“the house of God”); the latter name was gradually attributed to the town also; though both were, in accurate or geographical descriptions, separated from each other. This explanation is not only borne out, but required, by the various passages in which both names occur (comp. Josh. xviii. 13; Judg. i. 23, 26). The place “between Bethel in the west, and Hai in the east” may be that very elevation near Luz which was properly called Bethel

(comp. xiii. 3, 4). That this name is here used by anticipation, will be the less surprising, as it is the *religious* importance of the place which is chiefly marked by Abraham's altar. Just so is Horeb called “the mountain of God” already at the first vision of Moses at the burning bush, in anticipation of the future revelation of the Law (Exod. iii. 1). In the time of Joshua, Bethel was a royal town of the Canaanites; it was, however, conquered and fixed as the frontier town between Benjamin and Ephraim; although it was, by Joshua, assigned to the former, it was, in the period of the divided empire, in possession of the latter tribe, which perpetrated the desecration of the holy place to which we have alluded. But after the captivity, it belonged to Benjamin; in the time of the Maccabees, it was fortified by the Syrian king; and was conquered by Vespasian, in the Roman war. Since that time it is seldom mentioned, and but very recently traces of its existence have been ascertained in the little place *Beitin* (an Arabic alteration of the original *Beitil*, as Ismain and Ismail, etc.), in the mountain of Ephraim, between the heads of two shallow brooks, twelve Roman miles from Jerusalem, which is the exact distance stated by Eusebius; the greater part of the considerable ruins are on the top of a low hill, which is in accordance with the supposition above ventured; and the massive fragments of walls, of a large square tower, of a very extensive water reservoir, and of several churches, indicate its existence and importance down to the middle ages (comp. Judg. i. 22—26; iv. 5; Josh. xii. 16; xvi. 1, 2; xviii. 22; Ezra ii. 28; Neh. vii. 32; *Joseph.*, *Antiq.*, XIII. i. 3; *Bell. Jud.*, IV. ix. 9; *Stanley*, *Sin. and Pal.*, 213—220; *Robinson*, *Trav.*, ii. 341). There existed another town of the name of Luz, in the district of the Hittites (Judg. i. 26).

*Hai* (חַי), likewise a royal town of the Canaanites, in the east of Bethel (ver. 8), was among the first towns which Joshua

and there he built an altar to the Lord, and invoked the name of the Lord. 9. And Abram journeyed farther and farther toward the south.

took and destroyed; but later it was rebuilt, and was, after the exile, inhabited by the Benjamites. The ruins which were, already in Jerome's time, inconsiderable, are, by Robinson, believed still to exist south of Deir Diwan, one hour of Beitin or Bethel (comp. Josh. vii. 2 *et seq.*; viii. 1 *et seq.*; Isai. x. 28; Ezra ii. 28; Neh. vii. 32; Robinson, Res., ii. 564).

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—The words וְהָיָה בְרִכָּה (ver. 2), “and thou shalt be a blessing,” cannot be taken in the limited sense expressed by the Septuagint: καὶ ἐσὶ εὐλογημένος; the promises made to Abraham concerned but partially himself; their more important tendency was the beatifying influence of his piety on the other nations; and hence we can as little give to the words וְנִבְרַכְוּ בְךָ וְנִבְרַכְוּ so superficial a meaning as, “the families of the earth will bless themselves by thee,” that is, they will wish for thy happiness, which will be a proverbial mode of blessing (comp. xlviii. 20). Although הַתְּבָרָךְ, which is, indeed, also used in connection with these lofty assurances (xxii. 18; xxvi. 4), sometimes has the signification of wishing oneself another's happiness (Isai. lxxv. 16; Jer. iv. 2; Ps. lxxii. 17), it would perfectly destroy the depth and spirit of our text, were we to take it here in this sense; it would convert the immediate and direct influence of Israel's faith upon the Gentiles into a cold and selfish calculation of Israel; it would sever the predicted internal and spiritual connection between both; and it is, indeed, excluded by the first part of the third verse. Targum Onkelos and Jerusalem render בְךָ by בְּרִיכָךְ and בְּכֹתֶךָ, “on thy account,” or “by thy merit”; but these translations, though far preferable, fail also to express the full ideality of the great promise, which here the Septuagint, by a strictly literal version, at least, does not destroy (ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν σοὶ κτλ.).—The word נֶפֶשׁ (ver. 5) means originally merely, the

“living beings,” like ψυχαι (Acts ii. 41), in contradistinction to inanimate property (שֵׁשׁ or רֶכֶשׁ; xiv. 21; xxxvi. 6; Exod. i. 5, etc.). If human beings are intended, in opposition to animals, נֶפֶשׁ אָדָם is sometimes used (Num. xxxi. 46; 1 Chron. v. 21), as ψυχαι ἀνθρώπων (Revel. xviii. 13). But both נֶפֶשׁ אָדָם and נֶפֶשׁ אָדָם are employed for slaves in passages where the context leaves no doubt (Ezek. xxvii. 13), as σώματα in the later Greek; and in our verse, where רֶכֶשׁ implies the cattle, שֵׁשׁ is used to denote Abraham's and Lot's servants and other dependents, belonging to his household (xxxvi. 6), whom they had acquired (עָשָׂה) in Haran. This sense of עָשָׂה is in itself evident (“to make a fortune,” etc.), and is frequent in the Old Testament (xxxi. 1; Deut. viii. 17, 18, etc.). We need, therefore, scarcely mention the strange interpretation of these words: “and the souls which they had gained in Haran for the belief in God” (Onkel.), or “the children they had begotten” (Luther), etc. — It is not necessary to suppose from the expression “the place of Shechem,” that, in Abraham's time, the town of Shechem did not yet exist, and that it was built in the interval between Abraham and Jacob (xxxiii. 18, 19); the patriarch pitched his tents not in the towns themselves, which, had he even been able to enter them without suspicion or molestation, would have less suited him on account of his cattle, but in their vicinity, as later between Bethel and Hai; and Shechem is mentioned to describe the oak-tree at which he stopped. But the words וַיִּבְנֵה יִרְבֵּעָם שָׁכֵם (1 Kings xx. 25) may mean, that Jeroboam built the citadel or palace at Shechem, which, forming the chief part of the town, was often identified with it. That it existed before that time, is not only evident from the first verse of the same chapter, but from the circumstance that Jeroboam had stayed there before for some time (ver. 5). — מִלֶּחֶן is, undoubtedly, the

10. And there was a famine in the land: and Abram went down into Egypt to sojourn there; for the famine *was* severe in the land. 11. And it came to pass, when

*oak-tree*; it is, almost without exception, so rendered by the ancient versions, if they at all understand a tree; it is, therefore, not the *terebinth*; but it is certainly still less *plain* or *valley*, which is a mere conjectural translation, no doubt the consequence of the desire to attribute a separate meaning to each of the similar substantives אֵיל, אֵלֶּה (or אֵלֶּה), אֵלֶּה, and אֵלֶּה; but it has been proved to demonstration by a careful comparison of the different passages, that there exists a specific difference only between אֵלֶּה and אֵלֶּה, the former signifying *terebinth*, the latter *oak* (Isai. vi. 13; Hos. iv. 13); but that frequently not only these two words, but also אֵלֶּה, אֵלֶּה, and אֵלֶּה are used synonymously both for the *oak*, and for a *large and strong tree* in general (comp. especially Gen. xxxv. 5, Judg. ix. 9, and xxiv. 26, where אֵלֶּה, אֵלֶּה, and אֵלֶּה are applied to the same tree at Shechem; further, Josh. xix. 33, and Judg. iv. 11, where אֵלֶּה and אֵלֶּה occur synonymously). This subject has been fully investigated by Gesenius ('Thesaurus, pp. 50, 51; comp. Stanley, Sin. and Pal., App. § 78), after it had but partially been illustrated by Celsius (Hierob., i. 34, *et seq.*), who, without carrying conviction, laboured to secure for אֵלֶּה alone the signification of *oak*, whilst he assigned to all the other words the meaning of *terebinth*. — The words וְהַכְנַעֲנִי אֵין בְּאֶרֶץ are not nearly so difficult as either hypercriticism or timidity has represented them. For, on the one hand, the translation: "the Canaanite was *still* in the land," is uncalled for, and misleads to an erroneous inference. Canaanites were in the land to the time of the captivity; they were never entirely extirpated; and no Hebrew writer could, at any period of the commonwealth, speak of the time when "the Canaanite was *still* in the land," as of a by-gone epoch (see pp. 268—274). But, on the other hand, it requires scarcely a proof, that we have to render those words: "the

Canaanite was *already* in the land"; for not more than a few pages before, the author had represented the Canaanites as immigrants from the south; he had included them among the descendants of Ham; he did not even in the general list mention the Anakim, the Emim and Rephaim, who were regarded or who professed to be the aboriginal inhabitants of the land; it is, therefore, in perfect harmony with the whole progress of our narrative, that the Canaanites are represented as having already spread to the land which bore their name (ver. 5), just as the "sons of Eber" now tended to the same point, though from a different direction. It is, hence, obvious how groundlessly even Rabbinical expositors found offence in those words, and modern critics declare them either as a spurious interpolation, or as a certain proof of a very late origin of the Pentateuch. — אֵלֶּה (ver. 8) is identical with אֵלֶּה; see ix. 21. — The Hebrew name for Hai occurs in four different forms: אֵי (so it is most frequently written); אֵי (which seems to be an Aramaic modification; Neh. xi. 31); אֵי (1 Chron. vii. 28); and אֵי (Isai. x. 28; which two last forms are regular prolongations of אֵי); the Greek name is *Gai*, or *'Ayyai*, or *'Aiva*; and the Latin, *Hai* or *Gai*. We have stated these variations as an instructive and suggestive instance of the changes in proper nouns. It is generally used with the article הָאֵי, because it signifies "the heap of ruins," near which it was, no doubt, built; compare הַלְבָּנוֹן (the white mountain), etc. — About קָרָא בְּשֵׁם יי, in the sense of "invoking by prayers," see on iv. 26, p. 154.

10—20. Abraham continued his aimless wanderings. From Bethel he migrated southwards, a distant and protracted journey (הַלֹּךְ וְנָסוּעַ, ver. 9); but so far from finding there a permanent abode, he was, by an extraordinary calamity, compelled to proceed even beyond

he was come near to enter into Egypt, that he said to Sarai his wife, Behold, I pray, I know that thou *art* a woman beautiful in appearance: 12. Therefore it will come to pass, when the Egyptians will see thee, that they will say, This is his wife: and they will kill me, but they

the boundaries of the land. As if to try his resignation, and to prove to him that the territory just promised to his seed was, more than neighbouring countries, subject to the curse which human sin had brought over the earth, God sent a famine, which left him no other alternative but to seek refuge in a kingdom whose licentiousness was too well known, and whose aversion to strangers forboded to him no benevolent reception. But here it appeared that even Abraham, if left to his own determination, was liable to great mistakes and aberrations. For the first time, God did not guide and advise him, and he heaped upon himself the guilt of desponding doubt, of mental reserve, if not untruth, and of a fatal want of moral courage, which threatened to contaminate the purity of his conjugal relations, and for ever to blight his domestic happiness. His conduct was exemplary wherever the path was clear, or wherever it was prescribed to him; all his greatness consisted in his *obedience*; it was the tendency of this narrative to show, that where he was beset by difficulties without being aided by the immediate guidance of God, he was subject to the common errors of humanity; and that, as the eternal standard of virtue and moral action—the Law, was not yet revealed, the personal direction of God was necessary in every individual instance. We see such assistance, indeed, invariably extended to His favourites down to Moses; after this time He sent prophets, not to give new precepts, but to enforce those proclaimed before, deemed all-sufficient if correctly understood, and affording Divine advice for every complication of life. It would, therefore, be a perfect mistake to attempt a reconciliation of Abraham's conduct in Egypt with the precepts of morality not yet known to him. Just as he saw no crime in marrying

his sister, the daughter of the same father, so he was not aware of the sinfulness of the expedients in which his despondency took refuge with regard to his wife. The education of Israel was not finished with Abraham; he was indeed the unapproached model of submission to the Divine will; but later that will was more clearly and more comprehensively expressed in a code of laws comprising all the relations of human existence; the Israelites were exhorted to obey those systematic precepts as readily and heartily as Abraham followed the occasional commands with which God favoured him; but we cannot expect him to act with faultless perfection when those commands ceased, and he was merely the son of Terah. Careful regard to this principle precludes many errors in the interpretation of Abraham's history, and that of the other patriarchs.

The same occurrence which forms the contents of the second part of this chapter, is related with inconsiderable modifications, on two other occasions (chap. xx. and xxvi.). In all these three cases the beauty of the wife, and the reputed lasciviousness of the heathens, rendered it advisable to represent her as the sister; she was in the two former instances conducted into the house or harem of the pagan kings, and was, in the third, exposed to the danger of falling a victim to the general immorality; but, by Divine interference, she escaped the pollution, and the event, so far from inflicting injury or ignominy upon the patriarchs, invariably ended in a vast accession to their wealth, and redounded to their glorification. This being the close analogy between the three narratives, we are justified in illustrating them by each other; and especially to conclude, that, in our instance also, Sarah left the house of the Egyptian monarch undefiled; the nineteenth verse must,

will let thee live. 13. Say, I pray thee, thou *art* my sister; that it may be well with me for thy sake; and my soul may live because of thee.—14. And it came to pass, that, when Abram was come into Egypt, the Egyptians beheld the woman that she *was* very beautiful. 15. And

therefore, either be translated as in the English version: "Why didst thou say, She is my sister? so *I might have taken her* to me to wife," or if we render the last words: "*I took her* to me to wife," we must qualify them by the remark: "but he did not approach her" (xx. 4); for our narrative is, in general, briefer than that of the twentieth chapter; it omits further to state the manner in which the king learnt the conjugal connection between Abraham and Sarah, whilst later it was revealed to him by a vision in a dream (xx. 3). The providential protection of Sarah's purity is, in fact, the very centre of the threefold tale, a repetition which would scarcely be explicable for a less important purpose. The sanctity of matrimony, that corner-stone of the whole social fabric, was intended to form a prominent and noble characteristic of the Hebrew community; it pervades, as a great principle, the whole of the Old Testament; it is in its full depth involved in the account of the creation of woman, and in the attributes which are there given to the wife; next to the reverence due to human life, it forms the most important of the duties embodied in the Decalogue; it is, in the Mosaic legislation, enjoined with a force and an emphasis proving that it was regarded as a primary and fundamental obligation; the dire consequences of its violation are, in the historical books, unfolded in grand and awful pictures of misery, of which the overwhelming calamities of David, after his crime against Uriah, are among the most striking instances; and when the prophets saw with sorrow that their admonitions were fruitless, they foretold in anger Israel's irrevocable annihilation (see Com. on Exod., pp. 369, 422). It is the end of our narrative to prove that God watches with care over conjugal alliances, and that He visits

their desecration with disastrous punishments; the plagues inflicted on the king are a warning and an exhortation; and the indulgence extended to Abraham for his culpable abandonment of his wife, is no less an act of Divine mercy, than the intact preservation of Sarah amidst her imminent dangers.

Considering this high tendency of our section, it would be futile indeed to insist upon some formal objections to which it is open, as, for instance, that Sarah, who was at the time of these events between sixty-five and ninety years, who had even called herself old, and had ceased to be "after the manner of women" (xviii. 11, 13), should still have possessed such rare beauty as to be desired for a wife by voluptuous kings; or that the same incident should happen three times almost in the same manner; or that Abraham was not sufficiently warned by the first occurrence to avoid the same imprudence a second time. These and similar difficulties, urged with a triumphant confidence by those who deny to the Bible every higher value, occurred to the mind of the Hebrew writer as little as the discrepancies obvious in the history of the Creation and the Deluge; nor did he think of such things as "the brighter Asiatic complexion of Sarah," which attracted the notice of the Egyptians; or her "barrenness," which had preserved her beauty, or other ingenious devices of a similar kind. In his hands, the facts are subordinated to ideas; he is as little an ordinary historian or biographer as he can be expected to be a geologist or an astronomer; the material world is made subservient to his religious doctrines, and the actual events are employed to illustrate his notions concerning the Divine government of the world. We cannot too often enforce this principle, which alone permits an intelli-



the princes of Pharaoh saw her, and praised her before Pharaoh: and the woman was taken into Pharaoh's house. 16. And he treated Abram well for her sake; and he had sheep, and oxen, and he-asses, and men-servants, and maid-servants, and she-asses, and camels. 17. And the

gent penetration into the text, unbiassed and undisturbed by considerations which were never intended by the Hebrew writer as essential or independent points of his composition.

Although Canaan, if cultivated with some care, yields abundant harvests (Deut. viii. 8—10; xi. 10—12, etc.), it is not exempted from sterility; the history of Israel records more than one instance of distressing famine; and the anticipation of failing crops is, by some antiquarians, assigned even as one of the reasons for the institution of periodical Sabbath-years, which compelled the Israelites to lay up stores of corn during six successive years, sufficient to shield them against the most pressing emergencies. Scanty harvests were threatened in the Pentateuch as the punishment for national impiety (Lev. xxvi. 19, 20, 26; Deut. xxviii. 16—18, 23, 24, etc.); just as a plentiful produce was deemed the result of the Divine blessing attending righteousness (Lev. xxvi. 6, 7, 10; Deut. xxviii. 3—5, 11, 12, etc.). We may thus understand how prophets could speak of an "ignominy of famine" (Ezek. xxxvi. 30), to be removed as soon as the land is cleared from its idolatrous impurities (Ezek. xxxiv. 26—29). Now Canaan was, within a brief period, visited by several successive and fearful famines (Gen. xxi. 1; xli. 54; xlvii. 15), which the text does not fail to mention and to describe as important incidents in the history of the patriarchs. This circumstance cannot, therefore, be insignificant. And, indeed, the Divine scourges happening so immediately after Abraham had received the promise of the land, were the first sign of the realization of this assurance; for they showed that the time was approaching when "the measure of the sin of the Amorites would be full" (Gen. xv. 16),

and when "the land would vomit out its wicked inhabitants" (Lev. xviii. 25—28). The close connection into which the Providence of God brings the deeds of man with his destinies and those of his land, proved to Abraham the inevitable ruin of the Canaanites, whilst he himself should experience the truth that the pious do not suffer with the wicked, but that "they are not ashamed in the time of evil, and in the days of famine they are satisfied" (Ps. xxxvii. 19); for Abraham grew richer in every kind of valuable property (ver. 16). But in such public calamities Egypt was the usual, though not the only refuge of the inhabitants of Palestine (Ruth i. 1); the fertility of that country, guaranteed by the almost regular inundations of the beneficent Nile, and secured by a complicated net-work of canals and trenches for the purposes of irrigation, was proverbial in antiquity (xiii. 10), and though not entirely exempt from the possibility of failing crops, it afforded, in times of want, succour and help even to distant nations: into which subject a later portion of this book will oblige us more fully to enter (see notes on xli., *et seq.*).—Now the famine which befell Canaan in the time of Abraham, and which is designedly characterised as *heavy* or severe, compelled him to seek relief in the same land; but the text is careful in describing this emigration only as "a temporary sojourn" (לָנוּחַ), not as an intended settlement; however inviting the abundance of Egypt might have been to the rich nomad chief, it did not tempt him to despise, or permanently to leave the less favoured land of promise; although Canaan was granted only to his descendants, he felt himself intimately bound to it; for he lived more in the future than in the present; he viewed himself as the first link of a great chain; he was

Lord plagued Pharaoh and his house with great plagues on account of Sarai, Abram's wife. 18. And Pharaoh called Abram, and said, What *is* this *that* thou hast done to me? Why didst thou not tell me that she *was* thy wife? 19. Why didst thou say, She *is* my sister? so I

the root which could not be torn from the soil in which the branches were designed to flourish. Nor did the better part of his descendants ever divest themselves of this feeling. Although for four centuries transplanted into Egypt, they always regarded themselves as strangers; they said likewise that they only "sojourned" in that land (xlvii. 7), and did not rest till their desire of returning to Canaan was satisfied. Thus we have another analogy between Abraham and Israel.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS. — Under which Egyptian king the patriarch immigrated into Egypt, is one of those points which the most zealous archaeological researches have hitherto been insufficient to settle with any degree of probability. Nor are the opinions here less divided than with regard to the monarch who reigned in Joseph's or in Moses' time. After having, in our Commentary on Exodus (Intro. p. xx.—xxiii., and on i. 8), discussed the identity and chronology of the king whose army perished in the Red Sea, we can here pass over the subject with a few remarks. Between the immigration of Abraham and the Exodus of the Hebrews, elapsed a period of 645 years (see the Chronological Table in the Introduction). Now, if the latter event took place under Ramses V., Amenophis, or the last of the sixteen monarchs of the eighteenth (Diospolitanic) dynasty; and if we ascend in the list of the Egyptian kings 645 years higher than this Ramses V., we come first to the beginning of the same dynasty, which reigned 263 years; we find the next preceding 43 shepherd kings occupying the throne for 153 years; so that the sojourn of Abraham in Egypt falls within the reign of a monarch of the sixteenth dynasty which lasted 518 years. Abraham's journey took place, according

to Biblical chronology, in B.C. 2136, or A.M. 2024 (see Introduction); and we find no reason to question this date in favour of the statement of Eusebius (Præp. Ev., ix. 18), who places Abraham's birth, B.C. 2016 (1240 years before the first Olympiad in 776), and his journey B.C. 1941; or in favour of the many modern computations which, usually based upon the objectionable alterations of the Septuagint and Josephus, assign to those events much higher, and sometimes considerably lower dates (see note on xli. 1). It would be unprofitable to examine the relative claims of the conflicting names mentioned by ancient or modern writers as the Pharaoh of our text; whether he was Ramessemenus (*Syncell.*, p. 101); or Nechao (*Joseph.*, Bell. Jud., V. ix. 4); or Naracho (*Malala*, Chronogr., p. 71); or Pharethones (*Euseb.*, Præp. Ev., ix. 18); or Achthoes, the sixth king of the eleventh dynasty, in whose reign the war for the limbs of Osiris is said to have been terminated (*Osburn*, Monum. Hist. i. 373); for neither the state of Egyptian history nor that of Egyptian chronology affords as yet a safe basis; both have still to conquer a wide territory from the fanciful sway of conjecture. But the scene of our events is unquestionably in *Lower Egypt*, or the state of *Memphis*, which enjoyed already in this early period, if not a high degree of civilization, at least a sufficiently organised commonwealth.—Abraham's visit in Egypt has been liberally adorned by tradition; it is related, that he entered into conversation with the Egyptian sages, astonished them by his wisdom and knowledge, taught them tolerance to the religious views of others, demonstrated the futility and absurdity of their own sacred rites, and instructed them in the sciences of arithmetic and astronomy (*Joseph.*, Antiq. I., viii. 2). It is unnecessary to comment

might have taken her to me to wife: and now behold thy wife; take *her*, and go thy way. 20. And Pharaoh gave men commands concerning him: and they sent him away, and his wife, and all that he had.

on the degree of historical value to be attached to such statements.—אָחָתִי אֵם (ver. 13) is the indirect speech, instead of the more usual and direct form, which is employed in ver 19: אֵם אֵתִי הִיא; but it is yet unnecessary to suppose this latter construction in the former passage also, and to read with the Septuagint, אָחָתִי אֵם (ὅτι ἀδελφὴ αὐτοῦ εἰμι). Before אָחָתִי the conjunction כִּי is omitted, as in Ps. ix. 21 (יִרְעוּ גּוֹיִם אֲנֹשׁ הַסֶּה) and more strikingly still in Dan. i. 5 (וַיִּסְרֹן וַיַּעֲמֵד); “he commanded that they should stand”; Isai. xlviii. 8, etc.; comp. ver. 18; Job xxxvi. 10.—The Egyptians were from ancient times reputed as φιλόγυνοι. —Marriages with the half-sister were not only permitted among the Athenians (*Corn. Nep.*, Cim.1) and Egyptians (*Diod.* i. 27), but were, in certain cases, not unusual among the later Hebrews (2 Sam. xiii. 13; see *Herod.*, iii. 31). In Egypt, the legality of the custom of marrying the sister was based upon the mythological tale, that Osiris was extremely happy in his matrimonial alliance with his sister Isis (*Diod.*, i. 27). The mightiest god of the Greeks, also, was at once the brother and the husband of Juno.—The conduct of Abraham neither requires, nor admits of, such exculpations as that of Augustin (C. Faust., xxii. 3): “Indicavit sororem, non negavit uxorem; tacuit aliquid veri, non dixit aliquid falsi.”—About the different species of animals which Abraham acquired in Egypt, see note on Exod. ix. 3, from which it will also appear that *camels* were not unusual

in Egypt, though they have hitherto but seldom been found represented on the monuments. Horses, the chief pride of that country, are not mentioned, since they would have been of less value to Abraham, the nomad; an omission which is another proof of the thoughtful accuracy of the historian. The plagues with which Pharaoh was visited reminded him of a crime committed in his house; for misfortune was always regarded as the consequence of Divine anger; they led him to search into their cause, which, according to Josephus (*Antiq.*, I. viii. 1) was revealed to him by the priests (comp. Lev. x. 1, 2; Num. xii. 10; Deut. xxiv. 9; Josh. vii.; 1 Sam. v.; vi.; etc.).—The form וְאָמַרְתָּ (ver. 19) admits both interpretations to which we have above alluded; for not only the preterite is used in Hebrew for the subjunctive of the pluperfect (אֲזַכְּרֶינִי אֶת אֲרָם: “then *you might have beaten the Arameans*,” 2 Kings xiii. 19); but the future with וְ also (וְאֶשְׁלַחְךָ בְּשִׁמְחָה): “*I might have sent thee away with mirth*”; Gen. xxxi. 27; comp. Job x. 19; Num. xxii. 33; 1 Sam. xxv. 11; etc. *Gesen.*, *Lehrgr.*, pp. 768, 774).—צֹוֶה עַל (ver. 20) is to give a command concerning some one; exactly like 2 Sam. xiv. 8, but it is not synonymous with אָמַר, in Exod. vi. 13, which signifies “to give a person a charge or commission to somebody.” The command given by Pharaoh was to allow Abraham an unmolested departure and journey through the land, which sense is expressed in the concluding words of the verse.

## CHAPTER XIII.

**SUMMARY.**—Abraham returned to the place near Bethel, where he had before offered up his prayers and built an altar. His own flocks, and those of Lot, had, in the mean time, become so numerous, that they could not be maintained at the same place. Abraham, therefore, in order to avoid contentions, asked Lot to choose whatever part of the land he most preferred; he would himself settle in the opposite direc-

tion. Lot selected the blooming districts of the Jordan, down to Sodom, whose inhabitants were sunk in immorality. God appeared to Abraham, promised him a numberless progeny, and to the latter the possession of the whole land. — The patriarch pitched his tent in the oak-groves of Mamre, near Hebron, and built there an altar.

1. And Abram went up out of Egypt, he, and his wife, and all that he had, and Lot with him, into the south of *Canaan*. 2. And Abram *was* very rich in cattle, in silver, and in gold. 3. And on his journeys from the south he went to Beth-el, to the place where his tent had been at the beginning, between Beth-el and Hai; 4. To the place of the altar which he had made there at the first: and there Abram invoked the name of the Lord.—5. And Lot also, who went with Abram, had flocks, and herds, and

1—4. Not longer than urgent necessity required and compelled, did Abraham remain in the land destined to become of a deep but melancholy interest to his descendants. He was, like them, led into that country by a famine; both were there injured in their most sacred rights, though from different reasons; and in both cases was the monarch, by the supernatural plagues he suffered, compelled to accelerate rather than to retard their departure. Like the Israelites, Abraham left Egypt not only enriched with herds and flocks, the usual property of the Bedouin, but with "silver and gold," as the text distinctly remarks (ver. 2; xii. 16); it is undoubted that this species of wealth is intended to describe a higher social scale to which the patriarch had risen, and which significantly points to a future more settled state, when the bare necessities of life would be adorned by comforts and cheered by embellishments. With his regained wife and with Lot, who, as his younger relative, had accompanied him on his journeys, he proceeded to the south of Canaan. But his migrations were no longer so entirely erratic as they had hitherto been. The land was no more a vast tract, equally indifferent to him in all parts; it possessed some spots dear and sacred to his pious heart; and when, by the assistance of God, he had escaped the double danger of famine and disgrace,

he advanced in regular and fixed journeys (ללכת) to that place near Bethel where he had before erected the altar; and here offered up thanksgivings to his almighty Protector. It is evident from the tenour of the text, that Abraham's premeditated aim was the service which he intended to solemnize; and the words: "he invoked the name of the Lord," imply a more profound devotion than an ordinary prayer; they are hence used only on certain prominent occasions, and tend here to prove that Abraham returned from the land of multifarious idolatry, in which his progeny lost and forgot the true faith, as a pure and believing servant of the Creator.

5—13. Lot was, on Abraham's account, "with whom he went," likewise blessed with wealth; the herds of both were so numerous, that the same district did not afford sufficient pasture, especially as "the Canaanite and the Perizzite dwelt also in the land" (ver. 7), and naturally occupied the better and greater part of the available soil. The contentions which thus arose between the herdsmen of both were abhorred by the peaceful patriarch, the more so as they threatened to sow enmity between him and his near kinsman; a separation was necessary; and with a disinterestedness which, next to his resigning obedience, was his brightest characteristic, he allowed to his younger and therefore

tents. 6. And the land did not bear them, that they might dwell together: for their property was great, so that they could not dwell together. 7. And there was a strife between the herdsmen of Abram's cattle and the herdsmen of Lot's cattle: and the Canaanite and the Perizzite dwelt then in the land. 8. And Abram said to Lot, Let there be no strife, I pray thee, between me and thee, and between my herdsmen and thy herdsmen; for we *are* kinsmen. 9. *Is* not the whole land before thee? Separate thyself, I pray thee, from me: if *thou wilt take* the left hand, then I shall go to the right; or if *thou depart* to the right hand, then I shall go to the left. 10. And

subordinate relative unlimited choice with regard to his future abode. Lot did not delay to avail himself of this liberty; he selected that part of the land which he considered as by far the most blooming and fertile, the district of the Jordan, which at that time was teeming with luxurious vegetation, comparable only with the delightful Paradise, the garden of God (ii. 8; see Isai. li. 3), or with the famous corn-fields of Egypt; he occupied "the whole district of the Jordan," and spread his tents so far southward as Sodom, regardless of the dangerous contact into which he was thus brought with a people "wicked and sinful before the Lord exceedingly" (ver. 13). It is unnecessary to point out with greater distinctness the contrast between the conduct of Abraham and Lot. — The Canaanites and the Perizzites are here, and in some other passages, synonymous with all the inhabitants of Canaan (comp. Judg. i. 1, 3—5; Gen. xxxiv. 30). Now the etymology of the word Perizzite proves, that they were the inhabitants of *open towns and villages* (פְּרִזִּיט); it is clearly explained by Ezekiel (xxxviii. 11), to denote the population of places "without walls and bars and gates"; and it is, in the book of Esther (ix. 19), used for the unfenced cities, in contradistinction to the metropolis (ver. 18). The two names of the Canaanites and the Perizzites, if so coupled, designate, therefore, both the inhabitants of the walled towns and of the

open country; and describe, with a certain emphasis, the two chief portions of the population: which is peculiarly appropriate in our passage, where the narrowness of the land is urged.—Hence it is explicable that we find Perizzites mentioned in almost every part of Canaan, as inhabiting the mountains (Josh. xi. 3), and the forest plains (Josh. xvii. 15); in Judah and Ephraim (Judg. i. 4. 5; Josh. xvii. 15); near Bethel and near Shechem (Gen. xxxiv. 30).

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS. — לִסְסְעִי is "in his journeys or stations" (comp. Exod. xvii. 1; Num. x. 6, 12); the translations of the Septuagint, therefore (καὶ ἐκπορεύθη ἔθεν ἡλθεν), and of the Vulgate (*reversus est per iter quo venerat*), do not render the sense.—About אֲחִים אֲנִשִּׁים see note on ix. 5, *ad* אִישׁ אֶחָד, p. 221.—Before אֲשַׁמְרָא and הִיטִין (ver. 9), a verb, like "thou goest," is to be supplied; and these words are, therefore, accusatives of the place after a verb of motion (see on x. 11, p. 263, *ad* צֵא אֲשֹׁר).—כָּכָר (from כָּר, to move in a circle) is the district which surrounds a place (comp. Neh. xii. 28, and the French *arrondissement*, the German *Kreis* or *Bezirk*, etc.); and כָּכָר הַיַּרְדֵּן comprises the plains adjoining the Jordan, from the Sea of Galilee to the Dead Sea; it is often simply called הַכָּכָר (xix. 17, 25, etc.); the Septuagint renders it accurately by ἡ περιχωρος τοῦ Ἰορδάνου (comp. Matth. iii. 5), and its present name is El-

Lot lifted up his eyes, and beheld all the district of the Jordan, that it *was* all well watered, before the Lord destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, like the garden of the Lord, like the land of Egypt, towards Zoar. 11. And Lot chose for himself the district of the Jordan; and Lot journeyed in the east: and they separated themselves the one from the other. 12. Abram dwelt in the land of Canaan, and Lot dwelt in the cities of the district, and pitched his tents as far as Sodom. 13. But the men of Sodom *were* wicked, and sinners before the Lord exceedingly.—14. And the Lord said to Abram, after Lot was separated from him, Lift up now thy eyes, and look from

per, that is, "plain and depressed country" (*Green*, *Thea.*, p. 717).—The irrigation of Egypt was effected by a most laborious process, and often by the application of machines trod with the foot (*Deut.* xi. 10; see notes on *Exod.* i. 14). But if the soil has thus been carefully watered (מְרֻבֵּץ), it assumes in a short time the rich aspect of a garden, and generally rewards the husbandman with the most abundant harvests.—About the localities of the Dead Sea, see note on *xix.* 4—25. Zoar, which name was only later assigned to the little town Bela, on the southern extremity of the Dead Sea (*xiv.* 2; *xix.* 22), is here so called by way of anticipation, not surprising in a writer of a later period, when Zoar was the name more familiarly employed (*comp.* *xii.* 8).—The words כְּנָחַת הַיָּם belong, according to the sense, to כְּנָחַת הַיָּם, from which they were separated for the insertion of a descriptive remark regarding its fertility (*comp.* notes on *Exod.* *xii.* 15).—About סָקָרִים "in the east," see p. 320.

14—18. By the departure of Lot, the land was divided into two parts; the district of the Jordan was separated from the rest of Canaan, and formed a distinct territory. Henceforth, the history of the former was unconnected with that of the latter, except by a tie of relationship soon to be severed by the guilt of Lot's immediate offspring, when the very existence of that district was blotted out. Our

narrative tends to this point with a steady progress. It was already alluded to in the express remark regarding the extreme impiety of the inhabitants; and it is more decidedly approached by the following renewed promise made to Abraham. The latter was now the *only* Hebrew in the land Canaan, properly so called; and to his descendants alone it was now again guaranteed. The family of Lot could not remain so closely associated with the house of Abraham without seriously endangering its development; the separation of both removed a difficulty which had clouded the future prospects of Abraham's seed; and it was, therefore, important, that these prospects should now be clearly repeated. But they are not only renewed, but expanded and enlarged. Abraham was invited to look around in all directions; the *whole* land was to belong to his seed; it was to be their inheritance "for ever"; and that seed was to be endless, "like the dust of the earth which no man can number." So much grander and more comprehensive was this pledge than the first simple promise: "To thy seed will I give this land" (*xii.* 7). Eternity and infinitude were granted, notions that lie above the stretch of human capacity; hopes that reach beyond a natural realisation. The new promise was, therefore, intended as a prophecy; and if we look upon the fulfilment, we must acknowledge in it the same ideal yearnings, which form the genial

the place where thou art northward, and southward, and eastward, and westward: 15. For all the land which thou seest, to thee shall I give it, and to thy seed for ever. 16. And I shall make thy seed as the dust of the earth: so that if a man can number the dust of the earth, *then*

sun-beams of the Old Testament; the seed of Abraham comprises not merely his bodily descendants, but all the heirs of that faith, which it was hoped would in time embrace the universe, not to cease in all eternity.—Abraham was further commanded, confidently to pass through the land in its length and its breadth; and wherever he set his foot, the territory was marked as his possession. The migrations of the patriarch are, therefore, not indifferent or unimportant; they hallow the soil and determine the boundaries of the future empire; they are deeds both to guide and to encourage his progeny. Hence, even his journey to Egypt must have an importance from this point of view also; it foreshadows the future extent of the Hebrew land down “to the river of Egypt,” as indeed the Euphrates, from which Abraham’s wanderings began, was named as the utmost eastern limit of the promised empire (xv. 18; comp. Deut. xi. 24; Josh. i. 3).

From Bethel, Abraham travelled southward till he pitched his tents in the oak-grove of Mamre, at Hebron, situated in a cool and elevated region, and commanding a fertile valley; about twenty-two Roman miles south of Jerusalem, and belonging to the later territory of Judah. Hebron was one of the oldest towns of Palestine; it was (according to Num. xiii. 22) built seven years before Tanis in Egypt; and was early the residence of a heathen king (Josh. xii. 10). However, it was, by Joshua, appointed as one of the cities of refuge (Josh. xx. 7), and assigned to the Levites (Josh. xxi. 11); it thus assumed the character of a holy town where vows were taken and performed (2 Sam. xv. 7, 9); and David chose it as his abode when he was king of Judah, during seven years and a half (2 Sam. ii. 1; v. 5). These circumstances suffice to explain the

interest evinced for Hebron in the history of the patriarchs; Abraham resided here when the angels made him the happy announcement of the birth of a son (xviii. 1); here he acquired the first territorial property in Canaan (xxiii. 3—17); and here was the burial-place of himself, of Isaac, and of Jacob, of Sarah, Rebekah, and Leah (Gen. xlix. 30, 31). The town was, therefore, appropriately distinguished by the erection of an altar (ver. 18). Later, it was fortified by Rehoboam among many other cities (2 Chron. xi. 10); it is still mentioned after the exile (Nehem. xi. 25); it then belonged to the Idumeans, who were, however, expelled from it by Judas Maccabæus (1 Macc. v. 65); in the Roman war, it was captured and burnt by the enemies, without, however, being destroyed. In the period of the Crusades, after having, for a time, suffered from heavy attacks, it was made the seat of the bishopric of St. Abraham (in 1167), but returned already in 1187 into the possession of the Moslems, who ever since retained it, though it was several times assailed and plundered by rebellious pashas or lawless chiefs, for instance, by Ibrahim and Abd el Rahman, in 1834 and 1841. In the fifteenth century, it was distinguished by a magnificent hospital and general charity for the distribution of bread and other necessities to strangers. The present Hebron is a large village rather than a town; it counts among its inhabitants about a hundred Jewish families, living together in a separate quarter; as, in fact, Jews, though often ill-treated, oppressed, and insulted, seem always to have lived in the town, with few interruptions; but it is not unimportant in its commerce; though it is chiefly celebrated for its glass-works, which form the principal articles of export. It is surrounded by elevations, containing the highest peaks in the range of the moun-

thy seed shall also be numbered. 17. Arise, pass through the land in its length and in its breadth; for to thee I shall give it. 18. And Abram pitched his tents, and came and dwelt in the oak-grove of Mamre, which *is* at Hebron, and built there an altar to the Lord.

tains of Judah. Its blooming vicinity, with its vine-yards and orchards, its wells, its rich pastures and numerous flocks and herds, is one of the proofs, that the care of the agriculturist may still convert Palestine's desolation into smiling prosperity. The tombs of the patriarchs and of their wives, situated at the eastern end of Hebron on the slope of a ravine, attracted continually the visits of travellers; over the cave of Machpelah, called Al Magr by the Arabians, and surrounded by a high and strong wall, a mosque was erected which the Moslems regard as one of the four holiest sanctuaries of the world, from which Christians are excluded, and which stratagem only has enabled a few Europeans to enter. The town itself was, from that structure, called the Castle of Abraham, and received, therefore, from the Mohammedans the name of *Bet El-Khalil*, that is, the House of the "Friend of God"; for the honorary title given to Abraham by the Arabians, is "Friend of God"

(الخليل; Koran, Sur. iv. 124; xxv. 30, etc.).

The cave itself is, at present, no more permitted to be seen, except so far as the light of the lamp allows, which is suspended in a small opening on the top; though it was, in the twelfth century, still accessible to Jews; and Benjamin of Tudela found here tubs filled with the bones of his coreligionists. The mosque contains, in imitation of the sarcophagi below, six coffins

with pyramidal tops, each of them surrounded by small structures, with a window on each side, and folding-doors in front. — The "pool of Hebron," at which David hanged up the murderers of Ishbosheth (2 Sam. iv. 12), seems still to exist.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS. — The original name of Hebron was Kirjath-Arba (קִרְיַת־אַרְבַּע), from the chief of the Anakim, Arba, who lived in the neighbourhood (Josh. xiv. 13; Judg. i. 10); not, as Jerome and Rabbinical writers assert, from the *four* (אַרְבַּע) celebrated couples here buried (Abraham and Sarah; Isaac and Rebekah; Jacob and Leah; in addition to Adam and Eve!); but, later, Hebron and Kirjath-Arba seem to have been used promiscuously (Josh. xv. 13; Gen. xxiii. 2; xxxv. 27); and the former was so far from being exclusively applied, that even after the exile the appellation Kirjath-Arba alone occurs (Nehem. xi. 25). But the town was also called Mamre (xxiii. 19), from a powerful proprietor, or, perhaps, an early king, who possessed especially the "oak-groves" (אֲלֵנֵי טַמְרָה) in its vicinity (see p. 333). — In the words אֲשֶׁר וְכִן אִם (ver. 16), we may either take אֲשֶׁר in the sense of *so that* (xxii. 14), or suppose, that the substantive עֵפֶר הָאָרֶץ is repeated instead of the pronoun אֵתוּ (as in l. 13). Although the former acceptation is easier in our modern constructions, the latter seems more to correspond with the genius of the Hebrew language.

## CHAPTER XIV.

SUMMARY. — Four eastern kings invaded the land of Palestine, in order to exact tribute from the five monarchs of Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zoar, and of the Zebolim. They marched victoriously along the eastern districts of the Jordan, defeating the Rephaim, Zuzim, and Emim; passed round the Dead Sea, subduing the Horites and Edomites, as far as the borders of the desert of Shur or Dshofar; returned southward, and beat the Amalekites and the Amorites in Hazazon-Tamar (vers. 1—7). The five monarchs met them in the valley of Siddim, or the Salt Sea;



but they were entirely defeated; and all, except those who escaped into the mountain, were carried away by the conquerors, with the rest of the population and their wealth. When Abraham heard that Lot also was among the captives, he went out with his three hundred and eighteen slaves, assisted by Mamre, and his brothers Eehcol and Aner, reached the enemies at Dan, attacked them, put them to flight, and pursued them to Hobah, in the north of Damascus. When he returned with all the men and the booty, he was met in the north of Jerusalem, in the valley of Shaveh, by the king of Sodom, and by Melchizedek, at once king and high-priest of Salem, serving the God of heaven and earth. He blessed Abraham, who, receiving the benediction with submission, gave him the tenth part of the property. But the patriarch declined for himself every share in the spoil, only reserving the rights of his allies, and asking to be indemnified for the provision which his men had consumed (vers. 8—24).

1. And it came to pass in the days of Amraphel king of Shinar, Arioch king of Ellasar, Chedorlaomer king of Elam, and Tidal king of nations; 2. *That these made war*

1—11. The calm narrative of Abraham's personal and domestic affairs is here interrupted by a grand political event, in which kings stand arrayed against kings; the voice of prophecy is drowned in the clatter of arms; the hopes are forgotten in the threatening dangers; and, for a moment, the spiritual hue which hovers over the pages of the narrative, seems to be overshadowed by the dark clouds which envelope the destructive thunderbolt, or hide the fierce god of battles. It is impossible to read the history of this war of "four kings against five," without feeling a different atmosphere, a strange scene, a foreign spirit. The world with its strife and ambition, its selfishness and conflicting interests, is substituted for the mind with its noble aspirations, and its distant longings; and man leads instead of following, acts instead of resigning. Let us, with a quick step, pursue the rapid course of events which the text unfolds with a steady hand. An eastern conqueror, Chedorlaomer, the king of Elam, had subdued the important district along the valley of the Jordan, which secures the connection between the Euphrates and the Nile, which guarantees the commerce between the Mediterranean Sea and Arabia, and between Arabia and eastern Asia, which forms the military road leading to the west and the south, and which extends the empires of the Euphrates and Tigris beyond the trackless Arabian Desert down

to the wealthy provinces of the Arabian Gulf. At that time, there existed in the valley five chief towns (Pentapolis) which, by their power and position, commanded almost exclusively all those important advantages. They had been made tributary by the king of Elam; during twelve years they bore the yoke; in the thirteenth they revolted; and, in the fourteenth, their mighty oppressor, supported by three powerful kings, marched out with a vast army, to chastise their disobedience, and to renew their fetters. The progress of the united hosts was one of irresistible violence; they curbed and enslaved all the tribes they encountered. From the banks of the Euphrates, they proceeded on the great military road, south-westward; but, in order not to retard their progress by a long siege, they passed at once to the south of Damascus, no doubt reserving their attack upon the fortified town till after their return (ver. 15). They marched as conquerors through the territory of those formidable giants, the Rephaim, and took their principal town, Ashteroth Karnaim, in the district of Bashan; they swept along southward through the land of the Amorites, where they defeated the fearful Zuzim in Ham; they crossed the Arnon, and continued their ravages and destructions in the province of the Moabites, where the Emim, "the terrible people," succumbed to their arms in Shaveh Kirathaim; but, as if certain of their prey,

with Bera king of Sodom, and with Birsha king of Gomorrah, Shinab king of Admah, and Shemeber king of Zeboiim, and the king of Bela, that *is* Zoar. 3. All these joined in the vale of Siddim, that *is* the Salt Sea. 4.

they did not at once attack the five cities against which their expedition had originally been undertaken; they passed proudly beyond it, despising the advantages which a sudden assault would have afforded them; they advanced into the abodes of the Idumeans; they attacked and defeated the ancient Horites in their strong mountain-fastnesses of the range of Seir; they ventured, in presumptuous boldness, westward even to the very border of the dreary wilderness which separates Arabia from Egypt, and carried desolation so far as the oasis of Paran. But now they remembered the real object of their long campaign; they returned to terrify the cities of the Jordan, not, however, without on their way subduing and crushing mighty nations; they reached the frontiers of Idumea, and conquered Kadesh; they invaded the land of the Amalekites, and subjected it in its whole extent; they defeated the mighty Amorites, and advanced to their important town, Engedi, or Hazezon-Tamar; and thus, from the south-west, approached the region of the Dead Sea (ver. 7). The kings of the five towns saw with consternation the advance of their powerful adversaries; the wanton expedition of the latter far to the south, had, indeed, allowed them more time for their armament and the maturing of strategic plans; they went out to encounter the enemy with a strong army; they offered them battle in a valley, in the dangerous bitumen-pits of which they hoped to ensnare the strangers;—but they were overpowered by the number and the valour of the inimical hosts; they suffered a fearful defeat; a part perished in those very pits which they had hoped would be fatal to their enemies, and a part, in irregular flight, sought the eastern mountains. All the wealth of the five towns, their provisions, their men and their women, fell into the hands of the East-Asiatic conquerors,

who commenced their triumphant return in a north-eastern direction.

This is the general picture which the text offers regarding the impetuous expedition, and in which no trait is wanting, as none is superfluous.—We shall now consider the instructive statements in detail.

The principal king interested in the war of conquest was *Chedorlaomer* (כְּדֻרְלַמֶּשֶׁךְ), the ruler of Elam; it was his sceptre to which the Pentapolis of the Dead Sea had submitted, and under which he intended again to force it (vers. 4, 5, 17); the other three kings were, therefore, only his confederates; and in the history of the expedition itself, his name occupies the first place (ver. 9). The territory of Elymais, over which he ruled, is sufficiently known (see p. 277); but the opinions concerning his person are merely conjectural. Some are now inclined to identify him with Kudarmapula (that is, the Ravager of the West or Syria), who is said to have reigned over Babylon in the twentieth century before the Christian era, and whose name has been deciphered on many bricks (see p. 289). But as a king of Shinar, that is of Babylon, is here mentioned besides Chedorlaomer, to whom, moreover, quite a different district is assigned, that supposition is the less probable; although the *name* might have been that of several earlier and later Babylonian kings. Others believe that Chedorlaomer is Ninias, and that the seat of the Assyrian government was at that time in Persia. But the other princes here mentioned are independent kings, not merely satraps or vassals, and the boast of the later Assyrian sovereign: "Are not my princes altogether kings"? (Isai. x. 3) evidently applies to subjugated monarchs. The strange opinion that Amraphel is Sardanapalus, whilst Arioch is Arbaces, and Chedor-

Twelve years they served Chedorlaomer, and in the thirteenth year they rebelled. 5. And in the fourteenth year came Chedorlaomer, and the kings that *were* with him, and smote the Rephaim in Ashteroth Karnaim, and

laomer Beleys (see p. 308), will appear less surprising, if it is remembered that it was proposed by a critic, who believes that the history of the Tower of Babel is based upon the *destroyed* temple of Belus, in the fifth or sixth century before Christ; that Nimrod is identical with Merodach Baladan, and who has interpreted the book of Genesis on premises and assumptions, mostly conjectural in themselves, and antagonistic alike to the spirit and the history of Hebrew literature (*Bohlen*, Genesis, pp. 126, 143, 170, 171).

The allies of the mighty king of Elymais, who at this period had extended the boundaries of his empire as far as Canaan, were:—1. *Amraphel, king of Shinar*; about whose dominion we must be contented to know that he governed in the southern part of Mesopotamia, in the Babylonian provinces (see p. 259).—2. *Arioch, king of Ellasar*. The identity of this latter locality has always been the subject of the most conflicting conjectures; the Vulgate renders it by *Pontus*, and Saadiah by *Syria*; others declared it to be the same as *Telassar* (in Isaiah xxxvii. 12); some placed it in Persia, others at the borders of the Dead Sea! The recent study of Assyrian inscriptions has, however, led to the decipherment of a name *Larsa*, or *Larcha*, supposed to be the Ellasar of our chapter. Josephus introduces here the Assyrians; and we see no improbability in this opinion: for as the king of Elymais was able to carry his arms westward beyond the territory of Shinar, or southern Mesopotamia; he seems to have been unmolested by his northern neighbours; the more so as our text supposes a friendly relation between the kings of Central Asia. In Daniel (ii. 14) Arioch occurs as the name of a high Babylonian official, which seems to prove, what is indeed clear from our context, that in fixing the

situation of Ellasar, we are scarcely permitted to go beyond the districts of the Euphrates and Tigris (comp. Judith i. 6).—3. *Tidal, king of nations*, the third ally, was no doubt the ruler over several smaller districts or tribes, so gradually subjugated, that it was impossible to describe him briefly with any degree of accuracy. The Galilæans, who are sometimes called “the nations of Gilgal” (Josh. xii. 23), or “Galilee of the nations” (Matth. iv. 15), are perfectly inappropriate in our connection.

These four kings undertook an aggressive campaign against the five principal towns of the district of the Jordan, among which Sodom seems to have occupied the first rank (vers. 17, 21). The Sodomites were the richest, as they were the most wicked, of the inhabitants (xiii. 13); and the prosperity which had caused their moral ruin, was now on the point of effecting their political destruction. The mission assigned to the Hebrew patriarch with regard to that part of Canaan's population will soon become manifest.

The allied kings defeated:—1. *The Rephaim*. These were a giant race of astounding stature and strength; the iron bed of their last King Og, in Bashan, measured nine yards in length, and four in breadth (Deut. iii. 11); they were indeed regarded as the representatives of all formidable gigantic tribes, as the Emim and Anakim (Deut. ii. 11). On the eastern side of the Jordan they spread from the foot of Mount Hermon far southward; and though they were later pressed back by the Moabites and Ammonites, the territory of Og yet extended down to Heshbon, and included sixty fortified cities (Deut. ii. 10, 12; Josh. xii. 4, 5). In the west of the Jordan they occupied some central parts of Palestine, and that extensive and fertile plain in

the Zuzim in Ham, and the Emim in Shaveh Kiriathaim, 6. And the Horites in their Mount Seir, to the oak of Paran, which is by the wilderness. 7. And they returned, and came to En-mishpat, that is Kadesh, and smote all the

the south-west of Jerusalem, which received from them the name of "the valley of Rephaim" (Josh. xv. 8; xvii. 15, etc.). In their eastern habitations, they were extirpated at an early period, and their last remains were destroyed by Moses (Deut. iii. 11; Josh. xii. 6; xiii. 12); but in the west they continued long to terrify the Hebrews, and in the time of David even it was necessary to oppose their insulting arrogance (2 Sam. xxi. 18, 20, 22). The Rephaim, like some of the other extraordinary tribes which we shall presently mention, seem to have formed a part of the primeval or original population of the land; but they were gradually diminished, repressed and extirpated by the immigrating Canaanites. The question to which branch of the Noachic family those nations belonged cannot be answered from the Pentateuch; they are not embodied in the universal list; and we are here, in fact, taken by surprise by their introduction. These facts lead to the important conclusion, that the genealogy of nations is the result of a grand *idea* of the Hebrew writer; that he intended to enjoin the unity of the human race; that although many other tribes existed at his time, or had flourished before, he deemed it unimportant to insert them, contented to have laid down the general principle, and preferring to leave to man its application to individual cases; this was a part of the plan of education which his book was intended to serve. However, if we remember the enmity which prevailed between the Rephaim and the other giant tribes on the one hand, and both the Canaanites and the Hebrews on the other, we are induced to think, that they were regarded neither as Hamites nor Shemites, but as Japhethites, who, as we have noticed, comprised especially the inhabitants of the coast and islands; the original abodes of the Rephaim seem, indeed, to

have been on the Mediterranean coast of Canaan, where their last remnants still lingered in the time of David.—The principal town of the Rephaim at the time of the eastern invasion was *Ashteroth Karnaim* (עֲשֶׁתְרוֹת כַּרְנַיִם), that is, the town dedicated to the *horned Ashtoreth*, (the Moon and Venus), and was hence called "the house of Ashtarte" (בֵּעֲשֶׁתְתָרָה, Josh. xxi. 27, Bosra). It was situated in the district of Bashan, about six Roman miles from Edrei; after it had been conquered by the Hebrews, it was assigned to the tribe of Manasseh, and was later selected as one of the Levitical towns (Deut. i. 4; ix. 10; 1 Chron. vi. 56). It is still mentioned as a strongly fortified town in the book of Maccabees, under the names of Karnain and Karnion, containing a celebrated temple of the goddess (1 Macc. v. 43; 2 Macc. xii. 26; *Joseph.*, *Antiq.*, XII. viii. 4). Modern travellers identified it either with the village Mezarib (*Burckhardt*), or El-Kurnein, or Ophein in Ledsha (*Robinson*), of which, at least, the two latter scarcely correspond to the ancient locality. But on the north and east side of the great castle in Mezarib, are a number of springs, which unite their floods in a considerable lake; this forms in the middle an island, at the extremity of which, besides a dilapidated chapel, are many ruins of ancient buildings. It is not improbable that this is the site of the famous temple of the goddess Ashtoreth. The castle itself was built by Sultan Selim, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, to serve as the first great station of the pilgrims from Damascus to Mecca, and to receive the stores provided for the pious travellers.

2. The next tribe which succumbed to the arms of the Asiatic invaders is that of the *Zuzim* (זֻזִּים). They belonged to the same class of the population as the

territory of the Amalekites, and even the Amorites who dwelt in Hazezon-tamar.—8. And there went out the king of Sodom, and the king of Gomorrah, and the king

Rephaim; were a wild and ferocious people, occupying the districts between the rivers Arnon and Jabbok; but were later extirpated by the Ammonites, in whose language they were called *Zamzumim* (Deut. ii. 20, 21). Their principal town seems to have been *Ham*, about the position of which it is impossible to venture a conjecture.

3. *The Emim* (עֲמִי), a mighty and a numerous giant race whose very name signifies terror, inhabited partly the territory south of the Arnon; but they were already before Moses' time either expelled from there, or annihilated by the Moabites. But their chief abodes were in the valley of *Kiriathaim*, which was also called the valley of *Shaveh* (ver. 17). It was situated in the district later allotted to the tribe of Reuben; but was, before the exile, again in the hands of the Moabites (Deut. ii. 9; Num. xxxii. 37; Josh. xiii. 19; Jer. xlviii. 1, 23; Ezek. xxv. 9). In the time of Jerome it was a village bearing the name of *Kariatha*, and almost exclusively inhabited by a Christian population, about ten Roman miles west of Medeba, which latter statement seems to exclude the identity of the ancient *Kiriathaim* with the present ruins of *El Tein*, about two miles from Medeba.

4. *The Horites* (הֹרִי) are "the inhabitants of caverns" (חֹלִי), who spread especially in the mountains of Seir or Edom. It is generally known that caverns were among the earliest human habitations, which nature herself seemed to have provided; that in later periods, also, they were applied for very various purposes; for the quarters and fortresses of armies, and the lurking-places of robbers and outlaws; for stables and tents of the nomad and the reaper; for the dwellings of the poor and houseless; for graves and temples; for stations of the traveller and the pilgrim; and often for the cells of the hermit and the recluse. Some caverns, enlarged and rendered more convenient

by art, were divided into apartments; and some were capable of containing many hundred, and sometimes many thousand individuals. The *Troglodytes*, in Africa, were not the only nation which lived exclusively in caverns. Some mountainous tracts, if they did not compel, urgently invited, the neighbouring tribes to select them for their habitations; and if some parts of Mount Carmel, or of the highlands of Galilee, Trachonitis, and Batanea were adapted, the large and dry grottoes of Idumæa seemed created, for human occupation. The mountain of Hor, on which Aaron died, derived its name from its numerous natural cavities; and the native tribes inhabiting them were the *Horites* (see on xxv. 12—18). They enjoyed long the possession of these districts, and formed many independent polities, perhaps united by a federal government, till they were gradually restricted or repressed by the *Edomites* (Gen. xxxvi. 20—30; Deut. ii. 12, 22; Job xxx. 6; *Jerome*, on Obad. 4; *Winer*, *Woerterb.*, i. 508). If, therefore, the *Horites* are called "the sons of Seir," they owe this name no less to their descent than to their habitations in the Mount Seir; and even the *Edomites*, when they took possession of their territories, and perhaps intermarried with their families, were designated with the same appellation (2 Chron. xxv. 11, 14); and *Seir* and *Edom* are frequently synonymous (Num. xxiv. 18; see on xxv. 21—26). The mountain of Seir begins in the south of Palestine, not far from the extremity of the Dead Sea and the land of the Moabites; runs in a rugged, steep, and woody chain, dissected, however, by many brooks and fertile valleys, almost exactly southward, extends beyond the valley *El-Ahsa* and the *Wady el Ghuwr* down to the head of the *Elanitic gulf*, and comprises, therefore, the present mountains of *Dshebal* and *El-Shera*. The high-land itself spreads,

of Admah, and the king of Zeboiim, and the king of Bela, that is Zoar; and they joined battle with them in the vale of Siddim; 9. With Chedorlaomer the king of Elam,

moreover, westward, to the south-eastern frontier of Palestine, and to the borders of the territory of the Amorites and of the tribe of Judah, so that, according to the Greek division, it would form a part of Arabia Petrea (comp. Deut. i. 2; ii. 8; Josh. xi. 17, 18; xv. 1; 1 Kings ix. 26). It is, by the prophets, described as so fertile as to lead to effeminacy and wantonness; the inhabitants have their secure abodes in the clefts of the rocks as in natural fortresses, "and have made their nest high like the eagle" (Jer. xlix. 16; Obad. 3, 4).

5. Between the land of Edom, just described, and Egypt, lies *the desert of Paran* (1 Kings xi. 18). It begins at no great distance south of Beer-sheba (Gen. xxi. 14, 21), and extends, to the south and south-west, to the desert of Shur (see on Exod., p. 280), from which it is a three days' journey to Mount Sinai (Num. x. 12, 33); stretches eastward along the mountain El-Tyh (see on Exod., p. 62), till it reaches the territory of the Edomites; and is, in the north, bounded by the districts of Canaan, whence it easily afforded David and his followers a place of refuge from the persecutions of Saul (1 Sam. xxv. 1). The waste and dreary tract of Paran is intersected by the "river of Egypt," or the Wady el Arish, which flows into the Mediterranean Sea near Rhinocolura. Where it nearly reaches northward to the borders of the wilderness of Judah, was a spot which, like Moreh and Mamre, was described by an oak-tree, no doubt well known to those who travelled in the barren and cheerless sands of Paran; and the "oak of Paran" marks in our narrative the most south-western point to which the allied invaders proceeded.

6. From here they returned; and if they marched northward, they arrived in the desert of Zin, which formed a part of the great wilderness of Paran. Here lay, on

the frontier of the Idumean land, the old province and town of *Kadesh* or *Kadesh-barnea* (Num. xiii. 26; xx. 16). It was not distant from the town Gerar, extended from here to the south-eastern districts of Canaan, and formed its southern boundary (Gen. xx. 1; Num. xxxiv. 4; Josh. xv. 3). Therefore Moses could from here send the scouts for the exploration of the promised land, and treat with the king of Edom regarding the transit of the Hebrew army (Num. xx. 4; Judg. xi. 17). The town contained a celebrated well, which, from an unknown but, no doubt, important cause, was called "Well of Judgment" (בְּרֵךְ הַדִּין), which more ancient name later gave way to that of Kadesh (קֶדֶשׁ), likewise pointing to the *holy* character of the place. The fountain seems still to exist, under the name of Kudés, in the east of the most elevated part of Dahebel Halal; from there caravan roads lead both to Petra and to Mount Sinai, and to the interior of Palestine; and these circumstances, as well as its position, recommend the conjecture of the identity of this site with that of ancient Kadesh (comp. *Williams*, Holy City, p. 488).

7. From Kadesh, the kings continued their destructive career into the *land of the Amalekites*, the principal stock of which lived between Palestine, Idumea, and Mount Sinai (see Commentary on Exodus, pp. 309, 310).

8. Emboldened by these successes, the invaders attacked also the *Amorites*, the most powerful tribe of Canaan (see p. 272). They then advanced, with their characteristic impetuosity, to the very shores of the Dead Sea, to the town *Engedi*, at that time called *Hazezon-tamar* (חֲצִצְוֹן תְּמָר), one of the chief cities of the Amorites. As its ancient name indicates, it was situated in a region rich in palm-trees; and from various Biblical allusions we gather, that it fell within the circumference of the Desert of Judah; that it lay on the western

and with Tidal king of nations, and Amraphel, king of Shinar, and Arioch king of Ellasar; four kings with five. 10. And the vale of Siddim *was full of bitumen pits*; and

shore of the Dead Sea; that its vicinity was distinguished by steep rocks and rugged hills, and cave-like ravines and recesses; but also by beautiful balm-, wine-, and date-plantations. According to Josephus, its distance from Jerusalem was 300 stadia. With this statement agree the ruins which have but recently been found at and near Ain Dehiddi, a beautiful fountain lying in a mountainous region, nearly in the centre of the western side of the Dead Sea, almost in the same latitude as Hebron, and forming a small brook flowing into that sea. A vegetation of all the luxuriance of the south surrounds it; but the palm-plantations have vanished from its neighbourhood, and the fields and gardens with which the terraces were once adorned, await the regenerating power of future industry (comp. Josh. xv. 62; 1 Sam. xxiv. 1, 2; Ezek. xlvii. 10; Cant. i. 14; Joseph., Antiq., IX. i. 2; Robinson, Bibl. Res., ii. 209—216).

The princes of the five towns (Pentapolis) led forth their armies, to oppose the enemy, into the *valley of Siddim* (עֵמֶק הַשִּׁדִּימִים), the position of which, at no great distance from Engedi, cannot be doubtful, especially if we consider the further description of our text, that it was "full of asphalt-pits" (ver. 10), which lead us to the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea, a locality so celebrated for its mineral that the Lake itself is called the Asphalt Sea, which, it was believed, later covered the site of the valley (ver. 3), in consequence of a grand revolution of nature, which forms a stirring episode in the narrative of Genesis (see on xix. 4—25).—The defeat of the five kings of the district of the Jordan was decisive; those who did not perish in the battle, fled eastward into the mountains which intersect the territory of the Moabites (xix. 30); for they could not safely escape westward to the mountains of Judah, from which direction the enemies victoriously advanced.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS. — Although the construction וַיְהִי בִּימֵי נֹכַח (ver. 1), followed by the simple preterite עָלָה (ver. 2), instead of וַיַּעֲלֶה, is unusual, the sense cannot be doubtful, as the ninth verse distinctly states that four kings fought against five; we can, therefore, not translate, with the Septuagint and others: "It happened in the days of Amraphel that Arioch, etc."; nor is it necessary or permitted to recur to the emendation of Ewald, וַיְהִי בִּימֵי אֲמָרְפֶּל; the interpretation adopted by the English version also is alone appropriate. Comp. Esth. i. 1, 3. — אֲרִי־לִיֹן is explained, "the lion-like," or "lion-hearted" (from אֲרִי, and the formative syllable אֵלֶּם; Gesenius, Thes., p. 148); but the whole principle on which this derivation rests, of *ecce hybride*, composed, in this instance, of a Hebrew and a Persian part, is doubtful. — Although the etymology of כִּדְלֵעֶסֶר apparently leads to a Shemitic root: "bundle of sheaves" (*manipulus mergetis*), which may denote a conqueror and a ruler who unites many tribes and nations into one empire; his sovereignty over Elymais points rather to a Persian name. — בִּרְשָׁע and בִּרְשָׁעִים seem to be compound nouns, instead of בֵּית רָע, a contraction which we have noticed in the word בָּבֶל (p. 321). Similar to those expressions is בֵּית טֹרְעִים (in Isai. xxxi. 2); but as בֵּית in such combinations has a collective meaning, the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah represent the whole wicked population. Others divide those names into בֵּן רָע and בֵּן רֶשַׁע, but the analogies of בֶּדֶקֶר (in 2 Ki. ix. 25), and בֶּדֶן (in 1 Sam. xii. 11) are uncertain. If, indeed, these names are those by which the *Hebrews* designated the impious kings of the region of the Dead Sea, we may presume that שִׁמְכַר and שִׁמְכֹר have a similar appellative meaning; but the etymology suggests but very general or vague significations. — עֵמֶק הַקִּשְׁיִים is a valley filled with rocks

the king of Sodom and *that of* Gomorrah fled, and fell there; and the rest fled to the mountain. 11. And they took all the property of Sodom and Gomorrah, and all their

and pits (ver. 10), causing *obstructions* and *obstacles* (comp. *سد* and *سدنة*; Aquil., *ἐν κοιλάδι τῶν περιπεδιῶν*; Vulg., *in vallem sylvestrem*; Gesenius, *planities lecta alocis lapidosis*). It seems less appropriate to connect שָׂדִים with שָׂדֶד, "to harrow" (Isai. xxviii. 24), and to render "plain," or "district"; so that שָׂדִים would almost be like the plural of שָׂדֶה.

—The ordinal number שְׁלֹשׁ עָשָׂר שָׁנָה (ver. 4), is to be translated: "and in the thirteenth year"; comp. *Ewald*, Gram., § 520.—The רָפָאִים are regarded as the descendants of Rapha (הָרָפָא); hence, they are also called הָרָפָא יְלִידֵי, or יְלִידֵי הָרָפָא (1 Chron. xx. 4; 2 Sam. xxi. 16), although the latter expressions are likewise used for the *sons* of Rapha, a giant of Gath in David's time (2 Sam. xxi. 20; 1 Chron. xx. 8).—The word רָפָאִים is to be traced to the root רָפַע, "to be high, or tall."—וְזָנִים are, perhaps, the *restless*, *aggressive* or *ferocious* tribes, from זָנַן "to move"; and if the זָנִים are identical with them (Deut. ii. 20), they would be the *wild*, *threatening* nation, from זָנַם "to murmur or to fret." The Septuagint and other ancient versions render וְזָנִים simply *ἔθνη ισχυρά*, and read *בָּרָהִם* (instead of *בָּרָהִם*): "and the powerful nations among them," that is, the Rephaim. But it is evident, that our text requires proper names, both of a people, and of a place.—The term הָר is not only mountain, but *high-land* (Obad. 8, 9), and the words שְׁעֵיר בְּהֵרִים comprise, therefore, the whole mountainous region known under the name of Seir or Edom (see *supra*).—The mountain received the name שְׁעֵיר most likely from the rugged, "hair-like" appearance, and from the forests which cover its sides and peaks; and with this signification alone coincides עֵשֶׂן "the hairy one," whose descendants later inhabited the land of Seir (comp., in Arab.,

شعاري "forests"; and the Latin *regio pilosa*, or *silvis horrida*; xxv. 25; *Joseph.*, *Antiq.*, I. xx. 3).—It is evident from our remarks on Paran (p. 353), that it is not the valley of Feiran, in the north of Mount Serbal, which is scarcely more than one day's journey from Sinai, and is not adapted to most of the localities required by the Biblical allusions. Besides, the town which lay in that valley belonged to the Amalekites, and would, therefore, be inappropriate in our passage (see ver. 7; comp. *Ptol.*, v. 17; *Joseph.*, *Bell. Jud.*, IV. ix. 4).—הַחֲבֵרָה is here "the wilderness of Judah" (*Judg.* i. 16); certainly not the desert near Elath, where the straits of Akabah concluded the desert of Paran in the south-east. How should the kings "returning," come from there to Kadesh? Besides, it would then almost have been superfluous to mention the desert of Paran, as the mountain of Seir immediately joins Elath.—This is not the place to examine, whether the fountain En-mishpat is or is not identical with the "water of Meribah," at Kadesh (*Num.* xx. 1—13).—According to xxxvi. 12, Amalek is only the grand-son of Esau; "the country of the Amalekites," which the victorious kings traversed, signifies, therefore, the land which that nation later inhabited.—The position of Engedi, as described by Josephus, about the middle of the western coast of the Dead Sea, is so appropriate to all allusions in which that town occurs, that the notice of Jerome, to whom it was still known as a very large place, cannot well be understood in a different sense ("Engallim in principio est maris mortui, ubi Jordanus ingreditur, Engeddi vero, ubi finitur et consumitur"); but it easily admits of such acceptance, if we translate the latter part: "but Engedi lies where it (*the Jordan*) ceases, and is absorbed (*by the Dead Sea*)," its stream thus becoming indiscernible in



victuals, and departed.—12. And they took Lot, the son of Abram's brother, and his property, and they departed: for he was dwelling in Sodom. 13. And there came one of those that had escaped, and told Abram the Hebrew; for he was residing at the oak-grove of Mamre the Amorite, brother of

the water of the Lake.—The repetition of the same substantive בארות בארות denotes a great abundance, as in Joel iv. 14: הכנים הכנים "vast multitudes"; etc.

12—16. Among the captives of war whom the conquerors had torn from their homes was Lot, the son of Abraham's brother; and a part of the spoil which their rapacity had seized was Lot's wealth. The narrative, which seemed to have strayed beyond its orbit, here returns towards its centre; it becomes at once clear why the din and tumult of arms had been carried into the peace and calmness of reflection; why the prospect of a brilliant future had been disturbed by a stormy and violent present. However, the sanguinary drama of the war was not concluded; the most notable feat remained to be achieved; and Abraham himself was destined to perform it. When a fugitive reported to him his relative's misfortune, the serene patriarch, to whose harmonious mind even the contentions of the shepherds had been intolerable, was at once converted into a military hero; the generous glow of his heart was kindled at the thought of his kinsman's degrading misery, and heedless of the overwhelming multitude of the proud enemies, he headed the 318 men of his household, and marched out in pursuit of the pagan hosts. At the northern borders of the land, in Dan, he overtook them: he conquered alike by prudence and by valour, and drove before him the scattered armies, over a long tract up to Hobah, in the north of Damascus, far beyond the boundaries of Canaan—a bright example for his descendants, that the peaceful duties of faith should not enervate courage and manly strength; a forcible lesson, that true power is not in the multitude of horses and chariots, but in the invisible assistance of God; and that the "hosts of the Lord," the warriors of His faith, must

be ready to establish and to extend His empire, if occasion requires, by the sword and the spear. And to Abraham alone should belong the glory of defeating and pursuing the powerful princes, who, formidable in themselves, seemed invincible by the long chain of victories they had just completed. The interest of the patriarch in the land of Canaan had, since his return from Egypt, become considerably stronger; till then the holy places alone, which he had dedicated to the pure worship, had been dear to him; but we learn now that human ties also bound him to the inhabitants; he had contracted friendships and formed alliances; he was no more an entire stranger in a strange land; he was soon to be its greatest benefactor. Mamre, the Amorite, and his two brothers, Eshcol and Aner, were joined with him in confederacy; they also were rich proprietors, and possessed no doubt many men capable of bearing arms; Abraham did not shun the social or military connection with the heathens; for him none of the reasons existed which later induced zealous prophets to denounce political alliances with the heathens with rigour and abhorrence; his firm belief, in spite of such connections, was above all danger or temptation; and far from detracting thereby from the glory of the God of the Hebrews as the only Rescuer, he strengthened the dawning faith in the Creator of heaven and earth (ver. 19). By associating Mamre and his two brothers to the expedition, he neither resigned nor lost the position as leader; the alliance did not reduce him into a relation of inferiority or dependence; and we hear of the participation of his confederates in the prizes, rather than in the labours of the war (vers. 15, 24). Such being the train of ideas which the author intended to embody, it would be perverse to argue the

Eshcol and brother of Aner; and these *were* confederate with Abram. 14. And when Abram heard that his kinsman was taken captive, he led forth his tried *servants*, born in his own house, three hundred and eighteen, and pursued *them* till Dan. 15. And he divided himself against them

question of the possibility of a few hundred servants destroying the well-disciplined armies of four powerful Asiatic kings. Israel was to learn, "There is no king saved by the multitude of a host; the horses are vain for safety; but the eye of the Lord is upon those who hope in His mercy" (Ps. xxxiii. 16—18). This great lesson of faith was to be enjoined by the first and only military encounter of the patriarch, who was their example and their loftiest model; it was done in a form less astonishing to those who remember that eastern nomads not unfrequently, with surprising quickness, transform themselves into military bodies, and seizing the arms with which they usually are provided for such emergencies, courageously march out either for aggression or defence.

Abraham employed almost the whole of the simple system of tactics constituting the art of war of the Hebrews to a late period. The army was generally divided into three parts, to attack the enemy simultaneously in the centre and on the two wings; the assault was sudden, and often from an ambush; and the night was preferred for these stratagems (comp. Judg. vii. 16—25; Josh. viii. 2, 12; 2 Sam. v. 23, etc.). The Hebrew army consisted for a long time only of infantry; it was not before Solomon's time that a powerful cavalry was added; and it is natural that Abraham also should here be represented as undertaking his expedition with foot-soldiers only.—He followed the enemy in a north-eastern direction beyond Damascus to Hobah, which was, in Eusebius' time, a little village, inhabited chiefly by Christians belonging to the sect of the Ebionites. The identifications of this place by modern travellers are uncertain (comp. Stanley, Sin. and Pal., p. 404).

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—Those who escaped from the general massacre or

from the flight are *הַפְּלִיטִים*; for the definite article has the power of enlarging the individual into the species, as, for instance, *הַכְּנַעֲנִי*, "the Canaanite," etc. (comp. Deut. xxx. 4, *נִדְחָךְ*; Ezek. xxiv. 26, etc.). Sometimes *פְּלִיט* is, for the sake of emphasis, coupled with its synonym *שְׂרִיר*, Josh. viii. 22; Lament. ii. 22.—The phrase *וַיִּרַק אֶת חֲנִיכָיו יְלִידֵי בֵיתוֹ* (ver. 14) is one of those characteristic terms which bespeak the high antiquity of this chapter, and which prove that though it is evidently added by the Jehovist, it is a more ancient historical document, such as are now generally acknowledged to have been embodied in the Pentateuch. But we may here at once remark that the materials were not hastily or abruptly inserted; they were judiciously brought into organic connection with the whole narrative, and skilfully made to illustrate its principal ideas. We have in the preceding notes partly pointed out the intimate relation in which this episode stands to the history of Abraham and of Israel; and we shall have occasion to show that connection still more fully. Nor does this chapter, considered in its details, bear the character of a fragment. Lot is in Sodom, and Abraham in Hebron, just as the preceding chapter had stated; and no notice is at variance with the general tenour. We see everywhere the same mind active, uniformly intent upon his aim, here adding the later name of a locality to its older appellation, and there explaining an obscure archaism with a more recent and intelligible expression. Thus, he clearly paraphrases the difficult term *חֲנִיכָיו* by *יְלִידֵי בֵיתוֹ*, "those slaves who were born in his house"; for *חֲנִיךְ* is one who is initiated, or familiar with the domestic wants and duties, and therefore a tried and faithful servant (*Sa'ad.* *ساعي*) and

by night, he and his servants, and defeated them, and pursued them to Hobah, which is on the left hand of Damascus. 16. And he brought back all the property, and brought also back his kinsman Lot and his property, and the women also, and the people.—17. And the king

יְלִידֵי בֵּית, are likewise that class of servants who are born and grown up in the master's house, who are therefore perfectly initiated into its habits and organisation; they were esteemed as far more reliable and faithful than the slaves bought by money (מִכְנָת כֶּסֶף), or taken as prisoners; they had higher rights and greater duties, and were often treated with filial care (see notes on Exod. xxi. 1—11). It seems, therefore, unnecessary to take חֲנִיכִים as "initiated or experienced in warfare"; for it is the intention of our text to show that Abraham conquered by faith rather than by superiority of arms.—פָּרַךְ in Hiphil is to lead forth, originally to pour out, then used of unsheathing a sword (Exod. xv.

9; *Saad.* حَرَجَ). This latter signification metaphorically taken, is here peculiarly forcible, considering that the slaves are led forth as soldiers.—The enemies were pursued to *Dan*. The original name of that town which formed the extreme northern border of Palestine, as Beersheba was its most southern city (Deut. xxxiv. 1), was Laish, and it received the name of Dan only in the time of the Judges, when men of the tribe of Dan subdued and occupied it (Judges xviii. 28, 29). Unless, therefore, we suppose a most glaring anachronism, we are obliged to understand here that other northern town Dan, which was more clearly distinguished by the name of Dan-Jaan (2 Sam. xxiv. 6), and which, lying between Gilead and Sidon, is perfectly appropriate to our passage. It has been justly observed that it is a peculiar characteristic of our chapter to explain ancient names; thus we have the valley of Siddim, which is the Salt Sea (ver. 3); En-mishpat, which is Kadeah (ver. 7); the valley of Shaveh, which is the valley of the king (ver. 17). If, therefore, the northern boundary town

were here intended, the text would probably have been "Laish, which is Dan;" and although Hazazon-tamar (ver. 7) is mentioned without Engedi, that latter was the younger name which it was, therefore, considered unnecessary to add.—"On the left hand of Damascus" is in the *north* of this town; see p. 25.

17—24. The Sodomites and the other inhabitants of the district of the Jordan are the types of all the Canaanites; the fate of the former was to teach Abraham the destiny of the latter. The destruction of the Sodomites was unavoidable on account of their sins; the mighty kings of eastern Asia approached with their armies to enslave them; they easily succeeded; but Abraham restored them to independence. Thus they owed their existence to the Hebrew patriarch, although he had an interest in the weakness of the tribes which occupied a part of the promised land. But when they continued their crimes, the God of the Hebrew patriarch took upon Himself the dispensation of the punishment. But even then Abraham interceded for their preservation; he implored clemency with an ardour bordering on importunity (xviii. 23—33); but their impiety had surpassed even the limits of mercy; and the influence of Lot, a branch of Abraham's family, had exercised no effect whatever upon their morality. God destroyed the Sodomites and their land; Abraham, who disdained the idea of being enriched by the people of Sodom, gained no territorial or material advantage by their annihilation; not only their domiciles but their treasures were swept away. Abraham's victory over the powerful kings foreshadowed the triumphs of his descendants over the Canaanites; and the extirpation of the Sodomites was an earnest of the promise that the Canaanites also would feel the rod of destruction

of Sodom went out to meet him after his return from defeating Chedorlaomer, and the kings who *were* with him, at the valley of Shaveh, that is the valley of the king. 18. And Melchizedek, king of Salem, brought out bread and wine: and he *was* a priest of the most high God.

when their iniquity would have reached the full measure.

When Abraham returned from the north, laden with the booty of four kings, the prince of Sodom met him in the valley of Shaveh; and to show the high importance of this victory, it was accompanied by a solemnity which produces a greater impression by the mysterious character both of the chief officiating individual, and of the act itself. Everything is here significant, everything typical; and it is obvious that the dim background is designed to veil a grand religious and political future. The king of Salem, Melchizedek, also proceeded to meet Abraham; and he was "a priest to the most high God." How did the heathen king arrive at the knowledge, and how did he persevere in the worship of the most high God? Abraham had not long since been appointed as the man through whose seed all the nations should be blessed, and through whom alone the doctrines of the pure faith should be spread and acknowledged. We appear, then, suddenly to find another stem besides that of Abraham, destined to gather the nations under the shadow of its branches. But we may suppose that Abraham's exemplary conduct, the almost ideal purity of his life, and the magnanimity of his principles, secured to him, though a stranger, the sympathy of many Canaanites; and as he obtained the friendship and alliance of Mamre and his brothers, so his example and influence gained the mind of the righteous Melchizedek to the true belief. However, though Melchizedek acknowledged the same God as Abraham, and called Him also the "Creator of heaven and earth"; he did not comprehend Him in His profoundest attributes; he knew Him only as the Almighty, as the Creator and Ruler of the Universe; whilst Abraham worshipped

Him as *Jehovah*, which sublime name he added before the designation employed by Melchizedek (compare ver. 19 and 22). Thus the religious enlightenment of the king of Salem was but a ray of the sun of Abraham's faith; and, scarcely sufficient as it was in itself entirely to dispel the darkness, it could not be intended to spread a light to distant regions.—This is another instance of the extreme carefulness of the Scriptures in the application of the names of the Deity; the serpent was not allowed to profane the holy name (iii. 1—5); Japheth, though blessed, stood not under the direct protection of Jehovah (ix. 27); and Melchizedek, though a believer in God, had not entirely understood the God of the Hebrews.

He united in his person the dignities of king and priest; a combination of offices, which, though usual in primæval communities, was later divided into two co-ordinate, and often subordinate functions; and yet was it the ideal of a theocracy, that the worldly and spiritual power should be united in the same person; therefore it was promised, both in the Old and New Testament, that the great king, in whom all the glorious hopes were to be realized, should be a priest after the order of Melchizedek (Ps. cx. 4; Heb. v. 6; vi. 20; vii.); and hence a dignitary who united these venerable capacities, came forth to bless Abraham at the momentous period, when he had just saved the land of Canaan, and had thus, in a strictly political and worldly sense also, laid the foundation for his claims to the possession of that land.—He brought out to Abraham bread and wine, not to refresh him or his men; for Abraham had among the booty of the enemies seized their large stores of provisions also (vers. 11, 24), but to perform a symbolical ceremony, in which bread and wine had a

19. And he blessed him, and said, Blessed *be* Abram of the most high God, Creator of heaven and earth: 20. And blessed be the most high God, who hath delivered thy enemies into thy hand. And he gave him tithes of all. 21. And the king of Sodom said to Abram, Give me the

typical meaning. For bread represents the ordinary daily food, the necessities of physical subsistence; whilst the wine points to the cheering delights of life and to the spiritual cravings of religion, in the rites of which it formed an important object. If Melchizedek, therefore, blessed Abraham with the symbols of bread and wine, he implored for him and his descendants both worldly prosperity and religious purity; and since bread is the produce of the earth after its curse, and wine was among the first gifts of blessing after the destruction of the depraved human race; both combined, point to the felicity which man, in spite of the toils of his material existence, may enjoy through the truths of religion. And while the gold and silver acquired by Abraham besides the herds and flocks (xiii. 2), foreshadow the future monarchy, the bread and wine of Melchizedek typify the future theocracy. The benediction proves that Abraham owed his victory to that combination of external prosperity and religious excellence by which his progeny was to conquer and to shine. Thus alone the bread and the wine stand in an internal connection with the blessing, for the symbolical illustration of which those products were offered.

Abraham, who had been blessed by God, and who had been emphatically promised to be himself the blessing of all generations, gratefully received the benediction of the priest of a heathen nation; he did not harbour in his mind religious pride, despising those who were less favoured than himself with the communion of the Deity. A universal brotherhood had been promised, both in social connections, and religious views; and Abraham, the Hebrew, was the first to exhibit that toleration which is ready to recognize the working of Divine mercy in every pure mind, and

which is the first step towards the gradual gathering of all nations under one great banner of love.—As a consequence of his acknowledgement of Melchizedek's legitimate dignity, he offered to him, as the servant of God, the tenth part of all the wealth which was in his hands; he thereby spontaneously subordinated himself to his spiritual authority, and gave to his descendants the example how to honour and support the priests. That this example, like most of the patriarch's virtues, is faithfully reflected in the Law, is not less certain than the fact, that in the practical life of the later Hebrews, it was either partly neglected, or greatly outstepped (comp. xxviii. 22; Lev. xxvii. 30—33; Num. xxxi. 25—46; 2 Sam. viii. 11, 12; Mal. iii. 7—12; Nehem. xiii. 10).

The place of meeting was near Salem (שֶׁלֶם). As everything is significant in this remarkable event, it is impossible to suppose that the town where Abraham received the prophetic blessing, and where he was to appear in a new and striking light, should be without its anticipatory meaning. It is, therefore, extremely improbable that Salem is the obscure little town, eight miles south of Scythopolis or Bethahan, which, in Jerome's times, was called Salumias (see p. 241; comp. John iii. 23; Judith iv. 4). We can see no reason whatever to understand Salem as any other town but that which the Old Testament elsewhere mentions with the same name, namely Jerusalem; it is called Salem in poetical diction (Ps. lxxvi. 3); and it is an incontroverted fact, that poetry frequently adopts archaisms to enhance artistic effect. It is true, that the ancient name of Jerusalem was Jebus (Judg. xix. 10, etc.), so called from the Jebusites, whose chief town it was; but we may venture the supposition, that Melchizedek and the people over whom he governed,

persons, and take the property to thyself. 22. And Abram said to the king of Sodom, I lift up my hand to the Lord, the most high God, the Creator of heaven and earth, 23. That I will not *take* from a thread even to a shoe-latchet, and that I will not take any thing that is

were not Jebusites; his name and that of the town are of purely Shemitic origin, signifying: "the king of justice," and "peace" (comp. Josh. x. 1); it is, therefore, not unlikely that he immigrated, like Abraham, from the east, but not, like the latter, as a peaceful nomad, but as a conquering hero; that he took possession of Jebus, and changed its name, in accordance with a very usual custom, as, in fact, such double names occur repeatedly in our chapter. This supposition would, at the same time, facilitate the explanation of Melchizedek's purer religious views, which approach those of Abraham himself. The reasons which have been advanced against the identity of Salem and Jerusalem, are extremely feeble; the latter is said to have a position too much southward; but Abraham's route, from Damascus back to Hebron, led him almost necessarily through Jerusalem, from where he could easily, on the ordinary roads, dismiss the captives of war to their homes in the Pentapolis; it is nothing but a capricious assumption, that Salem must be situated more northward; and it is idle to reject the testimony of the Psalmist in favour of a much later conjecture. Now the whole solemn benediction here pronounced upon Abraham assumes a higher importance, if it proceeded from the king and high-priest of that town which was destined to be the residence of the kings of Abraham's seed, and which was intended to be the centre of the worship of Abraham's God. Jerusalem is the locality of another great event, also related in the Book of Genesis (xxii. 14). The temporal and spiritual blessing was thus transferred from the present ruler of the capital to the later descendants of the patriarch; and the promises of God were prophetically repeated by the only earthly king who worshipped Him. But the *realization* of these assur-

ances is symbolized by the name "Peace or Completion" (שָׁלוֹם), and it was effected in the "King of Peace," Solomon (שְׁלֹמֹה), 1 Chron. xxii. 9), who built the Temple, and was pre-eminently distinguished by power and wealth. Thus the combined allusions of this narrative form a picture surprisingly connecting the present with the future, and fully removing the apparent disharmony to which we have adverted at the beginning of the chapter.

When the king of Sodom, in grateful acknowledgment of Abraham's services, offered to him all the treasures which he had taken in the expedition, the patriarch declined them with a vehemence and solemnity which appear almost like indignation and aversion. This must have a moral cause. The desire of proving Abraham's disinterestedness is alone not sufficient to account for it; for thus understood, the emphatic refusal would almost have the character of boasting and self-conscious appreciation of his own virtue, and would deprive it of its peculiar charm and greatness. But although Abraham did not generally refuse presents from heathen monarchs (xii. 16; xx. 14), he detested the thought of accepting the property of the impious men of Sodom; the idea, which pervades all the later Biblical literature, that the wealth of the ungodly is cursed, that it is "sacred," or *sacrosanctus* (קֹדֶשׁ), as the property of Jericho, and all other idolatrous towns of Canaan (Josh. vii. 1; Deut. xx. 20), and that it is devoted to awful destruction: this idea is here expressed in Abraham's horror of profiting by the riches which were so soon doomed to disappear together with their nefarious proprietors; his energetic oath sworn by the holiest name of God shows, that he considered his safety and his faith involved in the proposal; and if this very offer proved the king of Sodom not destitute of proper

thine; and thou shalt not say, I have made Abram rich: 24. Not I; only that which the young men have eaten, and the portion of the men who went with me, Aner, Eshcol, and Mamre, let them take their portion.

sentiments, it accounts for Abraham's hope, that at least ten righteous men would be found in Sodom (xviii. 32). But the refusal of a reward neither excluded a restitution of the outlay incurred for the maintenance of his men during the expedition, nor a protection of the rights of his allies, to whose option it was left whether they wished to exercise the same magnanimous unselfishness, and equally to abstain from the wealth of the wicked.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—The valley of the King, or the valley of Shaveh, in which Absalom erected a monument for himself (2 Sam. xviii. 18), is situated in the north of Jerusalem (see *supra*).—שָׁלֵם is, both by Targum Onkelos, and by Josephus (*Antiq.*, I. x. 2), rendered by Jerusalem, and, in Arabic, it is likewise called شلم. Some writers place our

Salem in the east of the Jordan; but this would not be in the neighbourhood of the valley of Shaveh; and would, like the Salem proposed by Jerome, be without a clear relation to our narrative.—In Virgil (*Æn.* iii. 80), the king Anius is described: *Rex Anius, rex idem hominum Phœbique sacerdos.*

—לֵךְ שָׁמַיִם וְאֶרֶץ "Creator of heaven and earth"; Sept., *ὁς ἐκτίσας τὸν οὐρανὸν κ.τ.λ.*; Vulg. (in ver. 19), *qui creavit cælum et terram*; comp. Deut. xxxii. 6; Prov. viii. 22; the sense of "*Possessor of heaven and earth*," though appropriate in the mouth of Melchizedek, would be feeble in the emphatical oath of Abraham (comp. xxiv. 3).—לֵךְ is a poetical word, synonymous with לָקַח; see Hos. xi. 8; Prov. iv. 9.—"From a thread to a shoe-latchet," is a proverbial phrase, to express a trifling or worthless thing. About the shoes and sandals of the Hebrews, see note on Exod. iii. 5.—לֵךְ אֵלֶיךָ אֱלֹהִים is an abbreviated form of an oath, which is generally introduced with the words: "Thus may the Lord do to me if," etc.; that is, "May the Lord punish or destroy me if," etc. (see Commentary on Exodus, p. 354). To the first אֵלֶיךָ (in ver. 23), the verb אָמַן must, therefore, be supplied from the second part.—וְלֵךְ אֵלֶיךָ (ver. 24) is, "except or without me"; and the sense is, "for myself, I resign every share; let only the men and my allies take their portions." Thus said Joseph (xli. 16): "Not I (בְּלֹעִי), but God will answer the peace of Pharaoh."

## CHAPTER XV.

SUMMARY.—When God appeared to Abraham in a vision, and promised him abundant rewards, the patriarch despondingly replied, that he was childless, and that he acquired property to leave it to a stranger and a servant. God promised him innumerable descendants; and added the assurance, that they would possess the land of Canaan. Abraham believed the former promise, but asked for a sign of the realisation of the latter. God granted it in the most imposing forms of a covenant, renewing and enlarging His pledges, and predicting the fate of his progeny till their occupation of the promised land.

1. After these things, the word of the Lord came to Abram in a vision, saying, Fear not, Abram: I *am* thy

1—2. Abraham had returned from his successful expedition; he had almost gained a valid claim upon the land of

Canaan, which had now no longer to fear an invasion from the eastern tyrants; but when he compared the Divine promises

shield; thy reward *will be* very great. 2. And Abram said, Lord God, what wilt Thou give me, since I go childless, and the proprietor of my house, that *will be* Dammesek Eliezer? 3. And Abram said, Behold, to me Thou hast

with the cheerless solitude of his house, not re-echoing with the mirthful happiness of children, and filled with strangers only and with servants, he might begin to view his hopes as illusions, and the blessings promised through his seed as phantoms; and, since his advancing age deprived him more and more of the hope of progeny, he might not unreasonably fear, that even his worldly wealth would pass into the hands of his slaves. Whilst he was engaged in such desponding reflections, God appeared to him in a vision, and silenced his apprehensions. He reminded him, that it was through His miraculous aid that he had vanquished with a few shepherds the warlike hosts of four mighty kings; that He was his shield (שָׂרָא), and had delivered up (פָּדָה) the enemies into his hands (xiv. 20); and that the same omnipotence could reward his virtue with the fulfilment of the great pledges he had received. Abraham, encouraged by this renewed and spontaneous expression of Divine mercy, did not withhold the cause of his grief and the afflicting sorrow of his heart; he replied, that he passed a joyless life; the beaming smiles of a son did not illumine the gloom and monotony of his days; he toiled for strangers; and strangers would succeed him. As, therefore, the depression of Abraham's mind seemed to grow so intense, that it threatened to destroy his happiness and the calm enjoyment of his possessions, it was necessary not only to repeat the assurances, but to express them in a manner which, by its grandeur and sublimity, might at once efface every doubt, and wing the soul for a loftier flight. When God had appeared to him after the separation from Lot, He promised to him "seed like the dust of the earth" (xiii. 16). But now, He led him out under the starry vault of heaven; He pointed to those bright luminaries which attract the mind like a beautiful mystery;

whose radiance proclaims the infinite power of God, and whose unfading, never-varying purity carries the thought into eternity; and He promised to Abraham a progeny as numerous as these shining orbs. At once were all his apprehensions scattered; despondency yielded to a soaring hope, as endless as it was strong; he forgot all earthly limits, and was entirely filled with celestial infinitude; nothing appeared impossible to that boundless omnipotence which had created those wonderful lights; his heart prostrated itself before that incomprehensible wisdom — AND HE BELIEVED IN GOD. For the first time is that sacred emotion recorded which forms the centre of religion; which confides in things promised but unseen; which conquers every doubt by reliance and resignation; which discovers, through the mists of the present, the sunshine of the future; and which recognizes in the discordant strife of the world the traces of the eternal mind that leads it to an unceasing harmony. Abraham forgot the impossibility which *nature* seemed to interpose between his hopes and their fulfilment; he rose from the real into the ideal; and this abandonment of calculating prudence in favour of confiding faith, was "counted to him as righteousness," as a merit and a claim; he thereby became more perfect, and more deserving of the Divine bounty; and lest his belief should stray to another imagined deity, God repeated now, that it was on His command that he had left the land of the Chaldees; and that it would be by His assistance, that he would possess the land of Canaan.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS. — מִצְּהָה *vision*, is a poetical word for מִרְאָה; and, therefore, used instead of הַלֵּילָה, in xlv. 2, or as in Job xxxiii. 16, instead of הַלֵּילָה, from which passage it is also obvious, that תַּרְדֵּמָה (ver. 12) is simply *sleep*, without the qualification of stupor



given no seed: and, behold, a *servant* born in my house is my heir. 4. And, behold, the word of the Lord came to him, saying, That *man* shall not be thy heir; but he that will come forth of thy own strength shall be thy heir. 5. And He brought him forth outside, and said, Look now toward heaven, and number the stars, if thou be able to

(see p. 116). But this vision of Abraham was no dream (as in xx. 3; xxviii. 12—16; xxxi. 24; Num. xxii. 8, 9); for he went out of his tent, on the command of God, to regard the stars of heaven.—The patriarch replied to the promise of God (ver. 1) with a twofold answer (vers. 2, 3), each beginning with the same words: “And Abraham said”; but this repetition is not analogous with the thrice re-iterated phrase: “And the angel of the Lord said to her” (in xvi. 9—11), which introduces each time a *different* idea, while in our passage both verses express the same thought, and illustrate each other; an explanation the more welcome, as the second verse would alone offer to us almost insuperable difficulties. But considering the obvious relation of the two verses, it is evident: 1. that ערירי is parallel with, “behold, thou hast given to me no seed”; and its sense is, therefore, clearly, *childless* or *barren* (Sept. ἀρκενος; Aq., ἀγονος); and with the aid of the etymology from ערר, equivalent to ערו, *to be bare* or *naked* (comp. Isa. xxxiii. 11), the meaning is more distinctly qualified by the notions of solitude, desolation, and dreariness. Therefore, the same root is used in connection with the desert (for instance, בערער בערבה, Jer. xvii. 6), and a man abandoned by all friendly sympathy (comp. Jer. xlviii. 6), while ערוער are deserted, cheerless ruins (Isai. xvii. 2). We see, therefore, in ערירי the image either of a bare tree, stripped of its branches and its foliage; or of a monotonous wilderness unrelieved by the busy life of villages and towns (comp. Lev. xx. 20, 21; Jer. xxii. 30. — 2. ערירי corresponds with ירשתי in ver. 3; it signifies, therefore, the “*heir* of my house”; and, guided by this general meaning, it is not difficult to fix the sense more accurately. For the

letters כ and פ are frequently interchanged; thus we have כובע and פובע *shield*; רך and רפך *to be tender* (see *Gen.*, Thea., p. 647); and thus, פֶּשֶׁץ is identical with פֶּשֶׁץ, which, according to Job xxviii. 18, signifies *possession* (from פֶּשַׁץ *to take or seize*; Judg. v. 14; Ps. xxviii. 3; comp. פֶּשֶׁץ in Zeph. ii. 9); כֶּסֶם is, therefore, the “*son of possession*,” which is, according to a frequent Hebraism, *possessor*, *proprietor* (comp. בן־חיל *a valiant man*; בן־לעיל, etc.). The rarer form פֶּשֶׁץ is evidently chosen in order to effect a paronymasy with the following פֶּשֶׁץ, a case not unfrequent in Hebrew, which shows a peculiar predilection for alliterations and plays upon words (see p. 62; comp. Isai. xv. 4; xvii. 1, etc.; and *Gen.*, Lehrs., p. 374). The signification of *procurator*, which Kimchi and several ancient versions assign to פֶּשֶׁץ (from פֶּשַׁץ *to run, or to be busy*), would leave the sentence not only weak, but incomplete; while the comparison of פֶּשֶׁץ with the Arabic

مَشْن to comb carefully, so that it would mean a diligent and careful *servant*, is uncertain, since the Arabic word is only applied to external propriety and neatness. Other ancient translations are evidently mere conjectures: the Sept. takes פֶּשֶׁץ for a proper noun; Aquil. identifies it with פֶּשֶׁץ (ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ποριζοντος οἰκίας σου); and Theodot. and others render it quite generally, after xxiv. 2 (ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ σου). — 3. הוא דמשק אליעזר is parallel with בן־ביתי, which, as we have observed on p. 367, is synonymous with יליד ביתי (xiv. 14), the slave born in the master's house, the *verna* or *eicoyevns*; and he is, perhaps, the same whom Abraham later sent to Mesopotamia on an important and confidential errand, and who

number them: and He said to him, So shall thy seed be. 6. And he believed in the Lord; and He accounted it to him for righteousness. 7. And He said to him, I *am* the Lord who brought thee out of Ur of the Chaldees, to give thee this land to inherit it.—8. And he said, Lord God, whereby shall I know that I shall inherit it? 9. And

is called "the eldest servant of his house who ruled over all that he possessed" (xiv. 2). Now, the words **דָּמָשֶׁק אֱלִיעֶזֶר** cannot mean "Eiezer of Damascus," which would require **אֱלִיעֶזֶר דָּמָשֶׁק** or **דָּמָשֶׁק אֱלִיעֶזֶר**; the only instance which has been adduced as an analogy is not decisive, since **כְּנָעִי**, in Hos. xii. 8, signifies not Canaanite, but merchant, as **כְּנָעִיָּה** (her merchants) in Isai. xlii. 8 (comp. Ex. x. xvii. 4). They may, indeed, denote "Damascus the town of Eliezer," from which his family descended, not his own birth-place, since he was a **בְּרִיָּה** or born in Abraham's house: but it would be without meaning to render: "the proprietor of my house will be Damascus the town of Eliezer"; and it would, besides, destroy the parallelism with **בְּרִיָּה** in ver. 3. It, therefore, remains only to explain **דָּמָשֶׁק אֱלִיעֶזֶר** as one proper noun, "Damascus Eliezer," as, indeed, the Septuagint renders (*Δαμασκός Ἐλιεζερ*). Such compound names are by no means unusual in foreigners; for instance, Hadad-ezer (2 Sam. viii. 3); Cushan-Rishathaim (Judg. iii. 11), etc. Thus those words are explained according to the strict rules of Hebrew grammar and usage. We reject, therefore, unhesitatingly the arbitrary conjecture of Hitsig, adopted by Tuch and others, that the words **דָּמָשֶׁק** and **הוּא** are "a later gloss," by which some scribe or copyist is supposed to have interpreted the difficult word **דָּשֶׁק**; it is impossible to see how "Damascus" is an explanation of "property"; this hypothesis, further, moves in a circle, since **דָּשֶׁק** is probably used instead of **דָּשֶׁק** only on account of the similarity with **דָּשֶׁק**; and it rests, above all, on the assumption of a falsification of the text, which is convenient, indeed, but which is the more questionable in this instance, as not one ancient trans-

lation omits those words, and as the alleged gloss has in no way helped to facilitate the sense (comp. Isai. ix. 14, 15).—Abraham was estranged from his family in Chaldea by distance and difference of religious convictions, and from Lot by the intercourse with a wicked people to which the latter had again returned, although he had just experienced the dangers of such blameable connection. Therefore, he did not think of appointing his relatives as his heirs; but he intended to leave his property to his faithful servant who had gained his confidence and affection. The precept of Moses (Num. xxvii. 8—11), that the nearest relative is to succeed the man who dies without leaving sons, applies to the landed property of the family (**נְחֻלָּה**) rather than to the personal possessions; it is a part of the great agrarian scheme of the Mosaic law which intended to secure to every family a proportionate property, and to prevent the accumulation of territories or *latifundia* in the hands of individuals. But as Abraham had no landed property whatever, and as, in fact, none of the later conditions and considerations existed, the contemplated nomination of Eliezer as his heir cannot be surprising.—**וְיָצָא מִבֶּטֶן** "to issue from the bowels" (2 Sam. vii. 12) is synonymous with **וְיָצָא מִבֶּטֶן** (Gen. xxxv. 11), and **וְיָצָא** (Gen. xli. 26).—**צֶדֶקָה** (*dikaio-synē*) is not only *justice*, but *merit* (Deut. vi. 26; Ps. cvi. 31), *right*, and *claim* (2 Sam. xix. 29; 2 Sam. xix. 28; compare Rom. iv. 9—25).

§—§1. But Abraham's faith was too young to be unlimited. He believed in the innumerable seed; but the address of God alluded to a new hope, the possession of the land into which he had immigrated as an unknown stranger. Here his

He said to him, Take for me a heifer three years old, and a she-goat three years old, and a ram three years old, and a turtle-dove, and a young pigeon. 10. And he took for Him all these, and divided them in the midst, and laid

confidence became doubtful; and although he could not but be conscious that a large population would be able to subdue Canaan's tribes, since he had just, with a few men, defeated powerful conquerors, he demanded a *sign* by which he might be the more certain of the attainment of the distant aim. God heard this request without the remotest reproach. He was mindful of the weakness of the human heart; for the covenant of mercy concluded with Noah for eternity was based on the recognition of that frailty.—In order to make the sign more solemn and more impressive, it was given in the form of a grand *covenant* (ver. 18). The whole of this ceremony must appear enigmatical, unless it is understood as a symbolical indication of those future events, concerning which Abraham had desired a pledge of certainty. Here no less than in the blessing of Melchizedek, is every trait significant, and the more so the holier He is from whom the blessing here proceeds; and though we deprecate mysticism and forced distortions of the text, it would be superficiality to regard the extraordinary rites here detailed as unmeaning acts.—Abraham was ordered to take a heifer, a goat, a ram, a turtledove, and a young pigeon (ver. 9). The sacrifice about to be performed, comprised, therefore, *all* the pure animals ordinarily offered according to the Mosaic Law; though not so universal as that of Noah, it was likewise a general sacrifice; it was typical of the offerings later presented in the land now solemnly guaranteed. The sacrifice of Noah was performed for all mankind; that of Abraham only for one nation; the former was one of profound gratitude, the latter was rather the result of hesitating doubt; the former was a voluntary act, the latter was prescribed and arranged by God—distinctions enough to explain why in the one *all* the pure animals were

included; in the latter those only which were used in the religious service of the Hebrews.—The three principal animals the heifer, the goat, and the ram, were ordered to be three years old, a precept given nowhere else, and therefore, by its emphatical repetition, in our passage certainly significant. But here we must urge that the number three in the Old Testament nowhere denotes "the divine nature and everything which stands in any immediate connection with God or has any reference to Him," as a sagacious and learned critic has laboured to prove (*Baehr*, Symbolik i. 141—156); it seems even as if Mosaism had scrupulously avoided to invest it with such a degree of importance. But there are sufficient traces to show that according to Hebrew conceptions, three was regarded as representing unity and completeness; a complete alliance able to withstand all attacks consists of three friends (Eccl. iv. 12); Elijah bends three times over the widow's son, and thus only regards his pious ceremony complete (1 Kings xvii. 21); the complete invocation of the angels consists of a threefold "holy" (Isai. vi. 3); and three visits made annually to Jerusalem, and three prayers offered daily to God, complete the worship of the pious Israelite (Exod. xxiii. 14; Ps. lv. 18; Dan. vi. 11). The animals three years old represent, therefore, their species completely and entirely; they are neither weak by being too young nor too old.—The turtledove and the pigeon were usually only taken as a substitute for the other sacrifices in cases of need (Lev. v. 7; xii. 8); they were, therefore, both together here regarded as *one* part of the sacrifice only; hence they were not, like the other animals, divided, but each of them was considered as *one* half, and was placed opposite the *other*. This remarkable circumstance can have a meaning under one supposition *only*,

the piece of each against its other *half*: but the birds he did not divide. 11. And the birds of prey came down upon the carcases, but Abram scared them away. 12. And when the sun was going down, sleep fell upon Abram;

namely, that though *all* the sacrificial animals were to be used in this ceremony, they should ideally not exceed the number four, a number the signification of which is indeed admirably adapted to this ceremonial covenant. For it denotes *perfection*, but rather the external perfection of form than the internal one of the mind; it has neither the religious holiness of seven nor the Divine totality of ten (see pp. 156, 157); therefore the garments of the priests consisted of four, and those of the High-priest of twice four parts (see on Exod. p. 525); and thus the four portions of animals on each side point to the *perfect* possession of the land of Canaan; but inasmuch as property constitutes only an external happiness, it is represented by the number four, whereas we shall presently notice that where a religious covenant is concluded, and spiritual prosperity is promised, the number seven prevails.—The ritual of the covenant itself is that which was frequently applied among most of the ancient nations, the Greeks and Romans, the Chaldeans and the Macedonians (see *Hom.*, II., iii. 291—301; *Liv.* i. 24; xl. 6). The sacrificial animal was divided into two halves, between which the contracting parties passed, thereby intimating that they would deserve to be so killed if they ventured to violate the agreement (comp. *Herod.* ii. 139; vii. 39). But as, in fact, the act here described was not strictly a covenant, but a sign or promise on the part of God, only given under the form of a covenant, God alone passed through the dissected parts in the shape of clouds, smoke, and fire (ver. 17); Abraham was a passive spectator; and the very beginning of the ceremony points to this feature; for God commanded Abraham: "Take for me (<sup>1</sup>) a heifer," etc. Whenever a real covenant was intended, it was customary among the Hebrews also that

both parties should go between the divided animals (*Jer.* xxxiv. 18, 19), and on one particularly solemn occasion, when a perpetual alliance between God and Israel was ratified, the blood of the sacrifices was partly sprinkled on the altar, which represents God, and partly upon the people (see notes on Exod. xxiv. 4—8). But several other forms of making agreements in use among eastern nations, were excluded either by distinct precepts or by the spirit of the Mosaic law. Among the Medes and Lydians the contracting parties "cut their arms to the outer skin and licked up one another's blood" (*Herod.* i. 74); among the Armenians they joined their right-hands, and tied their thumbs together, compressing them into a knot; they then made the blood flow from their fingers by a puncture and sucked it mutually (*Tacit.*, Ann., xii. 47); among the Arabians a third person made an incision with a sharp stone in the palms of their hands, near the longest finger, after which he smeared seven stones placed between them with the blood (*Herod.* iii. 8); and among the Scythians they mingled wine with their blood, dipped a scimitar, some arrows, a hatchet, and a javelin in the vessel, and then drank the mixture, of which most of the witnesses present partook (*Herod.* iv. 70; *Sall.*, Cat. xxii.; *Lucian*, *Toxar.* xxxvii.; *Flor.* iv. 1; *Val. Max.* ix. 11). Such rites would have been an abomination in the eyes of the Hebrews; since they were not only forbidden to make incisions in the body, because they are a holy people and a nation of priests whose persons must be kept perfect and faultless; but they regarded the drinking of human blood with nameless horror, since even abstinence from the blood of animals was among their fundamental laws (see note on ix. 1—4, and xvii. 10—14, p. 389).

After Abraham had prepared the sacrifice, dividing the animals except the

and, behold, a terror of great darkness fell upon him. 13. And He said to Abram, Know of a surety that thy seed will be a stranger in a land *that is* not theirs—and will serve them, and they will afflict them—four hundred

birds, and placing the parts, as well as the pigeon and turtledove, opposite each other, unclean birds of prey descended upon them eager to satisfy their voracity; but Abraham drove them away, and thus rendered by his care the conclusion of the covenant possible. It will be readily perceived that the vultures wildly endeavouring to frustrate the alliance between God and Israel, symbolise the Egyptians, in whose impure country, contaminated by degrading idolatry, the Hebrews were enslaved and oppressed, almost beyond the hope of ever entering the promised land, and thus enjoying the realisation of the sign here granted. And this thralldom is indeed emphatically predicted; the meaning of the rapacious birds of prey falling upon the pure sacrifices consecrated to God, is immediately explained; the descendants of Abraham would be strangers in another land for several centuries, and pine under the yoke of foreign tyranny. But as Abraham drove away the vultures, so his merit would ultimately avert the destruction of the Israelites. The Egyptians aimed especially at lessening the growing number of the Hebrews; but Abraham had just proved his faith by believing in a numerous progeny although he had no earthly prospects of obtaining it; his faith was counted to him as righteousness; and by this righteousness his descendants were saved: if Abraham was intended as a blessing to remote nations, he was first to be the rescue and the blessing of his own seed.

A day intervened between the request of Abraham and the conclusion of the ceremony. For the vision took place in the evening when the stars were shining; the vultures came before sunset of the next day (ver. 12), and the ratification ensued in the darkness of the night (ver. 17). We can scarcely imagine that this interval is without a meaning; it

seems to typify the time between the promise and its fulfilment; but it would be hazardous, in the utter absence of a clue, to insist upon any conjecture on this subject, however tempting.

Towards the evening when all preparations for the performance of the solemn rite were completed, a profound sleep fell upon Abraham, and when he awoke he was terrified by the dense darkness which surrounded him (ver. 12). In this part of the narrative the first feature only has reference to the history of Israel, whilst the latter is a frequent and characteristic concomitant of solemn and awful Divine manifestations (Ezek. i. 4; viii. 1; Job iv. 14; Dan. x. 7—9). The sleep of Abraham is the other side of the idea foreshadowed by the descending vultures; the Israelites themselves nearly destroyed their own hopes and prospects by their forgetfulness of the covenant; they followed the superstitions of the Egyptians and were thus in danger of forfeiting the rewards stipulated by the ancestral covenant. Whilst the Egyptian servitude ought to have redoubled their vigilance, it perniciously tended to relax it; though the voracious birds had fallen upon the sacrifice, Abraham allowed himself to be overpowered by sleep. Four hundred years were his descendants destined to remain in the strange land; this round number, appropriate in prophetic announcement, is in the later historical account more accurately stated at 430 years (Exod. xii. 40); and this is the period which elapsed from the immigration under Jacob to the Exodus under Moses (see Comm. on Exod. pp. xi.—xvii.). But their thralldom began only with the accession of the “new king,” who did not know Joseph and his services, when the Israelites had already increased to such a degree as to give alarm to the Egyptian king. Although, therefore, their sojourn in the foreign country extended to more

years. 14. But that nation also, which they will serve, I shall judge: and afterwards they will go out with great property. 15. But thou shalt come to thy fathers in peace; thou shalt be buried in a good old age. 16. And

than four centuries their oppression was of a much more limited duration, a fact which is evident from several clear historical indications (see note on Exod. i. 11). The Hebrew text fully bears out this explanation (see *infra*). — But the people which loaded upon itself the crimes of cruelty and inhospitality, would also suffer; they would be visited by the Divine judgments; they would by a series of awful plagues be brought to feel their heartless injustice; and then only they would dismiss the strangers honouring them with wealth and treasures, and forced to acknowledge the omnipotence and greatness of their God.

However, the patriarch himself would be perfectly exempted from those trials; though, indeed, also compelled by famine to take up his temporary abode in another land, he would die happily and peacefully in Canaan, after having enjoyed a long and prosperous life (ver. 15). The death of Abraham is predicted in one of those remarkable phrases which seem to prove that the Hebrews were not unacquainted with the doctrine of immortality. Here the return of the soul to the eternal abodes of the fathers is, with some distinctness, separated from the interment of the body; that both cannot be identical is evident; for whilst Abraham was entombed in Canaan, all his forefathers died and were buried in Mesopotamia; and the re-union of the spirits is, in some passages, expressed still more clearly by the term of being "gathered to the fathers", after the fact of the death itself had been stated, and with a separate allusion to the act of sepulture (Gen. xxv. 8, 9; xlix. 29, 33; Num. xx. 24, 26; xxxi. 2; Luke xx. 37; see p. 164; for other arguments see the lucid exposition in *D. W. Marks*, Sermons, pp. 96—118).

The "fourth generation" after the settlement of Jacob in Egypt was promised to be led back to Palestine. Unless we

suppose these words to contain an obvious discrepancy, the four "generations" must embrace a period of more than four hundred years; and no alternative is left but to understand here that term (רָבִי) as the duration of life, which as a general rule, was allotted to man after the deluge (vi. 3); so that four complete generations would comprise 480 years; and the end of the 430 years of the Israelites' sojourn in Egypt would fall within the fourth (see Comment. on Exod., Introduction, p. xiv.).

A reason is added, why it was necessary to defer the fulfilment of the promise to such a remote future; and that reason is most significant; it contains a religious principle inferior to none in importance and purity in the whole theology of the Old Testament; and it destroys at once the cavilling attacks of those who question the legitimacy of the claims which the Pentateuch assigns to the Hebrews for the extirpation of the Canaanites and the occupation of their land. "The iniquity of the Amorites was not yet complete." Before they had thus merited, yea, rendered inevitable, their destruction, their existence was prolonged; they could still return to the path of righteousness, although God's prescience was certain that their hearts were for ever averted from virtue. The annihilation of the Canaanites was a grand act of Divine government and providence. God allowed them the possession of a blooming land, on which His loving eye watches from the beginning of the year to the end of the year (Deut. xi. 12); He made them prosper in their social and political conditions; they were numerous and wealthy; they had fortified cities and towering houses; they lived in splendour and in plenty: but the Sodomites were an example how little they were able to bear this happiness; if they owed their land to Divine mercy, they necessarily lost it by Divine

in the fourth generation they shall return hither: for the iniquity of the Amorites is not yet complete.—17. And it came to pass, that, when the sun went down,

justice; the punishment of the wicked is as indispensable a part of the moral government of the world as the reward of the pious. Now, it was the plan of God to educate, in the seed of Abraham, a people through which He might spread eternal truth among all nations; and He assigned to them the land which the Canaanites could no longer maintain; because they were like the rotten fruit falling from its tree, and devoid of the germ of life. If we survey, at a glance, the Biblical system with regard to this subject, we are surprised by its grandeur and comprehensiveness. The Canaanites themselves were not the original inhabitants of the land; they settled there after having destroyed most of the earlier tribes, the Rephaim, the Emim, the Anakim, and others; they had, therefore, had a personal example how God punishes wantonness and impiety; but they were not warned by it; they gradually fell into the same vices and crimes; and they were doomed to suffer the same extreme judgment. But whilst the measure of their iniquity was filling, God reared in a foreign land the future occupants of their abodes; the degeneracy of the Canaanites kept pace with the increase and development of the Israelites; however great and awful the former might have been, the God of mercy pretracted and delayed long the day of judgment; and however glorious Abraham's merit was, on account of which his descendants were destined to possess Canaan, the God of justice did not accelerate their deliverance from the oppression in Egypt, which they had deserved by their faithlessness. Far from partiality, God almost inverted His relation with regard to the heathens and to the Hebrews; He showed long-suffering indulgence to the former, and inexorable severity to the latter; and when His chosen people followed, in their turn, the evil ways of the tribes of Canaan, they were, like them, subjugated, exiled, or killed. The Israel-

ites, regenerated by their trials in the desert, were the instruments of chastisement to the Canaanites; as, later, the Assyrians and Babylonians, though unconscious of their office and mission, were used as the rod of destruction against the Israelites (Isai. x. 5—19; comp. Lev. xvi. 24—28; Deut. xxviii. 63, 64). This is the only view in which the occupation of Palestine by the Hebrews can be regarded according to the Biblical allusions. Whatever may be judged of the fact of the occupation itself, the reasons and principles by which the Bible strives to justify it, are spiritual and sublime in the highest degree; they are the emanations of the purest and grandest religious notions; and it is blindness or fanaticism to disavow or heedlessly to misconstrue them. A fuller discussion of this subject is reserved to the passages where it is more immediately introduced; but we cannot dismiss it without a few additional remarks in this place. The conquest of Canaan by the Hebrews was no wild carnage, merely undertaken for the sake of glory, or from sanguinary cruelty; hence, peace was offered to all the cities beyond the limits of Canaan (Deut. xx. 10—18); hence, the Gibeonites were admitted into confederacy, because they pretended to come from another land, and to belong to another people (Josh. ix. 6—15). The entire extirpation of the *Canaanites* was, indeed, commanded (Deut. vii. 2, etc.); but this was an imperative necessity, lest the Israelites should be infected by pernicious example (Exod. xxiii. 23; xxiv. 12; Deut. xx. 18), and lest they should be continually attacked and disturbed by the remaining heathens (Num. xxxiii. 55). However, the Israelites had the same weakness which the present opponents of that measure betray; they did not complete their task; they permitted a great part of the heathens to live among them; thus, their faith was in continual fluctuations, and their political safety in constant

and it was dense darkness, behold, a smoking furnace, and a flame of fire that passed between those pieces. 18. On that day the Lord made a covenant with Abram, saying,

danger (comp. Judg. ii. 1—3). Violence or avarice had no share in the conquest; for, according to the Biblical notions, God Himself gives to every people their land (Deut. xxxii. 8; Acts xvii. 26); the Israelites had no human right to the possession of Canaan; it was the gift and favour of God; if He had deemed that occupation an injustice, He would have given to His chosen people another land, the appropriation of which would not have come into collision with the lawful interests of others. However objectionable the conduct of the Hebrews may have been, the theology of the Pentateuch is pure and stainless.—Thus, we avoid all unnecessary justifications of the alleged “invasion” of the Hebrews; for it is urged, that Canaan had, by Noah’s distribution, fallen to the lot of the Shemites, not of the Hamites (*Epiphanius*); that it belonged, from times immemorial, to Abraham and his children, especially by the purchase of the cave of Machpelah, and of other property (*Michaelis, Ewald*, whereas, in fact, the Canaanites undoubtedly possessed it before the patriarch’s time, xii. 6; xiii. 7, etc.); that the rights of property were, in those early times, not yet strictly defined, and that the Israelites were, therefore, entitled to conquer as much land as they required (! *Faber, Hess*; no doubt, with the inclusion of the carefully cultivated fields, and the well-built cities); we avoid these and all the other artificial attempts, which have been ably refuted by Hengstenberg (*Authent. des Pentat.*, ii. 471—507).

After the sun had set, the chief part of the ceremony took place (ver. 17); God appeared under the attributes which were generally believed to manifest His presence. As He intended to give a pledge of the future, it was necessary that he should pass through the dissected parts; and He sent dense smoke and flaming fire. When the Israelites traversed the dreary wilder-

ness on their way to the land here promised to them, there was likewise a pillar of cloud and a pillar of fire to guide them, and to assure them of the Divine protection. The *sign* given for the later possession of the Holy Land was cheerfully recalled to the minds of the Hebrews, when dangers and troubles seemed to destroy all their hopes.—The promise was now ratified; but, in order to enhance its force, it was repeated with some significant modifications. The extent of the land is here described as far more comprehensive than before. In the preceding assurances, the land of Canaan alone was granted (xii. 7; xiii. 14—17; xv. 7); but now, the boundaries are promised to reach in the south to Egypt, and in the east to Mesopotamia; it was the intention of God, that the land of the Hebrews should comprise all the territories between the Nile and the Euphrates; and that it should be a *perfect* inheritance; and, therefore, for the first time, *ten* nations are enumerated which they would destroy, and three of which had never been mentioned before. “The river of Egypt” (נַחַל מִצְרַיִם) is the Nile, and is to be distinguished from “the brook of Egypt” (נַחַל מִצְרַיִם), or the Wadi el-Arish, which flows into the Mediterranean where the coast begins to bend in a western direction. It is true, the history of Israel teaches that their land never reached to the Nile, although it may, at some period, have extended to the Euphrates; but it must be remembered, that the promise was designed to stimulate and to encourage them; and that it was the ideal aim which they might attain by an undaunted will; whereas, in reality, they suffered heathen tribes to occupy even large portions of Canaan itself (see note on Exod. xxiii. 31; comp. 2 Chron. ix. 26; Num. xxxiv. 1—15; Deut. xi. 24; Zech. ix. 10).

The *Kenites* (כְּנִיזִי) inhabited rocky and mountainous tracts in the south and



To thy seed have I given this land, from the river of Egypt to the great river, the river Euphrates, 19. The Kenites, and the Kenizzites, and the Kadmonites, 20. And

south-west of Palestine, near the territory of the Amalekites (Num. xxiv. 21); they may have spread, in a western direction, to the land of Egypt; so that, by their expulsion, the frontiers of the promised land would have nearly touched the valley of the Nile. They showed sympathy and friendship to the Hebrews at the time of the exodus; and, hence, Saul was anxious not to harm them when he marched against the Amalekites (1 Sam. xv. 6). It is to these feelings of gratitude that we must ascribe the fact, that even David, far from attempting their destruction, entertained friendly relations with them (1 Sam. xxx. 29; comp. xxvii. 11), especially as Jethro or Hobab, the father-in-law of Moses, though priest of Midian, belonged to the tribe of the Kenites (Judg. i. 16). A part of Jethro's descendants had emigrated from the south to northern Palestine, into the province of Naphtali, and here preserved the old amicable intercourse with the Hebrews (Judg. iv. 11, 17; v. 24). It is, therefore, necessary to suppose, that some branches of the Kenites shared the hostile sentiments of the Amalekites, among whom they lived; and that they were either killed, or expelled from the southern frontiers; whilst the rest, like Jethro himself, acknowledged the greatness and omnipotence of God, and could, thus, not become so dangerous to the Hebrews by their religious notions.

*The Kenizzites* (כְּנִזִּי) are only mentioned in this passage; and as nothing is stated but the name, it is impossible to decide about their abodes. The name Kenas occurs, indeed, also as the father of Caleb and a chief of the Edomites; but it has, probably, no connection with the tribe of the Kenizzites (Josh. xv. 17; Gen. xxxvi. 16, 42); and the inferences drawn from that coincidence are extremely precarious (see, for instance, Ewald, Israel. Gesch., i. 298).

*The Kadmonites* (קַדְמוֹנִי) are, as their

name indicates, *eastern* tribes; and they comprise, perhaps, all the nations to the Euphrates; so that, in reality, the ten tribes here enumerated, fill up the territories between the Euphrates and the Nile. The localities inhabited by the seven other nations, have been described before (see pp. 268—272).

Abraham had readily *believed* in the promise of a numerous seed (ver. 6); but he demanded a *sign* for the possession of the land (ver. 9). In this conduct of the patriarch, the fate of his seed and of the land is mirrored. Abraham's progeny seems indestructible and imperishable; and, though scattered over all the countries of the earth, it is united by an invisible bond of common hopes: thus, the *faith* of Abraham is rewarded. But the land of Canaan was not only lost after a few centuries of possession, but it was converted into a dreary wilderness and a barren waste: thus, the *doubt* of Abraham was punished.

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—The words וַיִּתֵּן אֵישׁ בָּתְרוֹ לִקְרַאת רֵעֵהוּ (ver. 10) follow the same construction as וַיִּתֵּן אֵישׁ אֶחָד לִקְרַאת רֵעֵהוּ (in ix. 5), and are, therefore, to be rendered: "And laid the piece of each against its other *half*" (see p. 221).—וַיִּשָּׁב is the Hiphil of שָׁב, originally *to blow*, or *blow away*, and, therefore, *to scare* or *drive away*.—וַיִּהְיֶה הַשָּׁמֶשׁ לְבוֹא (ver. 12) is opposed to וַיִּהְיֶה הַשָּׁמֶשׁ בָּאָה (ver. 17); the former denotes the time before, the latter after sunset. וְ and the Infinitive, with or without הִיּוֹ, signifies, that an action is on the point of taking place (comp. Josh. ii. 5; 1 Sam. iv. 19; Gesen., Gram., § 129, note 1; Ewald, Gram., § 544, 2. a.).—In וַיִּשְׁכַּח הַשָּׁמֶשׁ, the latter word explains the former; the fear was occasioned by the darkness. The presence of God is usually marked by smoke and fire, as is obvious from many passages; for instance, Exod. xx. 16; Deut. iv. 11; 1 Kings viii. 10; Isai. vi. 4; comp. Exod. xiii. 21; xiv. 24; Isai. iv. 5.—The

the Hittites, and the Perizzites, and the Rephaim, 21. And the Amorites, and the Canaanites, and the Girgashites, and the Jebusites.

subject to ועבדום (ver. 13) is רָעַךְ, which, being a collective noun, may be construed with the plural; and the suffix refers to the inhabitants of the strange land, as is the case with וענו, the verb עָבַר being construed with the accusative, as in the following verse (אֲשֶׁר יַעֲבֹדוּ), in xiv. 4, xxv. 23, and other passages. It is, therefore, unnecessary to take עבדום here in the sense of והעבירי אתם (in Exod. i. 13; Sept., δουλώσουσιν αὐτούς; Jer. xvii. 4), or of ועבדו (Exod. i. 14). Similar instances of the change of subjects in the same sentence, are in ver. 6; 2 Sam. xi. 13; Isai. xxxvii. 36, etc. The relative pronoun אֲשֶׁר is omitted in להם, “in a land which is not theirs”; this is the case not only after indefinite words, as כִּלְיִשׁ לוֹ “all that belongs to him” (Gen. xxxix. 4), but also before appellative nouns, as בה הדרך ילכו (Exod. xviii. 20).—The words ארבע מאות שנה belong to the first part of the sentence, regarding the *sojourn* of the Israelites in Egypt, whilst their *servitude* there was of much less duration; the Masorites seem to have expressed the same sense by the *Athnach* which they placed beneath אתם (seep. 345). The strange land here alluded to, is Egypt alone, not Canaan also; an explanation to which those are compelled to recur who count the 400 years from the time of this covenant, but which is rendered improbable by the clear words of our text: “thy seed will be a stranger”; and, “but thou shalt go to thy fathers in peace” (ver. 15; see Exod. xii. 40).—The Amorites, being one of the most powerful tribes, represent all the Canaanites (see p. 272).—The construction עלמה חיה (the masculine of the verb after a feminine substantive),

is like חטאת רבץ in iv. 7, to which we refer (p. 139); הוּא is to be taken impersonally: “it was darkness” (comp. Ezek. xii. 6, 7, 12).—לפֿי is, as in Exod. xx. 15, *flame*, and, perhaps, the *lightning* which consumed the pieces of the sacrificial animals (compare *Hom.*, II., xix. 250—268; *Pausan.*, v. 24).—The phrase כרת ברית, literally “to cut a covenant,” expresses the chief feature of these ceremonies as clearly as the Greek *θεκια τήννευ*, and the Latin *fœdus icere* or *ferire* or *percutere*; compare *condere* lustrum, which points to the rite of *consecrating* the sacrifice in the earth, after it had, under the auspices of the censor, and with solemn prayers and benedictions, been carried three times round the Campus Martius, where the lustration took place before the assembled multitude (*Liv.*, i. 44; *Dionys.*, Ant. Rom., iv. 22).—It is impossible, in the important sign here granted to Abraham with all the solemnities of a covenant, to suppose an inaccuracy of the term נהר מצרים, and to understand it “of the brook of Egypt” (Num. xxxiv. 5; 2 Kings xxiv. 7). The passages 1 Kings viii. 65, and 1 Chron. xiii. 5, refer to perfectly different events; the נהר מצרים of the former is, therefore, not identical with the שִׁיחור מצרים; and the actual boundary under Joshua (xiii. 3; xv. 4, 47), is not necessarily identical with the far more comprehensive promise made to Abraham; as, in fact, the territory under David and Solomon was far more extensive than under Joshua. It is, therefore, an unfounded conclusion to consider נהר מצרים and נחל מצרים as synonyms, even if the latter should, by some ancient writers, have been incorrectly regarded as a canal of the former (*Abulged*, *Æg.*, p. 34).

## CHAPTER XVI.

**SUMMARY.**—Ten years after Abraham's immigration into Canaan, when Sarah was still childless, he took, by her desire, her Egyptian maid Hagar, who conceived, but assumed in consequence such overbearing conduct towards her mistress, that

Abraham, to preserve domestic peace, could not shield her against Sarah's resentment. Hagar escaped, and on her way to Egypt came into the desert, where an angel appeared to her; commanded her to return, and to submit to Sarah's authority; and promised her a son, whom she should call Ishmael, and through whom she would become the mother of numberless and far-spreading descendants, distinguished by undaunted strength and love of liberty. She followed the injunction, after having given an appropriate name to the place hallowed by the vision; and in the eighty-sixth year of Abraham's life she became the mother of Ishmael.

1. Now Sarai, Abram's wife, bore him no children: and she had a handmaid, an Egyptian, whose name *was* Hagar.

2. And Sarai said to Abram, Behold now, the Lord hath

1—3. For the third time had the promise of a numberless progeny been granted to Abraham; he relied on it without doubt and hesitation; "against hope he believed in hope"; and the first great triumph of faith was achieved. For in leaving Chaldea to follow God into a land unknown to him, he manifested only a pious obedience, in which he was supported by experience and possibility; he knew that there existed even more fertile lands than the plains of Mesopotamia, and that many nomadic chiefs had before him succeeded in acquiring new and better abodes. But it demanded nothing less than a reversion of the laws of nature that an aged couple, themselves conscious of their decrepitude, should be blessed with offspring; yet Abraham did not doubt that the powers of nature obey the Creator of heaven and earth. However, if even Abraham's faith had required a sign for the possession of Canaan, it cannot be surprising that Sarah's confidence was deficient and wavering. She could not exalt herself to the belief in a miraculous fulfilment of the promise; and she tried to effect it in a natural manner. This hasty interference in the Divine plan was the more excusable, as Sarah had nowhere been designated as the mother of the future people; it was even an act of self-denial to resign all claims to that glory, and to leave it to one in every way subordinate to her. She chose for that end an expedient very general in the East under similar circumstances, and resorted to even by such nations among which monogamy is the rule and the law. The Oriental

lives only in his children; he considers his existence fruitless if he leaves none behind him to perpetuate his name; he is like a tree without a root; he withers away and perishes. This is a purely moral sentiment; but it is enhanced by worldly considerations. If the Oriental is insulted, he looks for his children to protect his honour; if he is attacked, he confides in their zeal and love for his revenge; if he dies, he knows to whom to leave the property for which he has toiled. Since, therefore, children constituted a chief part of earthly happiness, it was natural that they should have been regarded as a reward of God; whilst barrenness was viewed as one of the greatest curses of heaven. It was not only pitied as a misfortune, but considered as a reproach; it appeared as a punishment for secret sins; and the couple were despised by men, because they were believed to be rejected by God. Now this is a most dangerous prejudice; it seeks vainly to penetrate into the mysteries of Providence; it starts from the obnoxious principle, that virtue and vice are visibly rewarded on earth by external boons; and it raises the physical nature of man into a witness for or against his spiritual condition. Such perverse notions could not be tolerated by the Hebrew writer; they are based upon most imperfect conceptions concerning God and His government; and it was therefore necessary that they should be eradicated as thoroughly as the prejudices regarding a short life and a sudden death, which were shown, by the history of Abel and Enoch, not necessarily to be a punishment and a

restrained me from bearing: I pray thee, go to my maid; I may perhaps obtain children by her. And Abram listened to the voice of Sarai. 3. And Sarai, Abram's wife, took Hagar, her maid, the Egyptian, after Abram

curse (see pp. 142, 164). Hence we see that the wives of all the three patriarchs, the favourites of God, were long barren; protracted periods elapsed before the supposed contumely was removed from them; Sarah bore a child when she was already past all hope, Rebekah after she had been married for twenty years (xxv. 20, 26), and Rachel when she seemed likewise to have already renounced her fond wishes (xxx. 1, 3). Children are indeed "a heritage of God"; but they are, like every other gift, granted in harmony with His inscrutable designs; they are like "arrows in the hand of the mighty hero," either to defend or to attack, or to rebound upon himself.—The Hebrews soon emancipated themselves from these common oriental views; the purity with which they conceived the idea of matrimony necessarily influenced their notions concerning its highest blessing; they found it to consist in that faithful love which is "as strong as death" (Cant. viii. 6), and in that sympathy of souls which is a help and consolation in the difficulties of life (see p. 90). Hence we see, that Elkanah preserved his affection for Hannah unaltered, although she was barren; he honoured her even more than her rival, who had blessed him with children; and when she was grieved at the insulting language of Peninnah, he soothed her sorrow by the touching question: "Am I not better to thee than ten sons?" (1 Sam. i. 1—8). We know, further, that David's heart was so attached to Michal, that, though she was barren, he reclaimed her after a forced separation of many years (1 Sam. xviii. 28; 2 Sam. iii. 14; vi. 23). We might, therefore, readily acknowledge that the birth of a child, and especially of a son, spread joy and exultation in the family, whilst the death or the want of offspring caused anguish and lamentation; that sterility and an unmarried state were, especially in women, re-

garded as a serious misfortune; that children were a crown and an ornament to their parents; and that a fruitful wife was a blessing to herself and to her husband (comp. Isai. liv. 1; Job i. 18—20; Jer. xxii. 30; Judg. xi. 37; Prov. xvii. 6; Ps. cxxviii. 3—6); all these feelings are so natural to the human mind that no religious system could deaden or destroy them; and if, sometimes, indeed, children are represented as a reward, and barrenness as a punishment, this must be received in the same light in which the Bible regards every other temporal boon or misery which God sends to manifest either His satisfaction or His displeasure (compare Deut. xxviii. 4; Hos. ix. 14; Isai. xlvii. 9). It was sufficient to be conscious that not in all instances conjugal happiness allows a conclusion to the piety or impiety of the couple: and this idea is clearly embodied in the history of the patriarchs.

If a matrimonial alliance remains for some time without progeny, it is customary among many eastern nations, even those which entertain purer views on matrimony, that the husband, with the consent of his wife, should take another person for the only purpose of securing heirs. She does not share the husband's affection with the legal wife, to whom she is regarded as subordinate, to whom her children are considered to belong; and "upon whose knees she bears" (xxx. 3). Now, the proposal of seeking posterity in accordance with this custom proceeded from Sarah herself, not from Abraham. The patriarch, although desiring children not less intensely than Sarah (xv. 2, 3), never thought of wronging the wife of his youth and his covenant. In his heart monogamy was a sacred principle, to which Isaac also adhered, and which even Jacob acknowledged, although the fraud of Laban induced him to abandon it (see on

had dwelt ten years in the land of Canaan, and gave her to her husband Abram *to be* his wife. 4. And he went to Hagar, and she conceived: and when she saw that she had conceived, her mistress was despised in her eyes. 5. And Sarai said to Abram, My wrong *be* upon thee: I

Exod. p. 370). The object of Sarah in bringing Hagar to Abraham is distinctly expressed: "perhaps I may be edified by her" (הַיִּנְיָאֵן הַיִּנְיָאֵן); children (בְּנֵי) form or build (בְּנֵי) the house; they are not only its pillars and foundations, but the very materials of which it consists; without them the family must perish (comp. on Exod. i. 21). Hence children and house are used as synonymous terms (xviii. 19); building a house is applied for establishing a family (Deut. xxv. 9); and the wives of the patriarchs are said to have founded the house of Israel (Ruth iv. 11).—Hagar was born in Egypt; Sarah's chief servant belonged to a foreign nation, as Abraham's principal slave descended from Damascus; in these facts, the future subjugation of other powerful countries is reflected. Sarah may have acquired Hagar at the sojourn in Egypt during the first famine (xii. 16); but as her name is Shemitic, signifying *flight*, we must regard it as a later designation derived from her future destinies, as is frequently the case with Biblical names (see pp. 133, 134), whilst her original Egyptian name is not mentioned.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—It is known from 1 Chron. v. 10, 19, 20, that the warlike tribe of the Hagarites (הַגָּרִיטִים or הַגָּרִיטִים), perhaps identical with the Agraai of Eratosthenes (*Strab.* xvi. 767), lived at an early period to the east of the Jordan, but was expelled in the time of Saul (comp. Ps. lxxxiii. 7). Some modern critics, therefore, supposed that Hagar is only an imaginary genealogical name to which the legend traced the origin of that tribe. But if the Hagarites invented an ancestor, they would have made Hagar a man instead of a woman; as the name "flight" is applicable to both: nor do we see what motive could have induced the Israelites to treat the tribe

of the Agraai with such importance as to make them the ancestors of all the Bedouins; and if, as Gesenius believes, they are identical with the Gerrhaei, they would belong to Arabia Felix instead of Arabia Deserta. Again, if Abraham is admitted to be a historical person, there is no reason to question the position of Hagar in his house which our text assigns to her; and even Winer acknowledges that "the whole event is so simple and so perfectly in harmony with eastern customs, that we have here undoubtedly a purely historical narrative" (*Real-Wörterb.* i. 444).

—The Moslems naturally modify the Biblical account in favour of their own nation; they contend that Hagar was Abraham's lawful wife, and that Ishmael obtained, therefore, as his eldest son, the extensive tracts of Arabia, whilst the younger son, Isaac, received only the limited territory of Canaan; that Hagar was born at Farna, then the capital of Egypt and the residence of the Pharaohs, but that she died at Mecca, and was buried in the precincts of the Temple of the Caaba (*J. Herbelot*, *Bibl. Orient.*, p. 420).—הָאֵלֹהִים (ver. 3), as in xxv. 1, 6, is here synonymous with הַיְיָ הָאֵלֹהִים (Judges xix. 1).

4—6. Among many ancient nations the belief prevailed that a "change of place" produces a change of fortune. If a man was, at his usual abode, strikingly unsuccessful, he emigrated to another place in the hope that his prospects would there take a more favourable turn. Abraham was seventy-five and Sarah sixty-five years old when they left Chaldaea; it is, therefore, probable that both had at that period already been united during a long period without seeing their alliance blessed with offspring. Now, Abraham might have followed the Divine command of repairing to Canaan with the greater readiness in the hope that the new domi-

have given my maid into thy bosom; and when she saw that she had conceived, I was despised in her eyes: the Lord may judge between me and thee. 6. But Abram said to Sarai, Behold, thy maid is in thy hand; do to her as it pleaseth thee. And when Sarai humiliated her, she

cile might commence a new epoch in his domestic happiness. But *ten* years, or a complete cycle of time, had now elapsed since he had vainly cherished that hope; both he and his wife had advanced another great step beyond the prime of their strength; if their wish was not speedily realized they saw that they must abandon it for ever. When, therefore, Sarah disclosed her proposal to Abraham, it might occur to him, that the promises were only made to *him*, and not to Sarah; and that she had indicated the only reasonable way for obtaining a descendant through whom the great assurances of God might be fulfilled. It was in this light that Abraham's conduct was always viewed by the Hebrews; and the prophet Malachi emphatically blamed those who pretend that they are permitted, like the patriarch, to take another besides their legal wife (ii. 15): in them, it would be treachery, whilst in Abraham it was faith, "that he might seek a godly seed." — Not only Hagar, however, but even Sarah, failed to rise to the purity of Abraham's exalted notions; they saw, in the expected child, nothing but an heir; they regarded each other with the invidious eyes of rivals; and that which was commenced as an act of belief and submission, ended in bitter envy and strife. The cause of the contention, however, was the Egyptian maid-servant, who, naturally, was still less capable of self-control and of religious sentiments; she despised her mistress. The latter was mortified. Abraham did not interfere in their dissensions; his heart was filled with the great and joyous hope of an offspring, and he hesitated to rebuke her to whom he was to owe so much happiness. But this regard roused the whole anger of Sarah which broke forth in impetuous indignation; she considered herself wronged both by her husband and her

servant, but more grievously by the former; she invoked God as judge of the injustice she suffered; and charged Abraham that he repaid her self-denial with ingratitude. And now another opportunity was granted to Abraham to unfold the greatness of his character; and he proved worthy of the trial. His answer to Sarah's excited complaints was not only remarkable for its calmness and justice; but for the decisiveness with which he continued to regard Sarah as the only mistress of the house and of his affections, and Hagar only as her servant, whom she might treat as she thought fit. But these traits, though laudable, are inferior in importance to the sublime resignation with which he at once again abandoned his long-cherished hopes when they seemed so near their realization. Hagar, ill-treated by Sarah, escaped from his house, and he did not prevent it; he sacrificed to his wedded wife his fondest wish, his dearest anticipation: faith was again his shield; he confided in the promise of God, and was certain that He would, against all expectation, redeem His pledge. He had, indeed, in his mind connected all his future happiness with the child of Hagar (xvii. 18); but he sacrificed this child to the peace of Sarah, as he was later ready to sacrifice the son of Sarah to the will of God. Thus is the answer of Abraham the fore-runner of the most glorious act of his life.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS. — וְהָאֵל and יָמָר are the future *Kal* of וְהָאֵל, as יָמָר of יָמָר (Isai. xxiv. 9), instead of יָמָר. The pathach in the second syllable of וְהָאֵל is to be explained after this analogy, and does not compel us to take that form as a Niphal. — חָמְסִי עָלֶיךָ is perfectly parallel with חָמְסִי עָלֶיךָ in xxvii. 13; the suffix in חָמְסִי is, therefore, the *genitivus objectivus*, the violence or injustice committed against me; and before עָלֶיךָ a verb, as בָּנָה, is to

fled from her.—7. And the angel of the Lord found her by a fountain of water in the wilderness, by the fountain on the way to Shur. 8. And he said, Hagar, Sarai's maid, whence didst thou come? and whither wilt thou go? And she said, I flee from my mistress Sarai. 9. And the

be supplied. וַיִּפְּץ is similarly used in Joel iv. 9; Judg. ix. 24, etc.; whilst וַיִּפְּץ in Ps. vii. 17, is the injury which he perpetrated (comp. lviii. 3; *Cæsar*, Bell. Gall. i. 80). The translations of the Septuagint (*ἀδικούμας ἐκ σοῦ*), and of the Vulgate (*iniquè agis contra me*) are, therefore, both languid and incorrect.—וַיִּפְּץ instead of וַיִּפְּץ (xvii. 2, 7, etc.), is the *scriptio plena in pausa*.

7—12. Hagar intended to return to Egypt, her native country. Her path led, therefore, from Hebron through the desert of Shur, or Dahofar, extending from the south-west of Palestine down to the head of the Red Sea, and even considerably southward on its eastern and western coast (see note on Exod., p. 280). Whilst in this wilderness, and on the way to a locality more properly called Shur, she rested at a fountain. Here an angel of God appeared to her. Though omniscient, he asked her, whence she came, and whither she was bound. And when she had told him the cause of her flight, she was surprised by the angel's command to return to her mistress, and patiently to submit to her vexations. This was not intended as a retaliation for her overbearing conduct which had caused so much discord; but as an admonition, that she owed all her happiness to her connection with Abraham's house; that for his sake only, she was favoured with the great promises in store for her descendants; and that it was, therefore, more glorious for her to be a neglected servant in the patriarch's house, than a free woman in the country of superstition to which she was about to return. Thus the assurance given to Abraham: "be a blessing" (xii. 2), was already twice fulfilled, once in Lot, and now in Hagar.—Then the angel opened to her views a future which filled her at once with rapture and amazement. He announced it in

measured solemnity; and passed from a comprehensive and general prospect to a detailed and even graphic description. After having promised her an innumerable progeny through a son whom she should call Ishmael, he continued: "And he will be a wild ass of a man; his hand will be against every man, and every man's hand against him; and he shall dwell before all his brethren." The character of the Ishmaelites, or the Bedouins, could not be described more aptly or more powerfully. They have preserved it almost unaltered during three or four thousand years. Their manners and their language have been maintained in their primitive integrity. Against them alone, time seems to have no sickle, and the conqueror's sword no edge. They have defied the softening influence of civilization, and mocked the attacks of the invader. Ungovernable and roaming, obeying no law but their spirit of adventure, regarding all mankind as their enemies, whom they must either attack with their spears, or elude with their faithful steeds, and cherishing their deserts as heartily as they despise the constraint of towns and communities: the Bedouins are the outlaws among the nations. Plunder is legitimate gain, and daring robbery is praised as valour. Liberty is the element which the Arab breathes; and if he were thrown into servitude, he would either break the yoke, or perish in the attempt. He cannot, indeed, be better compared than with a wild ass (אִשְׂמָל). This indomitable animal, which defies the swiftness of the swiftest horse, delights in its native deserts, easily satisfied with the scanty food furnished by those inhospitable regions (Isai. xxxiii. 14; Job xxiv. 5). It seems to revel in independence; free from the master's pressing voice, it scorns the tumult of the town, and roves on the parched mountain sides in search of grass and herbs

angel of the Lord said to her, Return to thy mistress, and humbly thyself under her hands. 10. And the angel of the Lord said to her, I will multiply thy seed exceedingly, that it shall not be numbered for multitude. 11. And the angel of the Lord said to her, Behold, thou art with

(Job xxxix. 5—8). Although in the zones it generally inhabits, water seems a vital condition, the wild ass can long exist without it; and its marvellous power of enduring hunger and thirst, explains its preservation in its arid and cheerless abodes. But if, by chance, it meets with plentiful food, it eagerly seizes it, and sates its whole desire (Job vi. 5; Ps. civ. 11). It surpasses, in animation, in the proportions of its structure, and in velocity, by far even the common Oriental ass; it resembles the horse in gracefulness; it bears an arched neck with a fierce pride; has a dark, vertical mane, prolonged in a stripe to the tuft of the tail, whilst its smooth skin is generally of a silvery colour, with broad patches of bright bay on the thigh, shoulder, and neck; it is gregarious, and one male frequently leads a whole troop of females. It is still found in many steppes from the Caspian Sea eastward to China, and southward to India, and occurred formerly also in Syria and Asia Minor. It was, and is still, hunted as game, and its flesh is highly valued by the Orientals as a peculiar delicacy, though Europeans have pronounced a very different opinion (comp. *Arist.*, *Anim.*, vi. 29, 36; *Oppian*, *Cyneg.* iii. 184; *Plin.*, viii. 16, 46, 68; *Strabo*, vii. 312; *Ker Porter*, *Travels*, i. 469; *Bochart*, *Hieroz.*, ii. 214). With such animals are the Bedouins pointedly compared; to the latter may be properly applied the words in Job: "Who hath sent out the wild ass free? or who has loosed the bands of the wild ass? Whose house I have made the wilderness, and the barren land its dwellings" (xxxix. 5, 6). They may be hunted like game, but they cannot be caught; their wants are few; they neither covet wealth, nor tempt the conqueror's avarice; and the waste tracts shunned by other nations, are their terrestrial paradise.—"In the desert, every-

body is everybody's enemy," is their proverbial saying; and they express, therefore, only in other words the sense of our text: "his hand will be against every man, and every man's hand against him." Their love of liberty is frequently carried to the utmost pitch of unbridled ferocity; they seek danger for its own sake; they delight in the excitement of combat and pursuit; and even among themselves, sanguinary feuds are often carried on during centuries; the fearful custom of avenging of blood has a decided influence upon their characters; it renders them suspicious and vindictive; it teaches them cunning and treachery; and the cruelty and bloodthirstiness which it engenders, arm friend against friend, and relative against relative. Thus the prediction of our text has also its sad application; the Bedouin's hand is uplifted not only against the unwary pilgrim who happens to traverse his deserts, but against the descendants of his own tribes, and against those who speak his own tongue (comp. *Isai.* xxi. 13; *Jer.* iii. 2; *Ps.* x. 8, 9; *Ezra* viii. 31).

The proper abodes of the Ishmaelites were the districts of Arabia deserta (*ἡ ἔρημος Ἀραβία* or *οὐκ ἐκτισμένη Ἀραβία*), which are at present called *Badiyah*. They were, therefore, bounded in the east by Babylonia and the Euphrates, extended in the north to Syria, spread in the west to Coele Syria and Palestine, and in the south indefinitely into the peninsula of Arabia proper. They lived, therefore, regularly indeed "to the east" of their Abrahamic brethren; but they extended their predatory excursions to the borders of all contiguous countries; their erratic mode of life gave them the character of ubiquity; they wandered wherever their wild spirits incited them; and thus they might be said to be always "before their brethren"; they restlessly strayed through



child, and wilt bear a son, and thou shalt call his name Ishmael; because the Lord hath heard thy affliction. 12. And he will be a wild ass of a man; his hand *will be* against

the greater part of Arabia Petraea and reached not unfrequently even the borders of Egypt (*Pliny* v. 12; *Amm. Marc.* xxii. 16). The Bedouins are nomads and live in tents, and are therefore, by ancient geographers, called *Scenitae* (*Strabo* xvi. 767; *Plin.* vi. 28, s. 32; *Ammian.* xxiii. 6; comp. *Isai.* xiii. 20; *Jer.* xlix. 29). They were early divided into twelve chief tribes, each presided over by a Sheikh or Emir, and the centres of their dwellings were the wells which they dug or the halting-places which they appointed (comp. *xv.* 12—16; *Ptolem.* v. 19). But the prophetic promise of the text has been realized far beyond its immediate tenour. The chief importance of the Ishmaelites commenced only when the kindred nations had either been expelled or extirpated; they became powerful and formidable under the name of Saracens; they marched out to curb the world under their dominion, and to force the nations to their faith; they inundated Persia, the districts east of the Caspian Sea, and India; they carried their victorious arms into Syria and Egypt and the interior of Africa; they occupied Spain and Portugal, Sicily and Sardinia, and “have beyond their native tracts ascended more than a hundred thrones.” But on the other hand, no hero succeeded in mastering them in their own deserts. Although they sent voluntary presents of incense to the great king of Persia, as they also sent presents of cattle to Jehoshaphat, king of Judah (2 Chron. xvii. 11); they were never subjected to the Persian empire; they are expressly mentioned as independent allies (*Herod.* iii. 88); nor had the Assyrian and Babylonian kings more than transitory power over small portions of their tribes (*Isai.* xxi. ; *Jer.* xxv. 23; xlix. 28, etc.; *Diod.* i. 63); here the ambition of Alexander the Great and of his successors experienced an insuperable check (*Arrian.* Anab. vii. 19; *Diod.* xix. 94—100); a Roman expedition in

the time of Augustus totally failed; and the later conquests of the Romans, in the year 106 of the present era, under Cornelius Palma, when Bostra, one degree south of Damascus, was made the northern capital of the province of Arabia extending to the Red Sea, were unable either to bend the independence of the inhabitants or to exercise any influence over their manners. Modern accounts, both abundant and delightful, have shown that the Bedouins have remained essentially unaltered since the times of the Hebrews and the Greeks. In bodily form they are spare but athletic; in temper, grave but social: in habits, active and enduring; in strength, almost inexhaustible. It would be endless to give a list of even the more important works concerning the Bedouins; most students are familiar with the writings of Niebuhr and Burckhardt; of Arvieux and Robinson; of Laborde and Wellsted; of Lane, Foster, and Layard, and other travellers who combined acute powers of observation with the skill of graphic description.—Every addition to our knowledge concerning Arabia and its inhabitants, confirms more strongly the Biblical statements, that the Arabs though warlike and restless (*Jer.* iii. 2) carried on commerce with their cattle which they sent to the neighbouring countries (*Ezek.* xxvii. 21; *Herod.* iii. 113); and that they were engaged in a regular and active trade between Syria, Babylonia, and Egypt (*Gen.* xxxvii. 23); for three great caravan-roads cross the desert of the Bedouins, one from Egypt over Petra to the Persian Gulf, another from Palmyra southward to Arabia Felix, and a third from Palmyra in a south-easterly direction to the mouth of the Tigris; but that they were more formidably known by the sudden invasions with which they surprised and terrified the adjoining nations (2 Chron. xxi. 16; xxvi. 7; comp. *Job* i. 15). However, if it served their interests, they

every man, and every man's hand against him; and he shall dwell before all his brethren.—13. And she called the name of the Lord who spoke to her, Thou art the God

enlisted also in foreign armies; some tribes fought, both as foot-soldiers and horsemen, in the legions of the Syrian kings (1 Maoc. v. 39; 2 Maoc. xii. 10), and sided with them in their protracted war against the Jews; and they had spread beyond Damascus and the frontiers of Palestine, when they were repelled under king Alexander, the Maocabee (*Joseph.*, *Antiq.* XIII. xv. 4).

We have, in these remarks, alluded to the Arabians of the desert only, without referring to those of Arabia Petrea and Arabia Felix; this limitation is prescribed to us not only by our text, but by the distinction upon which the Arabians themselves insist with regard to their population. For they strictly separate the descendants of Joktan, whom they call Kachtan (p. 279), from the progeny of Ishmael; the former are called by them the *pure* Arabs (or Arab-el-Araba), whilst the latter are designated, with a certain contempt, the *mixed* or *admitted* Arabs (*Muhtarabi*), because Ishmael's mother, Hagar, was of Egyptian descent; and in this distinction, we may find the germ of the later division into the chief southern tribe of the Himyari, and of the principal northern race of the Koreish to which Mohammed belonged, although the later Mohammedan fictions, suggested by national and religious pride, have contributed to render the ethnographic researches on Arabia intricate and difficult (see pp. 279—283; and on xxv. 12—18).

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.** — הָרָעָה (ver. 9) refers back to הָרָעָה (ver. 6), "suffer the oppression," humble thyself; for this humiliation is thy true glory (comp. xv. 13). Both the Niphal and Hithpael denote the spontaneous submission under that state of עָנָה, which generally consists in bondage and misery, but sometimes in the modest acknowledgment of a superior power (Exod. iii. 17; x. 3). The Sept. renders, therefore, *ταπεινωθητι*. Hence follow the well-known significations of

עָנָה and עָנָה, implying contrition, modesty, and humility. — הָרָעָה, as in Judg. xiii. 6, stands instead of הָרָעָה (xvii. 19; Isai. vii. 14), and as it is in both passages used in connection with the second person, it seems to have been furnished with those vowels to produce a similarity of sound with הָרָעָה, unless this was, indeed, the original reading, since, though the conception was present (הָרָעָה הָרָעָה), the birth of the child lay in the future, like the act of naming it (וְקָרָאתָ; but see יִשְׂרָאֵל in xv. 3). Gesenius supports the change of Segol into Patach by several instances, none of which, however, is quite analogous to our case (see *Lehrgeb.*, pp. 282, 462, and 591). — הָרָעָה אֲרָם is a construction like כֹּסֶל אֲרָם (*Prov.* xxi. 20), a qualifying substantive preceding the generic noun; it signifies, therefore, a man like a wild ass, "a wild ass of a man." The Sept. has *ἀγροικὸς ἀνθρωπος*, which expresses only the general meaning, like the English, "a wild man." הָרָעָה is the *asinus sylvestris*, or *donkey*. — עַל-פְּנֵי-כָל is not merely "in the east" of all his brethren; for, the boundaries assigned to the Ishmaelites in xxv. 18 reach "to Shur which is before (עַל-פְּנֵי) Egypt"; therefore, a great portion of them did not live in the east of Palestine or of Abraham's descendants; עַל-פְּנֵי is identical with פְּנֵי (xxiii. 17, 19), and although it frequently signifies, "in the east" (*Josh.* xiii. 3; *Zech.* xiv. 4), and sometimes the inhabitants of Arabia Deserta (*Judg.* vi. 3, 33; vii. 12), the latter term not unfrequently comprised many other nations of the east, as the Amalekites and Midianites, the Syrians and Mesopotamians (*Judg.* viii. 10; *Gen.* xxv. 6; *xxix.* 1); and עַל-פְּנֵי describes here the wide and almost indefinite extent of territories through which the Bedouins roam, so that they seem to be everywhere before the eyes of their brethren.

**13—16.** The confidence and distinctness with which the assurances were ex-

of seeing: for she said, Do I even still see [live] after seeing [God]? 14. Therefore the well was called Beer-lahai-roi [the well of seeing *God* and living]; behold, it is between Kadesh and Bered. 15. And Hagar bore to

pressed, were to Hagar a convincing proof, that they had been uttered by a superhuman being; the misery to which her flight had exposed her, had proved a school of correction for her overbearing character; and she confided in the promises she had just received. Joy and fear, trembling and gratitude, struggled in her heart. She believed she had seen that eternal Being whom, according to a general notion of antiquity, no mortal can behold without forfeiting his life; yet she was not only uninjured, but had received the pledge that she should become the parent of mighty tribes. She exclaimed, therefore, with mingled feelings of exultation and submission: "Thou art the God of seeing (אֵלֶּךָ); for, she said, Do I even still see after seeing?" that is, Thou art to me a God whom I saw unpunished; for, although I saw Thee, I still live and see the light of the day. If the Hebrew phrase should be deemed obscure or elliptical, it may be remembered, that it is intended as the etymological explanation of a name; and that, in such cases, the choice of words depends on the latitude which the name affords. But the sense is perfectly clear (see note on Exod. iii. 6; comp. Isai. vi. 5, and especially Judg. vi. 22—24).—The *angel* proves to be God Himself; this is not unfrequently the case, and has been explained elsewhere (see note on Exod. iii. 4). The fountain at which this vision took place, was, therefore, called "the well of seeing *God* and living" (אֵלֶּךָ לֵהַיִּי); it was situated south of Kadesh (see p. 353), and between this town and Bered, which latter place can, however, no more be identified (comp. xxiv. 62; xxv. 11).—Hagar returned into the house of Abraham, to whom she communicated the Divine apparition; here the prophecy of the angel was realized; she bore a son, who was called Ishmael; but our text states with a certain distinctness,

that she bore this son to Abraham, and that Abraham gave him the name Ishmael. The patriarch believed, as we have observed, that the son of Hagar was the promised and long desired offspring through whom he was to be a blessing to later generations: he was, therefore, anxious to mark him as *his* son; and he did this by giving him a name so fully adapted to the circumstances; for it may be either understood, "God has heard Hagar's affliction" (ver. 11), or "God has heard Abraham's wish and prayer." In this manner alone we can explain why Hagar did not follow the angel's injunction, that *she* should call him Ishmael (ver. 11), especially as it was very usual for mothers to name their children (iv. 8). The statement of Abraham's age at the birth of Ishmael (ver. 16) shows the importance of the event for his future life (see p. 331), as we shall later develop.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—The words of Hagar, which have given rise to so many conflicting interpretations, will be more easily understood, if it is observed: 1. אֵלֶּךָ is evidently the same form which אֵלֶּךָ is in pause, just as אֵלֶּךָ becomes in pause אֵלֶּךָ; Esck. xxvii. 17. 2. אֵלֶּךָ or אֵלֶּךָ cannot be translated, "he sees me," for this would require אֵלֶּיךָ. 3. It signifies *vision* or *sight* (comp. 1 Sam. xvi. 12; Job xxxiii. 21). 4. אֵלֶּךָ not only adds emphasis to the word to which it refers, but introduces a new and stronger notion, and often one of surprise, and is, therefore, here to be translated by *even* (as in Prov. xiv. 29; Eccl. x. 20; Pa. xiv. 3). 5. הִלֵּם is, in this concise passage, used instead of הִלֵּם אֵלֶּיךָ (2 Sam. vii. 18), with which it is, in fact, always identical in sense; for הִלֵּם is not *here*, but *hither*, and is only used after verbs of motion (Exod. iii. 5; Judg. xviii. 3; Ruth ii. 4, etc.); and it signifies, therefore, here hitherto, to this moment, or still. 6. הִלֵּם is, like the Greek *ἐπὶ*, used in-

Abram a son: and Abram called his son's name, whom Hagar bore, Ishmael. 16. And Abram *was* eighty-six years old, when Hagar bore Ishmael to Abram.

stead of *וַיֵּשֶׁב* (*Eccl.* vi. 5; vii. 11), or *וַיֵּשֶׁב* (*Ps.* xlix. 20; *Lat.* *diem videre*), and signifies, therefore, to *live*. The meaning of the whole phrase is, therefore, that Hagar, who had scarcely hoped to outlive the fatigues and privations of her flight and exile, even survived that great moment when she beheld a Divine vision: "do I even hitherto see after seeing God?" It was not the *place*, then, which she regarded with such awe, but God who had graciously permitted her to live to that time, although she had witnessed His presence; and, hence, her first care was not to give a name to the place, but to invoke God with a new designation; after which act only she called the well, "the fountain for

the life of beholding"; that is, the fountain where she beheld God without forfeiting her life. The passages which have been adduced for the former opinion (*xxii.* 14; *xxviii.* 17; *xxiii.* 2) are not parallel with ours.—The proposition of Michaelis to read *וַיֵּשֶׁב* "the well of the rock, commanding a distant view," is no more than an ingenious conjecture, and is improbable, from the simple reason, that if this had been the usual name of the fountain at the time of the historian, the whole of this narrative would have been both inappropriate and unintelligible. It is unnecessary to refer to other very singular opinions.

## CHAPTER XVII.

**SUMMARY.**—God repeated to Abraham the former promises regarding a numerous progeny and their ultimate conquest of Canaan; concluded a covenant with him, and appointed as its sign the rite of circumcision, to be performed on Abraham, his son Ishmael, and all his male servants, and in all future times on every son on the eighth day from his birth. He further changed the names of Abram and Sarai into Abraham and Sarah; and assured the patriarch that his race would be propagated through a son to be born by Sarah. When Abraham, deeming this hope improbable, considering his own age and that of his wife, entreated God that Ishmael only might live, the pledge was renewed to him that the son of Hagar should be distinguished by worldly power, while the offspring of Sarah would be the heir of the spiritual covenant. Abraham performed the circumcision in accordance with the Divine commands. He was at that time ninety-nine, and his son Ishmael thirteen years old.

1. And when Abram was ninety-nine years old, the Lord appeared to Abram, and said to him, I *am* the Almighty God; walk before Me, and be perfect. 2. And

1—9. Three times had God appeared to Abraham in Canaan, not merely to repeat, but to enlarge His promises. At first, a brief and simple assurance was deemed sufficient (*xii.* 7); then the progeny of Abraham was with emphasis compared with the dust of the earth (*xiii.* 16); and at last with the stars of heaven (*xv.* 5). A solemn sign accompanied the third vision; it was given under the form, and received the name, of a covenant; God guaranteed

His promises unconditionally, since they were the reward of Abraham's faith; He enforced no corresponding duty on the part of the patriarch; He performed a pure act of mercy. But undeserved gifts may appear both incompatible with the justice of God and dangerous to the morality of man; they seem to betray partiality in the Divine dispensations, and to substitute arbitrariness instead of intelligible laws. It was, therefore, necessary to

I will make My covenant between Me and thee, and will multiply thee exceedingly. 3. And Abram fell on his face: and God spoke to him, saying, 4. As for Me, behold, my covenant is with thee, and thou shalt be a father of a multitude of nations. 5. And thy name shall no more be called Abram, but thy name shall be Abraham; for a father of a multitude of nations have I made thee. 6. And I shall make thee exceedingly fruitful, and I shall

impose upon the favoured individuals adequate obligations, and to exact from them duties tending to prove their superior merit: it was necessary to conclude a strict covenant. Now, the promises hitherto clearly made to Abraham's race itself were a vast increase and the possession of a fertile land. But both are worldly boons, neither constituting nor securing true greatness. More powerful empires have risen and disappeared without enjoying or spreading happiness. They prospered, but were not blessed, and in their splendour was hidden the germ of their destruction. Individuals also may abound in temporal advantages, but their souls may be languid and their hearts may be withering; for giddy mirth is not joy, and inactive torpor is not harmony of mind. Property may, to a certain degree, be a condition of felicity, but it is no more; all the rest must be done by man himself; the former is the gift of Providence, the latter depends on human excellence and virtue;—and therefore the former was promised to Abraham unconditionally, while the latter was made dependent on a severe covenant which as it entailed numerous and difficult duties could alone secure true and lasting happiness. We have, therefore, arrived at a new momentous era in Abraham's life. He rises from a servant into a covenantee of God, and from an instrument into a free agent; he is taught the true means and the only end of happiness; but he learns also that the God of mercy is at the same time the God of justice, and that his blessings will only be proportionate to his piety. The justice of God which

had been relaxed into mercy in the time of Noah, was resumed with greater rigour for the descendants of Abraham, because they were the chosen and privileged seed. From these considerations alone, our passage can be fully understood. God announces Himself here for the first time as the Almighty, the all-powerful Lord (יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים) whose awful attributes demand a severe government. No longer satisfied with a passive faith, He exhorts Abraham "to walk before Him and to be perfect." The patriarch, overpowered by these majestic manifestations, "fell on his face" in veneration and submission (ver. 3). The promises of God are no more limited to a progeny of kings and mighty tribes (ver. 6), or to the perpetual occupation of the land of his sojourn (ver. 8), but they extend to the glorious assurance that He will everlastingly be a God to him and to his seed after him (ver. 7). And in order, in the clearest and concise manner, to indicate the commencement of a new era, distinctly to separate the past from the future, and to show that another and a higher element was added to the life of the patriarch; his name was changed. This significant alteration was delayed to the moment when the existence of Abraham was raised from the sphere of material to that of spiritual blessings, when he received the first religious injunction, and entered into a direct and internal alliance with God. Religious obligations commence as soon as they are known and understood: hence the covenant was concluded immediately, and with Abraham already, whilst the possession of the land was postponed to a

make nations of thee, and kings shall issue from thee. 7. And I shall establish My covenant between Me and thee and thy seed after thee in their generations for an everlasting covenant, to be a God to thee and to thy seed after thee. 8. And I shall give to thee and to thy seed after thee the land wherein thou sojournest as a stranger, all the land of Canaan, for an everlasting possession, and I shall be their God. 9. And God said to Abraham, But as

distant future. More than four hundred years of wandering and hardship intervened between the promise and its fulfilment, because it was dependent on the moral condition of the Canaanites; thus the highest felicity or that which flows from purity of mind, lies within the reach of man as soon as he is opened to truth; whereas wealth and all the gifts of fortune are beyond his power, the result of circumstances standing under a higher control. It is a Biblical maxim, in harmony with the doctrine of Free Will, that God had spontaneously limited His omnipotence in not interfering with the piety and impiety of man (Deut. v. 26); in this respect man has unrestricted scope and option; he is the responsible agent of his destinies. From the moment, therefore, that Abraham entered the covenant, he and his seed ceased to be under the guiding protection of Divine mercy; they commenced the period of maturity; happiness and misery were in their own hands. Though the *promise* of the land was distinct from the religious covenant; the *possession* was made dependent on its faithful observance: the breach of the covenant was menaced with the loss of the land, which though *granted* by mercy, should be *retained* by justice (comp. Ezek. xxxiii. 23—29).

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—About the meaning of מֵלֶכֶת שָׂרָה and its relation to הַתְּהִלָּה see note on Exod. vi. 2, 3.—הַתְּהִלָּה לֵּךְ "to walk before God," that is, to lead such conduct that no action may have to fear the scrutiny and judgment of God, denotes generally a less intimate adherence to the deity than הַתְּהִלָּה אִתּוֹ

(v. 22); but since the latter phrase is used with reference to the *actual* piety of Noah, the former can *here*, where it applies to an *ideal precept*, have no less emphatic meaning, though it frequently is merely synonymous with acknowledging the sovereignty of God (xxiv. 40), or obeying His commandments (Isai. xxxviii. 3).—אֲנִי הָיוֹן in ver. 4 introduces the promises of God, and is in contradistinction to אֲנִי הָיוֹן in the ninth verse, which commences the obligations imposed upon Abraham; it has, therefore, even more emphasis than in vi. 17, and ix. 9.—אֲנִי הָיוֹן is used instead of אֲנִי הָיוֹן for the status constructus of אֲנִי is not unfrequently אֲנִי, especially in proper nouns (as אֲבִישָׁלוֹם for אֲבִישָׁלוֹם; comp. אֲבִישָׁ, אֲבִישָׁ, etc.), and since אֲנִי הָיוֹן is here an explanation of אֲבִישָׁ, the same anomaly cannot be surprising. The root אֲנִי seems, indeed, almost synonymous with הָיוֹן; for it expresses the noise and tumult characteristic of agitated crowds (compare the cognate roots אֲנִי and אֲנִי, etc.). The patriarch's name was therefore changed from "exalted father" into "father of a multitude of nations." When he received a visible sign of his spiritual elevation, his name should express that great nations and empires were to participate in that blessing. If, therefore, the opinion of some that אֲבִישָׁ is a contraction from אֲבִישָׁ, is an unproved assertion, which would make Abraham the older name; the conjecture of others, that Abraham is identical with the Indian God Bramah, and Sarah with Sarasvati, is a fancy requiring no refutation.—יְשָׁרָא אֲתָּ שָׂרָה (ver. 5) is

for thee, thou shalt keep My covenant, thou and thy seed after thee in their generations.—10. This is My covenant

construed after the sense: "they shall call thy name"; comp. iv. 18, etc.—Whilst the history of Abraham from the twelfth to the sixteenth chapter (with the exception of the fourteenth) proceeds from the Jehovist, the narrative of our chapter, with the solemn covenant it describes, belongs to the elder Elohist, as spirit and language prove beyond a doubt. But it would yet be rash and unwarrantable to declare, with several modern critics, the reading of  $\text{לְךָ}$ , in the first verse, as spurious, and to substitute for it  $\text{בְּךָ}$ . It is a singular notion entertained even by some sober critics, that the Jehovist embodied in his narrative, without modification, the documents of the Elohist, whereas it is evident that as a prudent and intelligent writer, he chose the transitions and carried on the thread of the narrative in accordance with his own great and comprehensive plan. The book of Genesis, as we possess it, is not a mechanical compilation of two different documents, but it is a work of the strictest unity and harmony, conceived and completed by the Jehovist, though he thought fit to avail himself of older sources, considered by him authentic. It is, therefore, futile to insist, in every individual verse, upon determining whether it proceeded from the one or the other, except in instances which seem to point to diverging notions or traditions; but in the connecting verses especially we must be prepared to find the finishing hand of the Jehovist, whose intention it was not to give abrupt fragments, but to write a continuous and well-digested history. We consider, therefore, the reading of  $\text{לְךָ}$  in the first verse as perfectly genuine.

10—14. CIRCUMCISION was instituted as the sign of the covenant between God and Abraham. It is impossible to arrive at a clear idea of this remarkable rite, and of its true meaning in the Mosaic system, without pursuing its *origin* and *history* more clearly than is generally done. We distinguish four chief periods.

1. Circumcision seems to have been first practised by the Ethiopians and other nations of southern Africa. Herodotus even, whose tendency it was to derive most of the ancient institutions from the Egyptians, and who had made careful enquiries about the matter, doubted, whether to ascribe the origin of that custom to the Ethiopians or the Egyptians (ii. 104). But it was, from very ancient times, spread to the south and west, far beyond the boundaries of Meroë; it was, among some nations, performed on both sexes, as is still the case among the Abyssinian Christians; it prevailed among the tribes of the Troglodytes, one of which, the Kolobi, like the Krapphi, extended it to perfect mutilation (*Diod. Sic.*, iii. 32; *Strabo*, xvi. 771, 772); it is in use among the Kafir nations of South Africa, the tribes of Kosa or Amakosa, forming a considerable portion of the native population of Africa (*Pritchard*, *Physic. Hist. of Man*, ii. 287); and it has been discovered in many southern islands of the Indian Seas and the Pacific Ocean. The question arises, what was the origin of this singular custom? It must evidently have a general cause, inherent either in the human mind, or in the human frame, since it was in use among so different nations, possessing no mutual intercourse. Now, a religious motive seems to be out of the question; for some of the nations alluded to are not only strangers to all religious ceremonies, but destitute of all moral feelings. The Troglodytes, for instance, called the cattle, and not father and mother, their parents, since, they say, the former satisfy their wants; they killed not only the sick and invalid, but all persons above 60 years, because they would be burdensome to them on their nomadic wanderings; both the women and children belonged to all in common, and they disposed of their dead in a revolting manner (*Diod.*, iii. 32, 33). There is, therefore, scarcely a doubt that in those southern countries the rite of circumcision was introduced from a physical cause. It was

which you shall keep between Me and you and thy seed after thee: Circumcise every male child among you.

not only a matter of expediency, but, in some cases, of necessity. Philo distinctly observes, that it prevents the painful and often incurable disease of carbuncle (*δερματὶς*); it, further, obviates some fearful disorders (phimosis, gonorrhoea spuria); modern travellers testify, that it precludes great physical inconvenience among the Bushmen; and the Christian missionaries who exerted themselves for its abolition in Abyssinia, were, by the dangerous physical consequences, compelled to desist from their plans. If we hereto add, that among nearly all those tribes, the operation is performed not in infancy, but at the approach of puberty, it becomes evident that the burning temperature of their southern climes, in many cases combined with a peculiar bodily structure of those races, gave rise to the custom of circumcision.

2. From the south, it spread northward into Egypt. Many parts of this country were colonised by emigrants from Ethiopia; and, thus, many primitive customs of the south were transplanted into the land of the Pharaohs. The intercourse with Ethiopia was both constant and animated (see pp. 248, 249). Now, the same complaints to which we have referred as frequent in Ethiopia, may, in many instances, have appeared in Egypt also; and circumcision may, therefore, as a matter of precaution, have been gradually adopted by all Egyptians. But it recommended itself to this people from another consideration also, in their views of the highest importance: that of cleanliness. It is in this light that it is represented by Herodotus: "They are circumcised for the sake of cleanliness, thinking it better to be clean than handsome" (ii. 37); he mentions it in connection with many other customs adopted for the same end; for instance, that they drink from cups of brass which they scour every day; that they wear linen garments, constantly fresh washed; that the priests shave their whole body every third day, that it may harbour no vermin; and that they wash themselves in cold

water twice every day, and twice every night. There is no doubt whatever, that during many centuries that rite was performed by all classes of the Egyptians, and by the whole nation. When the Israelites, after their entrance into Canaan under Joshua, and after a long neglect of the ordinance of circumcision, had conscientiously performed it, they felt that the "reproach of Egypt" was removed from them (Josh. v. 9), which could not be said had it not been universal in Egypt. The examination of the mummies; the fact that the Colchians, who were Egyptian settlers belonging to the army of Sesostris, performed the ceremony; and the accounts of Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus, Philo and Strabo, concur to prove, that circumcision was a general and national institution among the Egyptians. Now, the great authority and exceeding reputation for superior wisdom which they possessed in the ancient world, induced many nations to adopt from them, among other institutions, the practice of circumcision also. Thus, it was performed by the Arabians and Edomites, by the Ammonites and Moabites (Jer. ix. 25), by the Phoenicians and the Syrians about Thermodon and the river Parthenius (*Herod.*, ii. 104); and in this instance, not merely blind veneration but a regard for health and cleanliness assisted in spreading the custom.

3. But it was, in the course of time, observed that many tribes and nations inhabiting the same zones, remained uncircumcised without perceptible danger or inconvenience. That rite was, for instance, never adopted by the Philistines, nor the Canaanites, nor many of the Libyan tribes, nor even some of the Arabians, as the Midianites (comp. 1 Sam. xviii. 25; *Joseph.*, Antiq. VIII. x. 3; *Diod.*, iii. 31; Exod. iv. 25). Hence it happened that not only the people of the Edomites neglected it (*Joseph.*, Antiq. XIII. ix. 1), but that gradually some classes of the Egyptians omitted to perform an operation which, at the more advanced age between boyhood and youth,



# 11. And you shall circumcise the flesh of your foreskin; and it shall be a sign of the covenant between Me and

is extremely painful; and when, in the time of the Persian and Greek dominion, the primitive institutions of Egypt were neglected or underwent important modifications, circumcision ceased to be a national custom. The priests alone preserved it as a mark of their superior purity; they used it as an additional means of shedding round their persons the mysterious halo of elevated sanctity; they insisted upon the law, that none but circumcised persons should be initiated in their mysteries, and they exacted that condition from Pythagoras when he desired to be introduced into their sect (*Clem. Alex.*, Strom., i., p. 130); it is even not improbable that, from the reason alluded to, they discouraged the rite among the people; in the times of Josephus, it was restricted to their caste alone, though permitted to the rest of the nation (*C. Ap.*, ii. 14); and in the age of Origen and Jerome, it was their exclusive privilege (*Orig.*, ad Jer. iv. 14; *Rom.* ii. 13). It was natural, that the wise men of Egypt should connect some higher religious or philosophical notions with the rite of circumcision, especially since it had become entirely their own. Now, it is well known, that a great part of the Egyptian religion consisted in the deification of the powers of nature, and especially of generation; this idea is chiefly represented by their two principal deities, Osiris and Isis, who presided both over fertility and fruitfulness; in Egypt, a chief part of the festival of Bacchus was the public procession of the phallus (*ἰθύφαλλος*), performed in an obscene manner amidst the wild songs of women; and the same rites in honour of Bacchus were from Egypt introduced into Greece, through Melampus, the son of Amytheon, who is said to have obtained his information from Cadmus (*Herod.*, ii. 48, 49; *Aristoph.*, *Acharn.* 229). The origin of the custom is, according to Herodotus, accounted for by a sacred story known only to learned persons. It was, further, generally believed, that circumcision enhances prolificness; and the Egyp-

tians ascribed their increasing population, in a great measure, to the same custom, although it was, besides, considered to be attributable to the purity of the air, and the quality of the water of the Nile. It seems evident, therefore, that the Egyptian priests connected circumcision with the very centre of their religion; that they regarded it as a part of the system by which they endeavoured to penetrate into the secret working of nature; and that, by dedicating the prepuce to their gods, they ascribed to them the wonderful powers of generation.

4. Among the nations which derived the custom of circumcision from the Egyptians, were undoubtedly the Hebrews. We have not only the testimony of Herodotus, that "the Syrians in Palestine" themselves avow this fact (*ii.* 104), but the indirect consent of the Bible itself in that passage of Joshua (*v.* 9), above cited for another purpose; the Egyptians could scarcely have regarded the uncircumcised Israelites with contempt and reproach, if they had themselves only borrowed that rite from them. But more forcible than all inferences, the national character of the Egyptians, their pride and aversion to all foreigners and foreign customs, exclude the supposition, that they should have adopted circumcision from a detested race of nomads, or, as some scholars assert, from the Phœnicians, among whom it seems to have been a sign of consecration to Saturn (*comp.* *xlvi.* 34; *xlili.* 32; *Movers*, *Phœn.* i. 362; *Sanchuniath.*, *Fragm.*, p. 36). Josephus himself tacitly allows to the Egyptians the priority with regard to that practice, and taunts the Egyptian Apion for having neglected a custom which it was a peculiar boast of his native country to have spread among many other nations (*C. Ap.*, ii. 14).

But did Mosaism blindly adopt a heathen ceremony? And here we have arrived at the culminating point of this deduction. In no other institution, perhaps, do we see with greater force and distinctness that

fundamental principle which pervades the whole legislative part of the Old Testament, and without regard to which it will ever be impossible to comprehend its full spiritual meaning, and to balance its exact historical value. We have, both in our Commentary on Exodus, and in the preceding portions of Genesis, made it our special task to show that almost every religious ceremony, perhaps with the only exception of the Sabbath, was based upon a prevailing eastern custom or tradition; but that these common observances or notions were, by Mosaicism, not only divested of their base and superstitious elements, but that they were converted into new doctrines, and were used as vehicles of religious ideas borrowed, in their comprehensiveness and purity, from no other people, but absolutely original in the Hebrew nation; that, just in this prudent accommodation to traditionary practices, the external success of the new religion was secured, while the transformation of rotten and idolatrous institutions into laws of indestructible vitality, constitutes its indisputable claim to originality, and commands the admiration of all ages. Circumcision must, therefore, be viewed in the same light as the sacrifices and the ordinance regarding the "red cow," as the phylacteries and fringes (*tzitzith*), as the dietary laws and the *kid* which is not to be seethed in its mother's milk, or, in a word, as nearly all ceremonial precepts. We have traced the practice of circumcision through its first three stages, as a sanitary measure, as promoting cleanliness, and as a cosmic rite connected with the secrets of propagation, and standing in the service of religion. Now, what were the new ideas associated by Mosaicism with that ancient custom? We cannot repress our conviction that the legislator would scarcely have retained it, had he not regarded it either as a physical or religious necessity, especially as, in all other cases, he forbids with abhorrence every mutilation of the body, which is holy because framed by

Digitized by Google

born in the house or bought with money, of any stranger who is not of thy seed. 13. He who is born in thy house,

two systems is distinctly reflected by the difference with which it was viewed among both nations. The Egyptians regarded nature as the all-powerful parent who produces from her hidden womb everything that grows and lives; while the Hebrews begin with representing God not only as the Creator of heaven and earth, but as the origin of everything which adorns and fills either. But the former considered man also as a part of nature, or as a cosmic being, and therefore the organ of generation was holy, because manifesting a part of the inexplicable power of production; and Osiris was both the god of fertility and prolificness. These notions were not peculiar to the Egyptians alone; they recur wherever nature is deified; they are represented by Baal and Astarte, by Bell and Mylitta; and they led, in some instances, to the usage of castration, as among the Galli, the priests of Cybele, the mother of the gods (*Plin.* xi. 109; xxxv. 46). These pernicious and thoroughly idolatrous ideas were to be opposed and eradicated by the Hebrew institution of circumcision. It teaches that, like every human faculty, the power of generation proceeds from God, and stands under His immediate control; He might grant and withhold it; to Him man owes his children; they are due neither to himself nor to the powers of nature. The higher the pride was with which the Israelites were accustomed to regard a numerous progeny, the greater was necessity to enforce the feeling of humility by showing the entire dependence of man upon the mercy of God both in begetting descendants and in preserving them. Although Abraham was physically not incapable of producing children, as the birth of Ishmael proved, yet Sarah did not for many years bless him with a progeny, thus affording proof that not the mere power of generation, but the grace of God secures offspring. The pride which Prometheus felt in shaping a human being was among many ancient nations shared by every father; and even the first mother, Eve,

could not suppress a similar outburst of exultation when she had born her first son: "I have acquired a man with God" (iv. 1). By thus connecting the rite of circumcision with the purest ideas of resignation and piety, Mosaicism laid a sure foundation for moral conduct; licentiousness, stimulated by the fiery temperament of the Oriental, was checked; the passions were restrained; and if sinful desires or vicious imaginations arose within him, he was reminded by the covenant sealed on his flesh that he had promised holiness of life and innocence of the heart. Hence the word "uncircumcised" (כְּלָמָה) was in the Hebrew language generally used in a purely figurative sense; and phrases like "uncircumcised of heart" or "of ear," prove that the rite here discussed was indeed conceived as a type of some of those inward virtues which constitute the chief end of religion (see *Lev.* xxvi. 41; *Deut.* x. 16; *Jer.* iv. 4; vi. 10; comp. *Rom.* ii. 25—29; *Acts* vii. 51; 1 *Cor.* vii. 19; *John* vii. 22). The blood of circumcision confirmed the personal covenant; hence the boy was, on the day when that rite was performed, called "a bridegroom of blood" (כֶּתֶם דָּם, *Exod.* iv. 26); and the rejected forekin which was considered unclean, typified both the abnegation of lasciviousness, and, like the offering of the firstlings, the acknowledgment of God's sovereignty. Thus a custom of the basest sensuality was converted into a rite of morality; worship of nature into reverence of God; and hierarchy into theocracy. Therefore, to sum up our opinion on circumcision, Mosaicism was compelled to retain it on account of the ignominy with which its neglect was regarded by neighbouring nations (*Josh.* v. 9), and, in consequence, by the Hebrews themselves (*Gen.* xxxiv. 14; comp. *Acts* xi. 3); but it reformed it from a physical expedient or superstitious rite into a symbol of holiness and of alliance between God and man.

From these considerations alone all the precepts regarding circumcision receive

and he who is bought with thy money, must be circumcised: and my covenant shall be on your flesh for an

their true light. It was to be performed on the eighth day, or after *seven complete days* (comp. Lev. xxiii. 16, 18), because every action by which man rises to God and sanctifies himself is connected with that sacred number (see pp. 156, 157); it took place, therefore, at the earliest period of the child's existence, when first he was strong enough to endure the pain, because the whole life should, from its beginning, be devoted to God, whilst almost all the other nations practised it at a much later age (except some tribes of the Arabs, who postpone it only till after teething); it was not only to be performed on the descendants of Abraham, but upon all those servants and strangers who wished to participate in their religious privileges (see on Exod. xii. 43—49), because it represented that spiritual connection with God, without which sacred observances are a profanation; and its neglect was threatened with extirpation (כרת), because it implies a treacherous breach of the covenant (ver. 14; comp. Acts vii. 8). But it must be remarked that although with reference to circumcision, as well as with regard to the *second sign*, the Passover, the term "that soul shall be cut off from his people" is invariably used; it is never, as with respect to the *third sign*, the Sabbath, explained to mean death by the human judges (Exod. xxxi. 14); and although the history of Moses, in connection with his second son, shows that *de facto* death was regarded as the unavoidable consequence of its omission (Exod. iv. 25), yet it cannot be without reason, that *de jure* the power of punishing it, was not clearly given to the earthly tribunals. We believe the true sense of that phrase to be that the individual who transgresses the condition or *sign* of the covenant thereby *resigns* his connection with the Hebrew community, and that he ceases to belong to it. Now, of the three signs of the Old Testament, the Sabbath alone affects the *social* or political condition of the state; the neglect of its ob-

servance is not only an evil example, but necessarily disturbs the general rest; it is, therefore, a *public crime*, and thus becomes amenable to public justice; whereas circumcision is a *personal*, and the Passover a *domestic observance* (Exod. xii. 8, 4); their transgression shows the impiety of the individual, but it does not endanger the civil order or the organism of the state; and therefore the punishment was ordinarily left to God Himself, who chastises him who despises His word, and destroys His command (Num. xv. 31). Hence we have a conspicuous instance of public justice exercised on the "stick-gatherer" who desecrated the Sabbath (Num. xv. 32—36); but none of a similar legal punishment with regard to the two other ordinances. — It must further be observed that circumcision, as *here commanded to Abraham*, exceeds in scope and meaning by far even its ordinary importance. For it is here not merely a *personal* sign for the patriarch; but it implies also the *national covenant* with Israel, since it is connected with the promises regarding the great people which was to descend from him; and it includes even that prophetic future, when the patriarch will be a *universal blessing* to all nations; for the spiritual covenant which it symbolises reaches to unnumbered generations; it is the starting-point of an endless career of love and holiness. — From this point of view we may explain the extensiveness with which circumcision is here enjoined, although it was later, in the *Law*, materially restricted. It is to be performed on *every slave* that is born in the house or bought with money, belonging to whatever foreign nation (vers. 12, 13); whereas it was later left to the option of the servants and the strangers whether they wished to submit to the rite or not (Exod. xii. 43—49). Here the *ideal future* is regarded, when there will be no distinction between "a stranger of justice" and "a stranger of the gate," but when all will form one holy community; whereas the

everlasting covenant. 14. And the uncircumcised male who is not circumcised on the flesh of his foreskin, that

Law necessarily took regard of existing circumstances, which though not hopeless were far from guaranteeing fulfilment.

We conclude with a few miscellaneous remarks. Originally circumcision was performed with a stone knife, to prevent inflammation (see note on Exod. iv. 26), but at present it is safely done with a steel knife, except on boys who die before the eighth day from their birth, when the ancient custom is followed, as is the case in all instances among the Abyssinian Christians.—Although it is practised on “the flesh” it would be against the spirit of Mosaicism to connect it with the hereditary sin of the first couple, who, after their disobedience, were ashamed and “knew that they were naked” (ii. 25; iii. 7). The covenant of Abraham refers to the future, not to the past; and the curse of Adam, earthly toil and labour, is thereby neither removed nor relaxed.—Sons of Hebrew mothers and heathen fathers were admitted, but not compelled, to circumcision.—The operation was generally performed by the father himself (xxi. 4), but any Israelite was allowed to act in his stead (*Joseph.*, Antiq. XII. v. 4); heathens alone were excluded; in cases of emergency women even were admitted (Exod. iv. 26). But as practice is required to prevent danger, pious persons devoted themselves to that office which they exercised gratuitously, finding their reward in the consciousness of having introduced the children into the holy covenant (*Joseph.*, Antiq. XX. ii. 5).—The boy generally received his name on the day of circumcision. And hence we may derive another collateral reason why Abraham’s name was changed when that ceremony was commanded to him.—There is no historical difficulty in the supposition that circumcision was already introduced in Abraham’s time, though it can scarcely be doubted that it received its deeper and internal development only since the diffusion of Mossaism; for it was long generally neglected, and Joshua first carried it

out in its full extent (*Josh.* v. 2—9); but from that period it seems, on the whole, to have been faithfully observed; the epithet uncircumcised (כְּרִית) was deemed the greatest insult and ignominy (*Jud.* xiv. 3; 1 Sam. xvii. 26, etc.); and the strictures of the prophets are not directed against its omission, but against “the uncircumcised circumcised people” who observe the external ritual but are nevertheless “uncircumcised in heart” (*Jerem.* ix. 25); and in this sense, even circumcised nations seem sometimes to have been simply called “uncircumcised ones” (כְּרִיתִים; *Ezek.* xxxi. 18; xxxii. 19), a proof how clearly the internal purity was regarded as the only aim of this rite. Among the Israelites, therefore, circumcision took, in the course of time, deeper root, while it gradually fell into disuse among the Egyptian people; a natural consequence of the fact proved above, that the one regarded it as a matter of religion, the others of expediency.—Although it was by no means an exclusive characteristic of the Israelites, since they shared it with many other nations, and though it was not even original among them, its sacredness was, indeed, peculiar almost to them alone; and hence heathen conquerors, as Antiochus Epiphanes and other enemies, often rigorously interdicted it as one of the surest means of weakening among them the faith of their ancestors; but they never succeeded; it was practised in secret till they were again permitted to perform it without restriction (1 Mac. i. 61, 63; ii. 46). On the other hand, the Israelites never favoured proselytism; they especially allowed the strangers free choice with regard to circumcision; and the conduct of later fanatics who forced subjugated nations, as the Idumeans and Itureans, to submit to it against their will, met with the severest censure on the part of the more enlightened portions of the community (*Joseph.*, Antiq. XIII. ix. 1; xi. 3; *Vit.* 23; *Jer.* ix. 25; comp., however, *Gen.* xxxiv.

soul shall be cut off from his people; he hath destroyed My covenant.—15. And God said to Abraham, Sarai thy

24).—In the Christian church it was, after serious controversy between the apostles, remitted to the *heathens* who embraced the new doctrines, “in order not to lay upon them greater burdens than the necessary things” (Acts xv. 28, comp. xvi. 1—3); and later only exemption was tacitly extended to Christians of Jewish descent (comp. Acts xxi. 20—25; Rom. iv. 9—13; Phil. iii. 3—5).—Through the Mohammedans, circumcision was spread among the Persians, Turks, and Indians, and is in many parts performed on both sexes. Travellers inform us that it was even practised in Otahiti and among some American tribes (*Michaelis*, *Orient. Biblioth.* xv. 50; *Gumilla*, *Hist. de l’Oroque* i. 183).

It would be an endless and unprofitable task, were we to review the various opinions and systems proposed with regard to circumcision. Here, again, the love of framing conjectures had a free and wide field, and the opportunity was eagerly seized. Let us assure the reader, that we have endeavoured to consider this important subject impartially in its various aspects, and to lay before him the results in the easiest and briefest form possible.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—The forms הפול (vers. 10, 13), and פול (vers. 12, 13, 14, 25), are perfectly regular; the former is the infinitive, the latter the future of Niphal of פול; and in ver. 10, the infinitive is used emphatically instead of the imperative, as is frequently the case both in Hebrew and in Greek (see note on Exod. xii. 48). But some verbs עץ are at the same time verbs פץ, as, for instance, לץ, of which occurs מלצים (Exod. xvi. 8; Numb. xv. 27) from לץ; thus both מול and נמל were in use, and to the latter root belongs מלץ (ver. 11), the simple preterite Kal, a form which has caused so much needless discussion; for it cannot be the Niphal of מול, which would require נמול or, with a usual compensation, נפול (vers. 26, 27; xxxiv. 22), nor the Niphal of מלל, which would demand נמל or נפל (comp. נחלץ; Ezek.

xxii. 16; נחץ, Jer. xxii. 23; *Geon. Lehrs.*, p. 373). But the Niphal of מול has the meaning of a passive, whereas נמל has transitive signification; hence the words את בשר עלתכם in ver. 11, are the simple objective case, whilst את בשר עלתו in vers. 14, 24, and 25, is the accusativus Græcus, denoting the part on which the ceremony is to be performed (comp. iii. 15; Ps. iii. 8; Deut. xxxiii. 11; see note on Exod. i. 7, *ad* ותמלא הארץ אתם).—The fact that several times the circumcision of the males (זכר) only is enjoined, may point to the legislator’s intention to exclude that rite in the other sex, though it was customary among many ancient nations, but not universal among the Egyptians. It seems, therefore, that he preserved of that ceremony only so much as was indispensable for avoiding opprobrium and public contumely, whilst he ennobled that part which he retained into a theocratic rite.—עלה is the prepu ium, Sept. *ἀκροβυρία* or *ἀκαθαρσία*, since it was considered unclean, and its resection symbolised also the abandonment of all impure thoughts and deeds. That על is identical with על, to tremble, and that עלה is synonymous with עלה (Isai. iii. 19) *est*, is in itself not impossible; but this signification is inappropriate in almost all passages.—מעפיה (ver. 14) instead of מפיה is a poetical plural to add solemnity to the severe menace (comp. Lev. vii. 20, etc.), as is, besides, the case in the phrase האסף אל עמיו (xxv. 8, etc.; comp. משכנות in Ps. cxxiii. 5).—הפר is in pausa instead of הפר, like העש (Isai. xlii. 22) and עש (Jer. xxii. 14), which anomalous transition from zero into patach is explained by the supposition of an intermediate form with segol (הפר, הפר, הפר), but is possible only when the penultimate is open, as in the cited instances, and is obvious from the case which Tush quotes: יחתן, which could not be in pausa יחתן, is changed into יחיתן (Hab. ii. 17), with an open

wife, thou shalt not call her name Sarai, but Sarah *shall* her name *be*. 16. And I shall bless her, and shall also give thee a son of her: and I shall bless her, and she shall be *a mother* of nations; kings of people shall be of her. 17. And Abram fell upon his face, and laughed, and thought in his heart, Shall *a child* be born to one who is a hundred years old? and shall Sarah, who is ninety years old, bear? 18. And Abraham said to God, O that Ish-

penultimate. — The Rabbinical laws on circumcision, which for the most part carry out the spirit of the Biblical notices, may be found in Joreh Deah, §§ 260—266. But the opinion of Maimonides that it moderates the sexual passion, and thus promotes the spiritual elevation of Israel (Mor. Neb. iii. 49); and that of Jehudah Halevi, that it teaches to remember, that God, who implanted the strongest desires in man, demands that man should conquer them, and should only satisfy the necessity of nature (*Oseari*, i. 116; comp. ii. 34; iii. 7); these opinions explain but a part of the true tendency of the Mosaic rite.

15—22. In all promises hitherto made to Abraham, Sarah had never been mentioned; and though the patriarch had, at first, naturally expected, that the blessings would be realized through her, he resigned that hope on Ishmael's birth, which, in fact, seemed to imply the fulfilment of the exact Divine assurances. But this would neither have caused perfect happiness to the patriarch, nor would it have been fully in harmony with the Divine scheme. The mother of the great nation which was to teach His name and to propagate His glory, could not be a foreign bond-maid: in the eyes of the later Hebrews, such an alliance was an abomination, and they would have blushed to acknowledge an ancestry with which they would have been perpetually taunted by their enemies. Therefore, for Abraham's sake as well as for the honour of God, it was indispensable that *Sarah* should become the mother of the Hebrew nation; and after the spiritual covenant had been communicated to the

patriarch, he received, as its immediate consequence, the promise of progeny through his lawful wife. For, although it was necessary to teach, by the birth of Ishmael, that fruitfulness and barrenness lie in the hands of God, it was as important to show, that the pure seed can only be begotten in purity, and that children are a true and permanent blessing only if born and reared in piety. If, therefore, the change of name was significant in Abraham, it was almost indispensable in Sarah, since with her a new epoch commenced, both in a physical and religious respect. Hence she received a name indicating that her struggles and her sorrows were passed, that she would have no longer to contend with her barrenness (*שׂרָה*), but that she would be the mother of nations and princes, and could, therefore, henceforth be herself regarded as a queen (*מַלְכָּה*). Before this time, the names of the husband and the wife were widely different: whilst the former had always been "*a father of elevation*," the latter was humbled by her fruitless efforts against the curse of *sterility*. But now, when the indestructible foundation for a great future was to be laid, their names became nearly synonymous; "*the father of a great multitude*" is equivalent to the "*mother of nations and of kings of a great people*." — But Abraham, who had but just evinced his pious reverence for God (ver. 3), now, at this unexpected renewal of the promise, could not suppress the doubt arising in his mind; he viewed the prospect from its natural probability; he acted again as a frail mortal; he smiled at the idea of progeny at his own and Sarah's old age; and he uttered the

mael might live before thee! 19. And God said, Indeed, Sarah thy wife will bear thee a son; and thou shalt call his name Isaac: and I shall establish my covenant with him for an everlasting covenant, with his seed after him. 20. And as for Ishmael, I have heard thee; behold, I have blessed him, and I shall make him fruitful, and shall multiply him exceedingly; twelve princes will he beget, and I shall make him a great nation. 21. But My covenant I

prayer, that Ishmael might only live and walk in the ways of God; he was contented with the son of Hagar, if he could but obtain the certainty that this son would, by his virtuous conduct, be worthy to be the ancestor of blessed nations and kings. It may be, that the *laughing* (צחק) of Abraham points to the name of the promised son Isaac (יצחק); but this accidental coincidence of the words neither removes nor mitigates the reproach of fluctuating faith (comp. xv. 8); Abraham himself seems to have felt, that his doubt was unjustifiable; for he dared not to express it aloud; it was a pusillanimous *thought* which arose in his heart (ויאמר בלבו); it was a tribute which the divine aspirations within him paid to human weakness. — The answer returned by God to Abraham's prayer regarding Ishmael, was as decided as it was characteristic. The son of Hagar should, indeed, be blessed; but with the blessings of this world; he should grow into a numerous and powerful nation; he should spread over wide territories; twelve princes should descend from him (xxv. 12—16); and the dread of his name should inspire respect and fear. But with the son of Sarah, God would "establish His covenant for ever"; by him should Abraham's seed be called (xxi. 12); he should be blessed with the benedictions of faith and truth; his greatest glory would not consist in earthly splendour, or conquest, or a mighty name; but in that true and unceasing happiness which knowledge and religion yield, which is above the vicissitudes of fortune, and finds consolation and hope in the serenity of an exalted mind. The basis on which the future salvation of

mankind was to be erected, was not the transitory and cold glitter of worldly greatness, but the eternal sunshine of truth.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS. — Whilst the later name of Abraham's wife, שָׂרָה, is clear, and means *mistress* or *queen*, her earlier appellation, שָׂרָי, has been much disputed. But we do not hesitate to derive it from שָׂרָה, in the meaning of *combating* or *contending*, and to explain it after the analogy of xxxii. 29, and Hos. xii. 4, where the same root is employed: "thou hast contended (שָׂרָי) with God and with man and hast prevailed"; and, "with his strength he contended (שָׂרָה) with God"; and if we hereto add the exclamation of Rachel, in xxx. 8, when she gave birth to her son Naphtali: "the combats of God have I combated with my sister," nothing seems wanting to establish with extreme probability, that שָׂרָי signifies the woman who struggles against difficulties, and contends with her ill fate; for as such barrenness was considered in an eminent degree. — It is generally considered only as another form for שָׂרָה, and, therefore, believed to mean also *princess*, whilst Ewald explains it as — a *quarrelsome woman*! — שָׂרָי is formed like שָׂרָי instead of שָׂרָה. — Etymological plays upon names are in great favour among Orientals; and in addition to ver. 17, the connection between צחק and the verb צחק to *laugh*, or *play*, is four times more alluded to in our next chapters (in xviii. 12; xxi. 6, 9; and xxvi. 8), which belong partly to the Elohist and partly to the Jehovist. The diffident smile of Abraham cannot, however, be excused on the plea that the fifteenth chapter, in



shall establish with Isaac, whom Sarah will bear to thee at this season in the next year. 22. And He ceased to speak to him, and God went up from Abraham.—23. And Abraham took Ishmael his son, and all who were born in his house, and all who were bought with his money, every male among the men of Abraham's house; and circumcised the flesh of their foreskin on the same day, as God had said to him. 24. And Abram *was* ninety-nine years old when he was circumcised on the flesh of his foreskin. 25. And Ishmael his son *was* thirteen years old when he was circumcised on the flesh of his foreskin. 26. On the same day was Abraham circumcised, and Ishmael his son. 27. And all the men of his house, born in the house and bought with money of the stranger, were circumcised with him.

which Abraham's faith is mentioned (ver. 6), is traceable to the Jehovist, whereas our chapter belongs to the Elohist; for this would destroy that unity of plan and execution, which we have proved to exist in the whole history of Abraham.—A great number of manuscripts read instead of לורעו (in ver. 19) ולורעו, which is suspicious just because it is easier. The preceding words אֶתְּ לְבְרִית עִוְלָם have the sense of: "with him for ever"; and this is explained, by way of apposition, by לורעו "namely with his seed."—The prefix ל in לְיִשְׁמָעֵאל (ver. 20) signifies *with regard to*. —ויעל אלהים (ver. 22) is a familiar expression, like its reverse ירד (xi. 5), or like the simple ילך (xviii. 33; comp. Judg. vi. 21, see p. 318).

23—27. The great importance of the "sign of the covenant" induced the historian to record the execution of the Divine command with emphatic copiousness. As the servants purchased from foreign nations were also subjected to circumcision, it may be supposed that he regarded this custom to have spread, through them and their descendants, among the various tribes to which they belonged; and it is, perhaps, in this way that he accounted for its occurrence among nations which had nothing else in common with the Hebrews; but it is certain, that he intended to explain the

usage of the Arabians, who circumcise their males in the thirteenth year, by the circumstance that Ishmael had then attained that age.—Although, in the time of the Hebrew commonwealth, it was left to the option of the strangers whether they would submit to that rite or not, the patriarch's example seems designed to impress the advisability of its universal adoption by all those who shared with the Hebrews the abodes in Canaan. The aim of the Mosaic law was not only to teach monotheism, but practically to introduce it into the life of the Israelites; every pernicious example was, therefore, to be removed; even "the strangers of the gate" were obliged to observe the "seven laws of Noah," among which are idolatry, murder, blasphemy and incest; and although they enjoyed some social and legal advantages, they were excluded from all spiritual privileges, which were secured only by entering the covenant through circumcision. As the house of Abraham formed one harmonious family, so should the "house of Israel" be united by the twofold bond of sacred duties and sacred rights. The isolation of the Hebrews proceeded not, like that of the Egyptians, from an unsociable and suspicious disposition, but from an anxious regard to the highest boons of man (see Comment. on Exod., pp. 432, 433).

## CHAPTER XVIII.

**SUMMARY.**—God and three angels appeared to Abraham, chiefly to renew to Sarah also the promises before made to the patriarch alone. The angels were hospitably received and treated. The announcement that she would, within a year, bear a son, was made to Sarah, who heard it with an incredulous doubt; but God pointed to His omnipotence, which overrules nature itself. The angels proceeded towards Sodom; while God communicated to Abraham his intention of destroying that town and the whole district, on account of the extreme wickedness of the inhabitants. The patriarch interceded for them with persevering fervour, and obtained from God the promise that He would spare the towns if but ten righteous men were found in them.

1. And the Lord appeared to him in the oak-grove of Mamre: and he was sitting *in* the tent door in the heat of the day. 2. And he lifted up his eyes and looked, and, behold, three men stood by him: and when he saw *them*, he ran to meet them from the tent door, and bowed down to

1—16. Sarah had but very gradually been included in the Divine promises; and it was only at the last great vision, at the conclusion of the covenant, that her name was for the first time connected with them. But she had herself not yet been favoured with any personal assurance from the Deity; it is, therefore, the immediate end of the following beautiful narrative to record that she had indeed been graced by a distinction, which belonged to her, both as the inseparable partner of the patriarch's destinies, and as the mother of the holy people. Hence this apparition is not connected with any of those awful circumstances which generally attend such manifestations; it is a familiar and a domestic meeting, imbued with all the charms of idyllic tranquillity. God appeared to Abraham whilst the latter was seeking shelter from the burning rays of the meridian sun under the shady oaks of Mamre (ver. 1). Accustomed to such gracious proofs of Divine love, the patriarch recognised at once the judge of the whole earth; he felt the presence of the Eternal Spirit. But at the same moment he observed three figures in human form standing before him; and after having quickly offered them his civilities, he hastened to address God, and to entreat Him not to pass by him without again making him

participant of His glory (vers. 2, 3). He then turned to the three strangers, and urged them to recruit themselves under the shadow of the trees from the fatigues of their journey, and to partake of the refreshments he might be able to offer. The men consented (vers. 4, 5). The patriarch, eager to fulfil the sacred duties of hospitality, ordered Sarah to prepare quickly cakes of the finest flour; he selected himself from his folds a calf "tender and good," and commanded to dress it without delay. Cream and milk were added to the feast, which was spread under a tree before the tent, and at which the great emir himself served. The three men sat down and partook of the food, while the spirit of God hovered among the assembly (vers. 6—8). But these guests were no simple mortals; they were "messengers" of the Deity, and initiated in the design and purpose of the Divine appearance. They inquired, therefore, after Sarah, for whom particularly that special honour was intended (ver. 9). She was immediately behind them in the tent; female modesty had retained her at a distance from the strange men; but female curiosity had brought her to the very door of the tent, from where she could overhear their conversation. The glorious announcement, however, was not to be made by the messenger, but by God Him-

the ground.—3. And he said, Lord, if, I pray Thee, I have found favour in Thy sight, pass not, I pray Thee, by Thy servant.—4. Let a little water, I pray you, be fetched, and wash your feet, and recline under the tree: 5. And I will fetch a morsel of bread, and you may refresh your

self; and He, therefore, repeated, in nearly the same terms as before, the assurance that, in the next year, at the same season, Sarah would be the mother of a son (ver. 10). It was not to be expected that Sarah, the woman, the jealous and spiteful rival of Hagar, should with greater faith than Abraham rely upon a promise apparently defying every human possibility; she felt that the freshness and bloom of her life had long faded away, and that, indeed, all the symptoms of womanly strength had disappeared: she smiled, therefore, within herself, like Abraham, who knew that he had also reached the age of infirmity and exhaustion (vers. 11, 12). But when God reiterated with enhanced emphasis the same promise; when he distinctly urged that the birth of the son was indeed not to be expected in the natural way, but was to be left to the infinite omnipotence of God, Sarah blushed at her want of faith; she was ashamed to acknowledge her doubt; she took refuge in the specious pretext, that her smile had not risen to her face, but had only lingered in her heart; forgetting that the sinful thought is equally culpable before the Divine tribunal. However, God accepted the quick repentance of Sarah; He counted it to her as faith (Heb. xi. 11, 12); and He, who is the source of truth, contented Himself with merely correcting, without censuring or punishing, her ambiguous assertion (vers. 13—15). When the repast was finished, the “men” rose to proceed towards Sodom (vers. 16, 22), where two of them arrived in the evening, in the capacity of Divine messengers or angels (xix. 1); whilst God remained still with Abraham, to communicate to him His schemes regarding the destruction of the wicked inhabitants of the district of the Jordan (vers. 17—33).

We have premised this analysis of our

chapter, in order to show, in the briefest possible manner, our views regarding the extraordinary scene which it describes, and to obviate at once the various, most objectionable, and often blasphemous, interpretations which it has called forth. But, above all, we have thus avoided imputing to the Hebrew writer notions concerning the Deity which would bear a perfectly heathen character, and would be in direct and absolute opposition to the whole of the Biblical canon. For God cannot be included in the “three men”; He has no corporeal form, and is visible only to the mental eye; He can be compared to nothing accessible to the external senses, not even to angels: there exists no object so ethereal, no substance so fine, either in heaven or on earth, from which He has borrowed any similitude; and it is distinctly stated, that when his faithful servant, Moses, received from Him the laws of truth, he saw only His glory, but no material form whatever. It is unnecessary to dilate upon the importance of this doctrine; it is inferior to none, except the existence and unity of God; and it forms, therefore, the contents of the second of the ten commandments (see notes on Exod., pp. 345, 346). How can we, therefore, suppress our astonishment, that many expositors believed even that God is here represented as really eating of the food prepared by Abraham? We do not, of course, allude to those who have, with their usual levity, eagerly seized this narrative, in order to show that Mosaism is nothing else but another form of absurd paganism; we speak of those pious and venerable men who, by their authority, provoked and almost sanctioned such pernicious profanations; who taxed all their ingenuity to make the act of eating appear compatible with the attributes of God; who, like Augustin, contended that

heart ; after *which* you may pass on : since you once passed your servant. And they said, So do, as thou hast said. 6. And Abraham hastened into the tent to Sarah, and said, Make ready quickly three seahs of fine flour, knead *it*, and make cakes. 7. And Abraham ran to the

He *can* take food, although He does not *require* it; that He is like the sun, which can absorb the water without wanting it, and not like the earth, which cannot exist without it: we speak of those who, like Justin, compared the eating of God with the devouring power of the fire; and of those who, starting from the correct maxim, that God is the unlimited Lord of all matter, forgot that He Himself, in His being and His essence, is for ever separated from it; that He frames and rules it, but that it can never constitute a part of His nature or of His manifestations.— But it may be objected, that the same difficulty remains with regard to the three angels who appear in human form (xix. 1, 15), and who are clearly stated to have eaten (ver. 8). It must, however, be distinctly observed, that our knowledge concerning the nature and the office of the angels, from the earlier books of the Old Testament, is extremely limited; that there is historical evidence that the doctrines regarding these mediators between God and man were but gradually spread and developed among the Hebrews; and that, though some reminiscences of them may have remained among the descendants of Abraham from their original home in Chaldea, they received their fuller outlines only in those later periods when the notions of the Hebrews were not immaterially influenced by their contact with the Babylonians. The angels appear, throughout our section, in every respect as mortals; they wash their feet, recline beneath a tree, eat, and excite the immoral desire of the Sodomites (xix. 5): nothing, in fact, distinguishes them from human beings except the supernatural mission entrusted to them, and manifest only by their deeds, not their persons.

In order to leave no doubt on this important subject, it seems expedient briefly

to sketch the notions of the Old Testament regarding the angels. Whenever God intended to *manifest His power by visible acts, He sent His angels*. Thus He charged an angel to redeem the Israelites from the thralldom of Egypt (Num. xx. 16); and when Elijah, exhausted by hunger, and abandoned in the desert, prayed to God, an angel appeared, fed and strengthened him (1 Kings xix. 4—7). God charged an angel, suddenly to destroy the proud army of Sennacherib (2 Chron. xxxii. 21); now to spread, and now to check, the raging pestilence in Jerusalem (2 Sam. xxiv. 16, 17; 1 Chron. xxi. 16). Hence all the contrasts, which sometimes seem to amount to contradictions, can be accounted for. The angels were, on the one hand, identified with those powers of nature employed by God either to terrify or to benefit mankind; and, therefore, the winds, the rain, and the flashes of lightning, are called His angels (Ps. civ. 4; Job xxxvii. 6); or they are, on the other hand, regarded as a part of Divine nature itself; and, therefore, the being originally introduced as an angel of God, ultimately proves to be God Himself. An angel rescued, consoled, and advised Hagar (xvi. 7; xxi. 17); and commanded Abraham in Moriah to abstain from killing his son (xxii. 11, 16); an angel instructed Jacob in a dream concerning the increase of his flock (xxxi. 11); and addressed and exhorted Moses from the bush in Horeb (Exod. iii. 2): all which functions belong to God alone, and can by Him only be performed (see p. 382). Further, sometimes angels are seen with impunity (Num. xxii. 23; 1 Chron. xxi. 16, 20; comp. Gen. xvi. 13, 14), and sometimes they cause the death of those who behold them with their external eyes (Judg. vi. 22); sometimes they accept food (Gen. xviii. 8), and sometimes they smile at the idea of mortal wants (Judg. xiii. 16; comp. Tobit

herd, and fetched a calf tender and good, and gave *it* to a young man; and he hastened to dress it. 8. And he took sour milk, and fresh milk, and the calf which he had dressed, and set *it* before them: and he stood by them under the tree,

xii. 19); on one occasion, they enter into familiar intercourse with man, and on another, they preserve a mysterious superiority; an angel now condescends to wrestle with Jacob, and now finds it advisable not even to reveal his wonderful name, since it expresses his incomprehensible nature (comp. Gen. xviii., xix.; Judg. xiii.; Hos. xii. 5). It is, further, clear, from the principle above proposed, why sometimes *one* angel is introduced as comprising the whole sum of Divine omnipotence and love (xxiv. 7; xlviii. 15, 16, etc.); and sometimes a plurality of angels representing the manifold emanations of His nature; so that they form "a camp of God," or are the connecting links between heaven and earth, ascending and descending, according to the offices assigned to them (Gen. xxviii. 12; xxxii. 2; comp. Ps. xci. 11; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 15; Tobit xii. 15, 18); again, why the angels possess now, all the sublime qualities of the Deity (Judg. xiii. 18, 21, 22), and now, are said not to be pure in the eyes of God (Job iv. 18). Since thus the angels represent the infinite manifestations of His will and His powers, it is natural, that gradually angels of very various attributes were conceived; we have a protecting angel (Gen. xlviii. 15, 16), and one who intercedes with God in favour of man (יְרֵאָה, מַלְאָכִים; Job xxxiii. 23); we have a destroying angel, as well as a host of evil angels (2 Sam. xxiv. 16, 17; 1 Chron. xxi. 12, 15—17; Ps. lxxviii. 49); and since, indeed, the human mind can understand God in his visible manifestations, rather than in His unfathomable abstract attributes, we see angels hold an intermediate station between God and man: in the time of pestilence, David beheld the angel of God standing between heaven and earth, with his sword drawn over Jerusalem — and he fell down and prayed to God (2 Sam. xxiv. 16). God speaks to His prophets frequently through

angels (1 Kings xiii. 18; Zech. i. 10, 13; ii. 2, etc.); even priests are called angels (Mal. ii. 7; Eccl. v. 6); and the utmost degree of human wisdom is compared to that of an angel of God (2 Sam. xiv. 17, 20). — It is evident from all this, that the Biblical views regarding the angels, in no way impair the purity of monotheism; angels are either the impersonations of God Himself in His works and deeds, or they stand under His will and control; they are divested of every independent power; and it is a most interesting task, which we reserve for a future occasion, to trace the analogy between these conceptions of the Hebrews and those of other nations, and to examine how far the one are indebted to the other.

But we must here at once observe, that the doctrine of the angels is of no importance in the Mosaic system; angels were adopted from the general circle of Oriental ideas; and their nature and offices were modified only so far, as strictly to harmonise with the great truths of the Old Testament. It will, therefore, not even be necessary, as it would be against the sound interpretation of the language, to understand, in our passage, the eating of the angels, as Josephus and other ancient and modern interpreters do, "that they had the appearance of persons who eat"; for, if we attempt to remove every human attribute from the nature of the angels, we totally destroy the character of this narrative. We consider the introduction of angels in the Pentateuch as belonging to the *form* of its composition, which is to be regarded in exactly the same light as all other eastern writings; and it was sufficient for us to show, that it nowhere interferes with the fundamental idea of Mosaicism. Those who have attentively read our remarks on Paradise, the Fall, the Deluge, and the Dispersion, will understand the meaning and scope of this view,

and they ate.—9. And they said to him, Where is Sarah thy wife? And he said, Behold, in the tent. 10. And He said, I shall surely come again to thee at the return of *this* season; and, behold, Sarah thy wife will have a son.

and will require no further exposition. And, indeed, the whole promise made to the patriarch, has an almost complete parallel in an old Greek story. Jupiter, accompanied by Neptune and Mercury, once travelled through the earth. One day, towards the evening, they had come near the humble cottage of an old man, Hyrieus. When the latter saw the strangers, he supplicated them to pass the night under his roof. He entertained them first with beans and herbs, and household wine; but when, by some remark of Neptune, he inferred that his guests were immortal gods, he was overwhelmed with awe; and in order to treat them more worthily, he killed and roasted his only ox, and placed before them the wine which he had racked in his early years. Jupiter wishing to reward his virtue, requested him to ask whatever treasure he desired. The old man rejoined, that he once had a dear wife, the choice of his youth, to whom he had sworn that she should be his only spouse; but she died without leaving him an offspring; he, therefore, “desired to be a father without being a husband.” The gods assented; and ten months later, a son, Urion or Orion, was born to him (*Ovid*, *Fast.* v. 495—540). —However, great as the resemblance of this fable with our narrative may be, the difference is far greater, and more striking. It is not only that the former introduces *three gods*, or that the old man displays his full hospitality only when he had learnt their great power and rank; but the manner in which that son was born was such, as even *Ovid* remarks, “Modesty forbids him to relate.” The Biblical miracles are based upon nature; the omnipotence of God controls, but does not pervert it; He enhances, but does not destroy its power and working; He is under no necessity of defying the eternal laws in order to produce a temporary effect. He might infuse new vigour into the decrepit frames of Abra-

ham and Sarai; but that Abraham should alone have produced a descendant, would be utterly against the spirit of the Old Testament. Eve was, indeed, represented as being formed of Adam in an extraordinary way; but the creation consisted in a series of supernatural acts; and after its completion only, the ordinary laws came into operation. —These differences will, at the same time, teach us why the visit of the angels was at all introduced into the text, besides the vision of God Himself. The holy books of most of the eastern and ancient nations are replete with visits of the gods, appearing in human form; they surprise and try the people; and enter their houses and cottages, in order to partake of all their physical enjoyments. It would be unnecessary to adduce instances, as the Indian legends and Greek mythology will easily furnish them to everybody. Now, such stories are not only derogatory, but destructive of Divine majesty; they endanger the notions regarding the most essential attributes of God; and it was, therefore, important to show that whenever God deigns to visit the house of mortals, He does it through His messengers, whose compound nature permits them to join their domestic pleasures and recreations.

The beautiful and truly Oriental picture of these verses is faithful in every detail; it has been verified by all successive travellers, and is pervaded by a glow and heartiness which touch and purify. In the favourable season the Bedouins use their tents chiefly in the evening and the night. The women alone remain there in perpetual retirement, while the men stay during the day before it, either under a projecting marquee or under a neighbouring tree, where also not unfrequently strangers are invited to rest and to share the meals. If wanderers wish to enter a tent, they stand before it till they are

And Sarah heard *it* in the tent door, and she *was* behind it. 11. Now Abraham and Sarah *were* old *and* advanced in age; *and* it ceased to be with Sarah after the manner of women. 12. Therefore Sarah laughed within herself,

observed. The virtue of hospitality is one of the great redeeming virtues in the character of the Bedouins. Though nothing is too great, and nothing too small to tempt their rapacity, a stranger is, in their eyes, a holy person, whom they shield and honour, and treat with anxious kindness, and often dismiss with presents. They feel a happiness in finding individuals on whom to bestow their liberality; they not seldom look out for strangers; they do not withhold their last sheep or goat, even if they know that they will then themselves be exposed to want; and Europeans find their importunity frequently burdensome. This virtue was, from the earliest times, invested with a solemn and religious character; the strangers stand under the immediate protection of the deity; fearful judgment is inflicted upon the impious who treacherously abandon a traveller or illtreat a guest; in the hospitable tent even deadly enmities are silenced; and the avenger of blood here spares his mortal foe. Among the Israelites the same notion prevailed; and it is a proof of the great moral importance which was attached to it, that the virtuous patriarch's example is here conspicuously placed before his descendants (comp. xxiv. 25, 32; Exod. ii. 20; Judg. xiii. 15; xix. 15, 20; Job xxxi. 32, etc.). Both in the New Testament and in the Talmud are the same duties enjoined with great power, and are regarded as essential parts of a holy life (Rom. xii. 13; Hebr. xiii. 2; 1 Tim. v. 10; *Talm.* Sheb. 35 *b*, etc.). The social organization of the ancient communities rendered the virtue of hospitality almost indispensable; no public inns existed to afford accommodation to travellers; the roads were difficult and unsafe; and the cities were often separated by great and dreary tracts of land. Hence we find it enforced and scrupulously practised even among the

most uncivilised nations, while the Greeks especially developed it into a most affecting and beautiful custom, in which all the amiable qualities of their happy character shone forth in their full grace (comp. *Diod. Sic.* v. 28, 34; *Cæc. Bell. Gall.* vi. 23; *Tacit. Germ.* 21; *Hæm. Od.* i. 119—177; *iii.* 34, *et seq.*; *iv.* 20 *et seq.*, 30—38; *ix.* 269—271; *Il.* vi. 174; *ix.* 185, *et seq.*; *Ælian.* iv. 1, etc., etc.). But the testimonies of modern travellers regarding Bedouin hospitality are so numerous and so uniform that it would be both impossible and useless to introduce them (see the references in *Winer, Bibl. Wört.* i. pp. 390, 391; comp. note on Exod. iv. 24). Even at present, the Arabians undertake journeys only if induced by commerce, religion, or necessity; but very seldom from curiosity, and scarcely ever for the pursuit of pleasure, which would be too dearly purchased by extreme inconvenience and often imminent danger. The pilgrim caravans are, therefore, preceded and followed by considerable numbers of well-armed men. The journey from Damascus to Mecca requires 45 days, and is often made with 30,000 to 40,000 camels, and sometimes with 80,000. As the only object of the host is his own satisfaction, or the performance of a religious duty, he seldom molests his guests with questions concerning their persons or the purposes of their journeys; or if his solicitude, indeed, urges him to enquire, he postpones it, at least, till the strangers have been provided with all their wants. Thus Abraham urgently invited the three men, received and cheerfully treated them, without addressing to them any interrogation; it was *their* enquiries after Sarah (ver. 9) which led him to learn both their nature and their mission.—By none is the comfort of washing the feet more appreciated than by the eastern traveller, who makes his journey through sandy tracts often un-

saying, After I am faded away shall I have delight? and my husband *also* is old. 13. And the Lord said to Abraham, Why did Sarah laugh, saying, Shall I indeed bear a child, since I am old? 14. Is anything too difficult for

shod or merely on sandals. The first attention shown to a stranger is, therefore, to place water before him for that purpose (comp. xix. 2; Judg. xix. 21; 1 Tim. v. 10; *Hom.*, Od. iv. 49; vi. 215, etc.).—Abraham promised “a morsel of bread,” but prepared a feast as plentiful and choice as his benevolence prompted and his wealth permitted him; moreover, the chief meal was generally taken about noon (xliii. 16; 1 Kings xx. 16). He seemed suddenly renewed to youthful vigour; he hastened not only to give orders, but to perform himself his share of the labour. Not even the mightiest sheikh considers it beneath his dignity to take from his flocks and herds and to kill the beasts necessary for his domestic wants; nor does his wife shrink from any of the household duties. Thus Sarah took three seahs of the best flour, and quickly prepared the unleavened cakes, which are baked either on hot coals, or in flat earthen vessels, or on an iron plate, or round the sides of a jar (see note on Exod. xii. 39; comp. xxvii. 17; 1 Sam. xxviii. 14, etc.).—The quantity of flour used by Abraham for his guests has been deemed excessive; for three seahs are exactly an ephah, or about a bushel (see notes on Exod. xvi. 16, 36); but he was regarded as very rich in all earthly property; his means permitted him to practise the duties of hospitality to the full desire of his heart; and hosts showed their respect to guests especially by regaling them with very great rations even beyond the possibility of real consumption (xliii. 34; 1 Sam. ix. 22—24; *Herod.* vi. 57, etc.); large portions were a sign of the cheerfulness with which the strangers were treated; and it has, with some probability, been supposed, that a part of them was intended to be taken as provisions on the way. — The animal, just killed and still warm, is at once roasted before the fire, a process by which

the meat was considered to be far more tender and palatable than if a longer time was allowed to elapse between the killing and the dressing. Be this as it may, such is still the custom in the east on similar occasions of unexpected visits.—The feast consisted, besides the cakes and the calf, of sour and fresh milk (חלב וחמץ). The former, known under the name of *laban*, was always, and is still, very extensively consumed in the east. Meat is not boiled in water, but in sour milk. The Arabians mix it with flour, dry it, and take it with them on their journeys, dissolving it with water into a refreshing beverage.—It would be unnecessary to speak of the abundance of milk among nomadic tribes; it is preserved in skin bottles (Judg. iv. 19), and belongs to the articles constituting the comfort and prosperity of individuals and tribes, since it suggests an estimate of their wealth in herds and flocks.—Butter was certainly as well known to the ancient Hebrews as it is to the present inhabitants of Palestine and Arabia (Prov. xxx. 33); it was, by the Ethiopians, constantly used instead of oil (*Strabo*, xvii. 821); and is at present very generally employed in cooking among the Arabians. It is in Hebrew expressed by the same word as souf milk (חמץ), and it is only by the context that we can distinguish which of the two is meant. When Jael received the thirsty and exhausted general Sisera, who asked for water, she certainly gave him sour milk, not butter (Judg. v. 25; חמץ); while, in our passage, butter is not altogether inappropriate; for it is well-known that the Arabians not unfrequently put a lump of fresh butter upon the meat, and allow it there to melt (comp. Comment. on Exod. p. 462).—Abraham, standing before his guests, served them in person; for it would have been disgraceful to permit a slave to perform the honourable



the Lord? At the appointed time I shall come again to thee, at the return of *this* season, and Sarah shall have a son. 15. But Sarah denied, saying, I did not laugh; for she was afraid. And He said, Nay; thou didst laugh.

office. And when the repast was finished, and the strangers resumed their journey, the patriarch accompanied them some distance. This is another mode of showing visitors marked attention and honour; it symbolises the idea that though the stranger is compelled to leave the host, the host is unwilling to part from the stranger; and this last act of a hospitable reception was generally accompanied with presents and provisions, according to the entertainer's ability (comp. Acts xv. 3; xxi. 5; Rom. xv. 24, etc., Greek *προσέμνηεν*).

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—The words "יְרֵא אֱלֹהִים" introduce a real vision, as in xvii. 1; Exod. vi. 3, and in many other passages; it is, therefore, in perfect accordance with the text to separate this vision of God from the appearance of the "three men" who later manifested themselves as angels.—The "heat of the day" (חַם הַיּוֹם) denotes the noontide (comp. 1 Sam. xi. 11), as "the wind of the day" (רוּחַ הַיּוֹם) describes the time towards the evening (see on iii. 8). But the usual term for noon is צֹהַרִים (xliii. 16), that is the time of "double or greatest light," while a more poetical expression is נֶכֶן הַיּוֹם "the height of the day" (Prov. iv. 18), either because then the sun has reached its most exalted position (Isai. ii. 2; Mich. iv. 1), or because it appears to stand still in the zenith of heaven, as in Greek (ὁ σταθερὸν ἦν

μνησθῆναι), and in Arabic (قائمة النهار);

comp. Gesen., Thea. p. 667). — אֱלֹהִים (im ver. 3) is God Himself, whose presence Abraham at once felt, not one of the angels, who are addressed in the subsequent verses. The Masorites explained, therefore, correctly אֱלֹהִים by אֱלֹהִים, and read אֱלֹהִים; the alteration into אֱלֹהִים, which several modern critics proposed, is against the context of the whole chapter;

while the readings of the Samaritan codex אֱלֹהִים, בעיניכם, תעברו, and עברכם, are perfectly arbitrary. — The sense of the words עֲבַרְתֶּם עַל עֲבֹרְכֶם cannot be mistaken, although their construction can only be understood by remembering that in Hebrew sometimes cause and effect are changed; thus the people murmur, in Exod. xvi. 3, against Moses and Aaron: "you have brought us forth into this wilderness, to kill this whole assembly with hunger"; they evidently intended to say that their death would be the effect, though it was not the motive, of their leaders' designs (comp. Pa. xxx. 13). The sense, therefore, of the words "for therefore did you pass by your servant" is, that since their journey had led them to his tent, he prayed to be permitted to receive them as his guests; כִּי עַל כֵּן has thus the meaning of since or because (xix. 8; 2 Sam. xviii. 20; Judg. vi. 22, etc.); and would be equivalent to כִּי, as in Job xxxiv. 27 כִּי אֱשֶׁר has the sense of כִּי אֱשֶׁר; which transposition of words takes place in several other cases, for instance, כִּי נֹכַח instead of כִּי נֹכַח (Eccles. iv. 14), לִבְרֹא מִן מִלְכָּד, etc. (comp. Gesen. Gram. § 152. 2. d.). The translation: "for therefore are you come to your servant" is against the context.—Gesenius (Thea. pp. 682, 683), abandoning his former opinion, takes כִּי עַל כֵּן as a double causal conjunction, "for because," like כִּי אֲרִי עַל כֵּן in Chaldee, and believes that it gradually assumed the simple meaning of because. But he starts from the supposition that the original meaning of כִּי עַל כֵּן was "for since," which sense he still finds in three passages (xxiii. 10; Numb. x. 31; xiv. 43). But it is unnecessary to make this distinction; as the signification "because" (*quandoquidem*) is appropriate in all passages. — בָּלֶת (ver. 6) stands in apposition to קָמָה, and denotes the *first*

16. And the men rose from there, and looked toward Sodom: and Abraham went with them to bring them on the way.—17. And the Lord said, Shall I hide from Abraham that which I do; 18. Seeing that Abraham

or *purest* flour (Sept. *σμιδαλῖς*), while *חֲמֹץ* is that of ordinary quality (comp. Lev. ii. 1; v. 11; Num. vii. 13, etc.).— Besides sour milk and butter, *חֲמֹץ* may signify *cream*, as it is here explained by Raashi (שומן החלב), and often rendered by the Chaldee translators and Saadiah. But it is very doubtful whether it ever has, in the Old Testament, the meaning of *cheese*, as the Samaritan interprets, and Gesenius unsuccessfully labours to derive from Prov. xxx. 33, in which passage rather the preparation of butter is alluded to. The primitive signification of *חֲמֹץ* is “that which is thick or coagulated,” and hence it may be either sour milk, or cream, or butter.— The words *בָּעַת חַיָּה* (ver. 10) are so simple and clear, that the number of extraordinary interpretations which they have called forth is, indeed, astonishing. *עַת* is *season* (*ῥα*), as in Jer. i. 16; Cantic. ii. 12; Ezra x. 13); the root *חַיָּה* does not only mean to live, but to be *revised* (xlv. 27; Job xiv. 14; Isai. xxvi. 14, etc.). *בָּעַת* is contracted from *בְּהָעַת*, and *חַיָּה* is the feminine of the adjective *חַי*; so that *בָּעַת חַיָּה* signifies: “when the season is renewed or returns again”; and lest there should be any doubt, the text adds, in ver. 14, *לְטוֹעַר*, which, in xvii. 21, is more fully expressed: *לְטוֹעַר הַזֶּה בְּשָׁנָה*, *הַבְּאֵחֶרֶת*, “at the same time in the next year” (comp. 2 Kings iv. 16, 17). The meaning is, therefore, not exactly in the next *spring*, but after the lapse of a year, when the same season has again returned (as in *Homer*, *περιπλομῖνον ἱνιαυτοῦ*; *Odyss.* xi. 247; comp. *לְתַקְפֹּת הַיָּמִים*, 1 Sam. i. 20). The ancient translations are here very inaccurate; Sept. *κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον εἰς ῥα*; Vulg. *tempore isto vita comite*; Luther, *so ich lebe*, etc. To take *חַיָּה* as a substantive, and to render “in or according to the time of life,” that is, in the time when a living

being will be born, is both extremely forced in sense, and ungrammatical, since it would require *בָּעַת חַיָּה*. — It is evident, from this passage, compared with xvii. 21, that the conclusion of the covenant with Abraham, and the promise made to Sarah, were nearly contemporary.—It may not be inappropriate to take *וְהָיָה*, as some have proposed, as the *ketib* instead of *וְהָיָה* (see xii. 14), and to refer it to Sarah: “and she was behind it” (the door), which seems to offer a more acceptable sense than the usual translation: “and it (the door), was behind Him (God),” which involves a notion incompatible with the omnipresence of God.—The phrase *אֶחָד מִנְּשִׁים* is synonymous with *אֶחָד מִן הַנָּשִׁים* (xxi. 36). — *בְּלֹה* is, to be exhausted and weakened by old age and sorrow (comp. Job xiii. 28; Ps. xxxii. 3, etc.); and *עֲרֵקָה* delight, conjugal enjoyment, not bloom or tenderness of youth. The Sept. renders Sarah's remark, *οὐκ ἔστι μὲν μοι γέγονεν ἡς τοῦ εὖν*, which seems to presuppose the reading *בְּלֹתִי* *הָיְתָה לִי עֲרֵקָה*.—The husband is generally called *בָּעַל*, and sometimes with the synonymous term *אָדוֹן* (comp. Ps. xlv. 12), which here certainly implies respect only, not fear, since the position of Sarah in Abraham's house can scarcely be conceived to be of a more independent nature (comp. Greek: *κύριος γυναικός*).—Our chapter is incontrovertibly from the pen of the Jehovist, and stands not only in the closest connection with the following chapter, but its every detail is in the completest harmony with the preceding portions. All efforts to point out inconsistencies, have been utterly unsuccessful.

17—33. Whilst Abraham was passing on with the angels, God is introduced as deliberating whether it would not be advisable to initiate him in the decree which He had fixed regarding the fate of Sodom and the other wicked towns. The pa-

will surely become a great and mighty nation, and all the nations of the earth will be blessed in him? 19. For I have chosen him, that he might command his children and his household after him, that they should keep the way of the Lord, to do justice and judgment; that the Lord might bring upon Abraham that which He hath spoken of him.—20. And the Lord said, The cry of Sodom and Gomorrah indeed is great, and their sin indeed is very heavy. 21. I will go down now, and see whether they have done altogether according to the cry of it, which is come to me; and if not, I will take cognizance of

the patriarch was indeed deeply concerned in whatever happened, not to the Canaanites only, but to all other nations. He was destined to possess the land of the former, and to become the blessing of the latter through his faith; he was, by temporal interests, connected with the one, and was, by spiritual ties, bound up with the others; the destruction of a part of the promised land, or the extirpation of whole tribes, could not be matters of indifference to him, who was not only the bodily ancestor of a great people, but the spiritual father of all nations to the end of time: what Adam might have been, in a more direct manner, if he had not sinned by disobedience, Abraham was intended to become gradually and indirectly, in the lapse of ages. But this grand future was to be prepared by the *merit* of Abraham and his progeny; piety and righteousness alone could entitle them to the glory reserved for them; God loved or selected indeed the patriarch (יִצְחָק); but this preference was to be justified by superior virtue; duties corresponded with the privileges, and the fulfilment of the promises depended on the performance of the duties. God is, indeed, a Father to mankind; but the great ends for which He has created it, demand that He should also be its Judge, and that His justice should not be blinded by His love. Two reasons, therefore, induced God to communicate to Abraham His designs on Sodom and the whole Pentapolis; first, to give him a great and palpable proof, that

the destinies of the nations stand in an intimate relation with his mission; and then, to impress upon him, that the choice of God must be deserved, and that wickedness would destroy all his glorious prospects. The district of the Jordan also was originally beautiful and fertile, "like the garden of the Lord" (xiii. 10); but the perversity of its inhabitants changed the blooming scene into a place of dreariness and horror (comp. Deut. xxix. 23; 2 Pet. ii. 6).

When God informed Abraham, that He intended to search if the iniquity of Sodom and Gomorrah was indeed so great as it appeared to be by the cries of violence arising from it, he at once apprehended that the plans of God were directed upon the destruction of the towns; and his heart was suddenly kindled into an ardent sympathy, which almost seemed to overpower him, and to embolden his courage to a prayer full of fire and impetuosity. He was well aware, that he was but "dust and ashes," and that his entreaties were addressed to the "Judge of the whole earth"; but his humanity could not bear the idea, that the just should suffer with the unjust; and his own excellence could not conceive the possibility, that in so populous a town all should be equally vicious. His harmless and childlike innocence must have been strong indeed, if he was not afraid to argue with God Himself, and to warn Him against injustice (ver. 25). Six different times he approached the Al-

ii. 22. And the men turned from there, and went toward Sodom: but Abraham was still standing before the Lord. 23. And Abraham approached and said, Wilt Thou also destroy the righteous with the wicked? 24. Perhaps there are fifty righteous within the city: wilt Thou also destroy, and not spare the place for the fifty righteous that *are* therein? 25. That be far from Thee to do in this manner, to slay the righteous with the wicked: and that the righteous should be as the wicked, that be far from Thee: Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right? 26. And the Lord said, if I find in Sodom fifty righteous

mighty, not merely repeating but increasing his demand; till, at last, God granted him the assurance, that He would spare Sodom if but ten righteous men were found in it. This importunity of the patriarch, so natural to a generous heart, has been interpreted in the most different manner. While some have considered it as mean bartering, others have found in it the prototype of every sincere and fervent prayer; and Luther's imagination saw burning tears roll down the patriarch's cheek, and heard the unspeakable sighs of his bosom. Both opinions are exaggerated. If Abraham persevered in his entreaties, it was, no doubt, from the conviction, that God does not listen with displeasure to the urgent and repeated requests of men; that He allows His will to be influenced by prayers; and that He alters His resolution if He is invoked in purity of heart. Thus, indeed, are Abraham's words intended to show the efficacy of human supplications, and to serve as an example for future imitation (comp. Luke xi. 8—13). But, on the other hand, the patriarch here scarcely invoked the Divine mercy; he asked only for justice; the good should not perish indiscriminately with the sinner; and even his final request was based on the condition, that at least *ten* virtuous men existed in Sodom. He was well aware, that wickedness cannot remain unpunished; that such indulgence would destroy the Divine rule on earth; but he asked of God, what He had evidently Himself

determined; He had not said, that He intended to destroy Sodom, but only to examine the conduct of the inhabitants, and to act accordingly. But He proceeded, indeed, with far greater leniency than even Abraham's anxiety had the courage to advocate: for He delivered the house of Lot, the only virtuous family which was found in Sodom. Thus, it is evident that Abraham's prayer, far from being "impudent," was perhaps not even decided enough; he might have at once insisted upon the principle, that the sinners only should die, whatever their number might be: though he had confidence in the Divine attribute of justice, he had not fathomed its whole depth (comp. Num. xvi. 22; Ezek. xviii. 20).

Abraham had once drawn the sword to rescue from the hands of foreign invaders the wealth of Sodom, which they had plundered; he was stimulated to this deed by the love he bore to his kinsman Lot (xiv. 14); but his intercession for the safety of the wicked town had not even this distastefully interested motive; it was entirely dictated by feelings of general sympathy; it proceeded here not from the member of the family of Terah, but from the man who was to be a blessing to all generations. —Those who censure this narrative, asserting that it represents God as wavering and undetermined, should observe that His resolution was not yet taken (ver. 21); and even if this had been the case, that it is indeed always open to the repentance

within the city, I shall spare all the place for their sakes. 27. And Abraham answered and said, Behold, I pray Thee, I have undertaken to speak to the Lord, and I *am* but dust and ashes; 28. Perhaps there may lack five of the fifty righteous: wilt thou destroy all the city for the five? And He said, If I find there forty-five, I shall not destroy *it*. 29. And he continued further to speak to Him, and said, Perhaps forty may be found there. And He said, I will not do *it* for the sake of the forty. 30. And he said, Oh let not the Lord be angry, and I will speak:

and prayer of those whom it concerns; God has no delight in punishing and destroying; He tried the hard-heartedness of Pharaoh by ten successive plagues; He accepted the repentance of the wicked Ninevites; and He ordered a systematic ritual of sacrifices, solely intended to furnish to man the means of restoring his peace with Himself. If we banish this "vacillation" from the attributes of God, man may tremble before His will; but he can never love Him. But the truth, that the *principles* on which His government is based, are eternal and unalterable, is expressed many times with singular emphasis: "God is no man that He should lie, nor a son of man that He should repent" (Num. xxiii. 19; 1 Sam. xv. 29; Hos. xiii. 14). God is, indeed, said to have repented that He had created man (vi. 6, 7), and that He had appointed Saul king over Israel (1 Sam. xv. 11); but these are strong expressions to denote how unworthy the former had proved to bear the Divine image; and the latter, to be the representative of Divine sovereignty.—The second part of our chapter is, then, of the highest importance for the theology of the Old Testament; and after the allusions we have offered, it will be easy to the reader to draw his inferences with regard to the position which is assigned to human prayers in the councils of God. Not fate, but justice and mercy rule the world; nor is man a passive instrument or object, but a noble being which, by the power of pious prayer, may influence and modify even the Divine will.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS. — The reciprocity which exists between the promises of God and the duties of Abraham, is clearly expressed in ver. 19; God preferred him, that he might spread His name and kingdom on the earth. Hence, עָרַךְ is to be taken in the stricter sense of *loving* or *electing*, which meaning is derived from that of *noticing* (ver. 21), or *caring* for something (Job ix. 21; xxxv. 10); comp. Ps. i. 6; Isai. lviii. 3; Am. iii. 2, etc.—יָצָא (ver. 20), adding emphasis and weight to the assertion, means *indeed, verily*, a signification in which that particle very frequently occurs (Isai. vii. 9; xv. 1; Exod. iii. 7; iv. 25; xxii. 22). It is, therefore, unnecessary to refer ver. 20 to ver. 16 (*Maurer*), or to transpose vers. 20 and 21 (*Winer*), or to connect them: "because the sin is great... I will descend," etc. (English Version). God came down not only to convince Himself of the moral state of the Sodomites (comp. xi. 6, 7), but, as Baumgarten aptly observes, 'to prove them by a final trial.—The cries of Sodom are the acts of oppression and wickedness which cause them; as the blood of Abel is said to cry as an accuser to heaven (iv. 10).—עֲשֵׂה כֻלָּהּ is, *to do entirely*; כֻּלָּהּ is a substantive, signifying *perfection*, and stands, therefore, here instead of כֻּלְּהָ (2 Chron. xii. 12; Ezek. xiii. 13; compare Exod. xi. 1).—וְאֵם לֹא אֶרְעָה (ver. 21) is to be rendered: "and if not, I will take cognizance of it," that is, I will take my resolution accordingly (comp. Ps. cxliv. 3). Here again is God very clearly distin-

Perhaps thirty may be found there. And He said, I will not do *it* if I find thirty there. 31. And he said, Behold, I pray Thee, I have undertaken to speak to the Lord: Perhaps twenty may be found there. And He said, I will not destroy *it* for the sake of the twenty. 32. And he said, Oh let not the Lord be angry, and I will speak but once more: Perhaps ten may be found there. And He said, I will not destroy *it* for the sake of the ten.—33. And the Lord departed when He had finished to speak with Abraham: and Abraham returned to his place.

grieved from the angels; "God said, The cries of Sodom," etc. (ver. 20), but "*the men* turned from there" (ver. 22).—The feminine suffix in אֵלֶיךָ (ver. 24) refers to הָעִיר, not to לְמַסְקוֹם. Although Abraham interceded for the whole Pentapolis, he made its fate dependent on the morality of Sodom, its leading city.

## CHAPTER XIX.

**SUMMARY.**—Two of the angels arrived in the evening in Sodom, and were most hospitably received by Lot. But the wicked inhabitants of the town pressed round his house, demanding the strangers for flagitious purposes; and desisted only when the angels struck them with confusion. These messengers then announced to Lot the impending destruction of the district, and commanded him to be, on the following morning, prepared, with his family, to leave the town. He obeyed, went from Sodom accompanied by his wife and his two daughters, and escaped to Zoar. Then the whole territory of the impious towns was annihilated by a fearful rain of sulphur and fire. Lot's wife, disobeying a command of the angels, was converted into a pillar of salt; while his two daughters, believing that their family was the only one rescued from the general destruction, became, by their father, the mothers of Moab and Ammon.

1. And two of the angels came to Sodom in the evening, and Lot was sitting in the gate of Sodom: and when Lot

1—3. While Abraham was appealing to the justice of God, two of the angels, his guests, had proceeded towards Sodom, where they arrived in the evening. The third angel had either remained with God, or had been sent upon another mission. The two messengers had evidently a double aim; for it seems to have been a general belief that no angel is sent to perform two functions; they intended both to try Lot and the Sodomites; the former, though imprudently dwelling among a wicked population, was yet one of the chosen family; and though Abraham, in his prayer, had not separated him from

the other inhabitants of Sodom, God remembered him in the midst of the fearful judgment which He intended to dispense (ver. 29). Now Lot proved himself worthy of deliverance; he had preserved, at least, some of the virtues constituting the character of the righteous man; he was hospitable and affectionate; he practised the duties of charity, not only with courage, but with self-denial; and he exposed himself to the wrath of a cruel and incensed multitude, in order to gain the applause of his conscience. In his reception of the strangers, he is indeed the very image of Abraham; and the text relates

saw *them*, he rose to meet them; and he bowed with his face to the ground; 2. And he said, Behold, I pray you, my lords, turn, I pray you, to your servant's house, and stay over night, and wash your feet, and you may rise early, and go your way. And they said, No, but we will stay in the street over night. 3. And he pressed upon

it in nearly the same terms with which it had just introduced the patriarch's conduct.—Lot was sitting in the gate of Sodom. It is known that, in eastern towns, the places before the gate are the localities appointed for all general meetings; and, in ancient times, they were used for these purposes still more extensively, since there existed scarcely any other places of public resort, such as taverns, or exchanges, or theatres. There the judge pronounced his decisions, and even kings held there occasionally their courts of justice (1 Kings xxii. 10); there sales and purchases were concluded before the eyes of the witnessing crowd, and provisions of every kind were offered for sale to the inhabitants; there the people assembled to hear news or to communicate them; they deliberated on public affairs, or indulged in social intercourse; there the law was read and ordinances proclaimed; there the priest taught and prophets warned; and sacrifices were offered on the altars there erected (2 Kings xxiii. 8). The gates resembled, therefore, in every respect, the market or the forum of the Romans, and were the most animated part of cities. As, therefore, the oriental passed a great portion of his time at the gates, they were conveniently arranged for all the purposes indicated. Spacious open places (רִמְבוֹת) before them were reserved for political assemblies and commercial fairs; benches were provided for the public, and seats for the judges, no doubt within the gate itself, to shield them against the vicissitudes of the skies (1 Kings xxii. 10; 2 Chron. xviii. 9). These circumstances will sufficiently account for the Mosaic ordinance, that parts of the Law should be written on the gates (Deut. vi. 9; xi. 20); this was

partly intended to indicate that the town belonged to God, and partly to remind the inhabitants, in the most conspicuous and effectual manner, of their religious duties. The town is the wider home of the citizens; hence the house and the gates are always coupled in the same precept. The custom of inscribing significant sentences, or representing symbolical figures on the gates, was prevalent among the Romans also, and is still in use among the Mohammedans (comp. *Virg.*, *Geor.* iii. 26—39). For the gates consisted generally of two valves, with strong posts and bolts (בָּרִיחִים and דִּלְחִים); frequently, rooms were built above them; and in many cases they were furnished with watch-towers. As nearly all the cities of Palestine were fortresses, or, at least, surrounded with walls, the gates formed one of the most important points; they were necessarily of very durable materials, either brass or iron, though in many instances only covered with these metals; of stone cut out of a single slab, and very carefully hewn, polished, and divided into panels; sometimes also of hard wood (comp. *Judg.* xvi. 3). Towers were not their only protection; for often a double gate, one behind the other, was built, to prevent sudden invasions into the city. In times of war they were shut as a matter of precaution (*Josh.* ii. 5); and the possession of the gates almost decided the fate of the city. Both from this reason, and from their great social importance, the gates are often synonymous with the towns themselves (xxii. 17; Deut. xii. 12, etc.). The passages on which these remarks are based are far too numerous to be introduced; but we quote a few of the principal allusions (*Numb.* xxii. 17; *Deut.* xxi. 19; *Ruth* iv. 1, 11; 2 *Sam.* xviii. 24; *xix.* 1; 2 *Kings* vii. 1; *Nehem.*

them greatly; and they turned in to him, and came into his house; and he made them a repast, and baked unleavened cakes, and they ate.—4. Before they lay down, the men of the city, the men of Sodom, surrounded the house, both old and young, all the people from every quarter: 5. And they called Lot, and said to him, Where

viii. 16; Job xxix. 7; Isai. liv. 12. About the probable forms of the gates, see *Kittó*, *Cyclopædia*, i. 740, 741).

Lot is here, with the greatest propriety, represented as sitting in the gate, where he could best see the strangers enter along the public road, and offer them his hospitality; but that he had repaired thither for the express purpose of looking out for strangers, would probably imply too ideal a notion of his virtue; while the opinion that he was sitting to act as judge, is perhaps an erroneous inference from a later notice occurring in this chapter (ver. 9). The angels did not accede at once to Lot's request; it was their intention to try his character, and to give him an opportunity of showing whether his generosity was merely a momentary emotion, or had become a settled feature in his character. Their answer, that they intended to stay over night in the open air, was, therefore, only a pretext, which they abandoned as soon as the persevering entreaties of Lot had evinced his sincerity and pleaded his justification. Their refusal was not dictated by the desire of being better enabled, by a pernoctation in the streets, to observe the conduct of the Sodomites; this they could not possibly do during the night; nor did they require it; for they were not only the angels of God, but God Himself acted in them, or was among them (vers. 18, 21); they were sent, not more to ascertain the moral state of the Sodomites, than to warn them, and to try to correct them: they represent the long-suffering of God, which does not accelerate the perdition of the sinner, but delights in his repentance; and they are intended as an example to earthly judges, to be considerate and slow in their condemning verdicts.

4—25. How indulgent God is, and how little He exacts from the weakness of man, was to be learnt from the instance of Lot himself. He was far from possessing an eminent degree of piety or faith. For, though he protected his guests with earnestness and zeal against the shameless impetuosity of the population, he forgot, in the exercise of his virtue, another duty of equal sacredness; in order to save the strangers, he intended to give up his daughters to perpetual ignominy; in attempting to be a faithful friend, he forgot to be an affectionate father; and whilst he had courage enough to rise for the safety of wanderers, he had no heart to feel the shame of his house. This weakness assumes a far more serious character from the fact, that those daughters were already betrothed (ver. 14), and, therefore, inviolable. And they were betrothed to Sodomites, who appear to have in every respect equalled the wickedness of their fellow-citizens. For they mocked the idea, that God should either have the will or the power to punish a depraved town; they spurned the hand extended to save them; and they deserved to perish in the general destruction: Lot, in forming, or admitting an alliance with men so completely degenerate, showed that his horror against crime was not intense, and that his soul was already seriously affected by the society which surrounded him, and which he had chosen. In fact, he was far from exhibiting that alacrity in obeying the angels which true piety would have inspired; he tarried so long, that he almost brought himself and his house into imminent danger; and had not the angels urged him on, or rather led him away, he might have shared the fate of the wicked town. And what a picture of moral corruption does his family offer! He had sons



*are* the men who came to thee this night? bring them out to us, that we may know them. 6. And Lot went out to them before the door, and shut the door after himself, 7. And said, I pray you, brethren, do not act wickedly. 8. Behold, I pray you, I have two daughters who have not known a man; I will, I pray you, bring them out to you, and you may do to them as *is* good in your eyes: only to these men do nothing; since they came under the shadow of my roof. 9. And they said, Approach hither! And they said, This one came as a stranger *to us*, and he continually acteth as judge: now we shall deal worse with thee than with them. And they pressed much upon

(ver. 12), but they perished with the Sodomites, evidently because they resembled them in iniquity. His wife was refractory to the command of the angels, to whom she owed her deliverance; and she was converted into a lasting monument of the Divine anger. His daughters—how could they learn and revere chastity, as they were about to be allied to impious husbands, and had been on the point of being delivered up to the licentiousness of the most dissolute mob? Yet in spite of all this, God rescued Lot; the duty of hospitality was at least one great virtue which adorned his character; he might, perhaps, in other respects also have been still alive to right and honesty; he even seems to have frequently admonished his heedless fellow-citizens to abandon their wicked ways, and was still regarded as a stranger among them (ver. 9); his heart might have long struggled, and but gradually fallen into moral apathy; but his virtues were, in themselves, not sufficient for his salvation; “the mercy of the Lord was upon him” (ver. 16); and he owed this mercy to the piety of Abraham, whose moral excellence God remembered in the midst of the overthrow of Sodom (ver. 29). God cannot connive at open and wilful wickedness; but the earnest practice of one great virtue suffices to engage His compassion, and to secure His grace. Such is the dogmatical lesson embodied in this section.

The awful degeneracy of the inhabitants

of Sodom is described in a few brief but powerful touches: the whole people, from every part of the town, old and young, seem to burn in sinful flames; their wicked desire borders on rage; they are wild and clamorous; they besiege the house of Lot; their inebriated senses are intent upon the most unnatural, upon execrable crimes; when Lot attempts to appease their frantic excitement, by an appeal to the holy duties of hospitality, they increase their tumultuous pressure; they threaten to break into the house, and to do violence to Lot, whose admonitions they hate and ridicule. Now their guilt was evident, even to lenient judges; they had proved, that they were past correction, and that the measure of their sins was complete; they had been tried and found guilty without a single redeeming quality; not even ten, yes, not even one righteous man was found in the whole town; they had neglected the last possibility of rescue; their destruction was unavoidable. The angels, therefore, who had hitherto, even in the eyes of Lot, been no more than ordinary mortals, then, for the first time, manifested their supernatural power; they struck the nefarious people with confusion, infatuated their senses, and wearied out their strength and their patience.—They, further, announced to Lot that it was their mission, as messengers of justice, to destroy the infamous town; for the cry of iniquity had come before God. When the morning-star rose, they intended

the man, upon Lot, and came near to break the door. 10. But the men put forth their hand, and brought Lot into the house to them, and shut the door. 11. And they smote the men who *were* at the door of the house with blind confusion, both small and great: and they wearied themselves to find the door.—12. And the men said to Lot, Hast thou here any one besides? son-in-law, and thy sons, and thy daughters, and whatsoever thou hast in the city, bring them out of this place: 13. For we shall destroy this place, because their cry is great before the Lord; and the Lord hath sent us to destroy it. 14. And Lot went out, and spoke to his sons-in-law, who were

to execute the Divine command; they hastened to lead the lingering family of Lot out of the town, and enjoined on them not to turn round, or to stop in the whole district of the Jordan, but to hurry till they should arrive in the eastern mountains on the other side of the Jordan (xiv. 10). But here Lot's faith wavered; he was afraid that he would be unable safely to reach that distant point, and that he would find his death in the fearful catastrophe; he asked, that, for his sake, a small neighbouring town, formerly called Bela (xiv. 2), might be saved, and that he might be permitted to seek refuge there, intimating that it was so insignificant as scarcely to be worthy of Divine anger. The Lord consented; in the morning Lot arrived at Zoar—and the judgment commenced.

If we ascribe any accuracy to our narrative, it is clear, that Zoar was in the immediate vicinity of Sodom. Now, about the situation of Zoar there exists little doubt. It was a town of Moab (Isai. xv. 5; Jer. xlviii. 34), and formed the south-eastern boundary of the plain of the Pentapolis (Gen. xiii. 10; Deut. xxxiv. 3). It has, therefore, been justly identified with the considerable ruins found in Wady Kerek, on the eastern side of the Dead Sea, where its shores form a considerable bay, and where a certain degree of fertility still prevails (comp. *Ritter*, *Erdkunde* xv. 695). The efforts made by De Sauley to prove, that Zoar was situated to the *west* of the

Lake, and that it is identical with *Eszuoirah*, have been entirely unsuccessful; they are based upon the questionable assumption, that Sodom is traceable in the heap of stones found near the Salt-mountain (Udum), and upon the still more objectionable supposition, that the boundaries of the land of Moab reached to the western side of the Lake, and included parts of the territories of Judah and Simeon (*De Sauley*, *Voyage en Syrie et autour de la Mer morte*, i. 249, *et seq.*; ii. 71—74; comp. *Van de Velde*, *Narrative*, i. 115—117; *Biblioth. Sacr.*, July, 1855, pp. 528—558). We may hope rather than expect, that authentic ruins of the four destroyed towns will ever be discovered. Biblical historians and prophets already speak of them as localities utterly and tracelessly swept away; and the remark of Josephus, that “*shadows*” (*σκιαι*) of them still existed in his time, is vague and doubtful (*Bell. Jud.*, IV. viii. 4).

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS. — כָּרִם (*ver.* 4) is here employed in the sense of “not yet,” as in ii. 5; comp. *Josh.* ii. 8; although it may be considered as a conjunction, instead of כִּכְרִם, as in Isai. lxx. 24.—The whole people assembled before Lot's door כְּסִנְיָא, that is, from the extremity of the town, or rather, from its *extremities*, so that the singular is collectively used instead of the plural (comp. *Ps.* xix. 7). We require therefore, not the supposition of an ellipsis כְּסִנְיָא ועַר קָצָה. The same expression is

about to marry his daughters, and said, Rise, go out of this place; for the Lord will destroy the city. But he appeared to his sons-in-law as one that mocked. 15. And when the morning-dawn arose, the angels urged Lot on, saying, Arise, take thy wife, and thy two daughters, who are at hand; lest thou be destroyed by the iniquity of the city. 16. But he lingered: and the men seized his hand, and the hand of his wife, and the hand of his two daughters, the mercy of the Lord being upon him: and they brought him out, and set him without the city. 17. And when they had brought them forth without *the city*, He said, Escape for thy life; look not behind thee, nor stay in all the district; escape to the mountain, lest thou be destroyed. 18. And Lot said to them, Oh not so, Lord: 19. Behold,

used in Isai. lvi. 11; Jer. li. 31. The passages, Gen. xlvii. 21; Jer. xii. 12; xxv. 33; Exod. xxvi. 28, are not analogous to ours. The inhabitants did not move "from one end to the other"; but they surrounded the house, coming from every part.—The crime of the Sodomites (ver. 5), which is, by way of euphemism, concealed in the verb יָרָע, is one of heinous abomination; it is, in the Law, inexorably punished with death; and the blood falls upon the head of the unnatural sinner (Lev. xviii. 22; xx. 13; *Joseph.*, Antiq. I. xi. 3). It serves to show the highest climax of moral corruption; and the Book of Judges, in the nineteenth chapter, relates an event in Gibeah, which brought civil war and fearful bloodshed over the tribes of Israel; and which was likewise occasioned chiefly by inhospitality and the crime here alluded to; in fact, both narratives have, in their whole tenour, a remarkable and obvious resemblance: but this does not justify us in considering the one borrowed from the other; the propensity to that aberration was unfortunately not uncommon; or else the legislator would not have deemed it necessary to enjoin it repeatedly and so severely; and the virtue of hospitality will naturally decline where selfishness and brutality commence to take root.—The shamelessness with which the iniquitous

demand was publicly made, enhances the picture of thorough and incorrigible depravity; and it appears, as has been justly observed, that the prophet Isaiah (iii. 9) alludes to this hardened impudence as the most aggravating feature of their character.—אֲשֶׁר לֹא יָדְעוּ אִישׁ—(xxiv. 16; Judg. xix. 24; and xxi. 12, where לֹא יָדְעוּ is added).—הָאֵל (vers. 8, 25) is identical with הָאֱלֹהִים, as in xxvi. 3, 4; Lev. xviii. 27, etc., and without the article אֵל in 1 Chron. xx. 8.—צֶלַל כְּרָתִי (ver. 8), "the shadow of my roof," is a poetical term for בֵּית (Judg. xix. 23), and expresses the safety and protection which strangers expect and ought to enjoy.—About כֵּן עַל כֵּן, see on xviii. 6.—The words אֶתְּחַלֵּץ (ver. 9) are to be understood: *approach nearer to us, farther away from the door*; for it was the intention of the men to force access into the house, which they could not obtain if Lot protected the door. We are, thus, not compelled to take either of the two words in any other but their usual significations. That וָלֵךְ is used in the sense of *receding*, or *moving away*, cannot be proved from Isai. xlix. 20 (לֵשָׁעָה לֵּךְ); and the translations of the Septuagint (*ἀποβῆναι ἐκεῖ*), and the Vulgate (*recede illuc*), the Syriac, and Seadiah, are inaccurate; while the explanation of Fausak and Maurer (*seduced*),

I pray Thee, Thy servant hath found grace in Thy sight, and Thou hast made great Thy mercy, which Thou hast shown to me in saving my life; but I cannot escape to the mountain, lest the evil overtake me, and I die. 20. Behold, I pray Thee, this city is near to flee thither, and it is small: Oh let me escape thither, I pray Thee—is it not small?—that my soul may live. 21. And He said to him, Behold, I take regard of thee in this thing also, not to overthrow the city, of which thou hast spoken. 22. Hasten, escape thither; for I cannot do anything till thou art come thither. Therefore the name of the city was called Zoar [small]. 23. The sun rose upon the earth when Lot entered into Zoar. 24. And the Lord rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah brimstone and fire from the Lord

*ut tibi vim inferamus*) is gratuitously forced upon the words.—The people of Sodom insisted, that it did not behove a *stranger* (לָנוֹר), perpetually to obtrude himself as judge and adviser (וַיִּשְׁפֹּט שָׁפֵט). The presence of Lot in Sodom was inconvenient to them, on account of his moral remonstrances and a passing idea of violently removing him might, at that moment, have occupied them; but their attention was too much engrossed with their licentious desire to give it effect.—סִנְיָוִי is, in sense, and, perhaps, in etymology, akin to עֲרִיזָה (Zech. xii. 4). Although that word was certainly used for real blindness (2 Kings vi. 18, 20; Sept., *dopasia*), it expresses here a somewhat different state; for so violent and fearful an infliction as the sudden deprivation of sight, would at once have induced the Sodomites to desist from their attempts to break into the house; but they continued to seek the door, till they were weary, and despaired of finding it. סִנְיָוִי is, therefore, here the punishment threatened for obstinate wickedness in Deut. xxviii. 28: “the Lord will smite them with confusion, and blindness, and consternation of heart” (בִּשְׁנֵעוֹן וּבְעִוְיוֹ); hence, Onkelos renders שְׁבִירִיָּא, and the Syriac שְׁבִירִיָּא.—“*אִתּוֹ פָּנִי* (ver. 13) is, “with or before the face of God”; like *לפני אלהים* in ver. 11;

comp. x. 9.—*לֹאֲקֹחַ בְּנָתָיו* (ver. 14) are those who *intended* to take his daughters (comp. ver. 8); as *הֵנָּה מָת* (xx. 3), thou *willst* die; *שָׂרָה יִלְדָּה* (xvii. 19), Sarah *will* bear. — The daughters are (in ver. 17) called הַנְּמֻצָּאוֹת, who were just at hand, or in the house, perhaps in contradistinction to Lot's sons (ver. 12), who seem to have associated and perished with the Sodomites (comp. 1 Chron. xxix. 17).—While hitherto the angels were designated, and called themselves, the messengers and instruments of God (ver. 13), the power of God was now recognized in them; they acted and were addressed as such (vers. 18, 21), with the usual transition from the angel into the deity (see p. 399, 400, and note on Exod. iii. 4).—*צָלַע*, formerly called *צָלַע* (xiv. 2), is the *little town* (צָלַע), which, though belonging to the territory of the *פְּפֹר* or district, was not included in the destructive revolution, in which notice we must recognize a historical and geological fact.—About *הָפֶךְ* to *destroy, overthrow* (whence the substantives *הִפְכָּה* and *הִפְכָּה*, used especially in reference to our event), see *Gesen.*, Thes. pp. 387, 388; *Fürst*, Concord., p. 332.—Though, in our chapter, Sodom and Gomorrah alone are mentioned (ver. 25), we learn, from other passages, that Admah and Zeboim were included in the same Divine visitation

from heaven; 25. And He overthrew those cities, and the whole district, and all the inhabitants of the cities, and the growth of the soil.

(Deut. xxix. 22; Hos. xi. 8; comp. Gen. xiv. 2, 8); but, being less populous or extensive, they are here implied in the general term, "all the district." Both in the intercession

of Abraham, and in the final trial made by the angels, even Sodom alone is pointed out as the principal town, whose destiny decided that of the other cities.

## THE DEAD SEA.

THE origin of this remarkable lake is as mysterious as its present nature is extraordinary; it stands alone not only in the geography of Palestine and Asia, but of the whole known surface of the earth: and hitherto science, though aided by zealous researches, has not advanced beyond the region of theory and doubt. The veil which the Biblical text spread over it, is not yet lifted. But let us briefly state the undisputed facts; we shall distinctly separate all accounts invented by imagination, diffused by rumour, or engendered by the human propensity to the marvellous.

The sea may be divided into two very dissimilar parts; the northern half is incomparably deeper than the southern part; for while the former reaches a depth of about 1,200 feet, that of the latter does not exceed 18 feet, and is at the extremity so shallow as not to be navigable by boats. It is, therefore, evident, that the bottom of the Dead Sea consists of two different plains, a depressed and a more elevated one; both are separated by a narrow peninsula (El Mesraa) and a very small and shallow canal; the region where both meet, or at which they part, is near Birket-el-Khalil, opposite that bay or incision which is called The Tongue (El-Lisan), about the middle of the lake. Now, it is probable that this southern and more elevated plain was formed by the events to which our text refers; that the lake originally consisted of the northern part only; and that the same catastrophe which produced the depression of the southern plain destroyed the four cities. For in a former passage it was stated, that the Dead Sea was originally "the valley of Siddim" (xiv. 3), where the five kings gave battle to the eastern invaders (xiv. 8); it was, therefore, the notion of the Biblical author that the valley was submerged, and became sea; and if we restrict that statement to the southern part, the facts alluded to admit of a satisfactory explanation. But it is not certain whether the towns stood in the former valley of Siddim itself; since the only passage which permits an inference is not explicit enough to exclude the opposite interpretation;<sup>1</sup> it is, therefore, more than doubtful whether, according to the Biblical author, the towns were submerged beneath the water; our text, on the contrary, ascribes the catastrophe to a "rain of sulphur and fire which God sent from heaven"; and herewith all the other Biblical allusions agree.<sup>2</sup> The questionable accounts of the natives, who state that, at very low water, they saw fragments of buildings and pillars rising out of the bottom of the lake,<sup>3</sup> are without weight and probability. The remarkable changes just referred to were, then, apparently effected in a violent manner by vol-

<sup>1</sup> xiv. 3; comp. *Roland*, Pal., 255.

<sup>2</sup> See vers. 24, 25, 28; Deut. xxix. 22; Zeph. ii. 9; Am. iv. 11; Isai. i. 9; Jer. xlix. 18; 1. 38; Ezek. xlvii. 8—12; comp. Book of Wisd. x. 6, 7; 2 Peter ii. 6; Jude 7; Luke xvii. 29.

<sup>3</sup> *D'Herbelot*, Bibl. Or. p. 285, *sub Deoura*; *Maundrell*, Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, p. 454, ed. *Bohn*; the traveller himself could not discover any heaps or traces of ruins, in spite of a diligent survey; *Roland*, Pal. p. 257.

canic action. It is undisputed, that Palestine was frequently subject to fearful convulsions even in historical times; the earthquake in the reign of King Uziah remained long in the memory of the inhabitants, filling them with fear and consternation.<sup>4</sup> At the north-east of the Dead Sea, is the Dshebel Musa, consisting entirely of black bituminous limestone and burning like coal; it is, no doubt, an extinct volcano, like the Frank Mountain, north-west of Safed; and the hot springs of Tiberias, Gadara, and Calirrhœ, point to the working of the same subterraneous powers, which are further evident from many crater-like depressions, the frequent and visible disturbances of the normal rocks, and the deep and numerous crevices. The whole valley, through which the Jordan flows, exhibits volcanic traces; at the western side, the Jura limestone is intersected by numerous dykes and seams of basalt, with deep fissures and saline sulphureous springs. New crevices are constantly formed upon the banks of the Dead Sea; on its south-east side, red and brown hornstone, porphyry, and similar rocks prevail; and near the fortress of Shobec are two volcanic craters. Several lines of earthquakes have been traced, including Hebron, Jerusalem, Nablous, Tiberias, and thence in a north-eastern direction, extending to the countries on the slope of the Taurus. The earthquake of 1759 buried 20,000 persons in the valley of Baalbec, and for three months the terrified inhabitants of the Lebanon districts did not venture to enter their houses, but lived in temporary tents. It is, therefore, more than probable that a volcanic eruption effected the depression of the then fertile plain of Siddim; and the bitumen-pits with which it abounded (xiv. 10) sufficiently betray the volcanic character of the region. The natural consequence of such change would be that the waters of the lake, as far as it then extended, covered this submerged plain, and the combined areas thenceforth formed the basin of the lake. The assertion that the Dead Sea has a subterraneous outlet, by which it abducts the great quantity of water<sup>5</sup> which the Jordan carries into it, has little probability. It is scarcely doubtful that the evaporation, increased by the rays of a burning sun, is sufficiently great to counter-balance the continual accession of water.—The primæval extent of the *Red Sea* belongs to the most interesting problems connected with the history of our planet. It is not impossible that it once embraced the whole tract from the Gulf of Akabah up to the roots of the Lebanon; that some later geological revolution lifted up the dry land from the water, and limited the gulf at Elath, its present northern extremity; and that the three lakes, Merom, Tiberias, and Asphaltites, together with the river Jordan, are the remaining traces to indicate the original length of the gulf. Now, if these conjectures are admitted, it follows, with great probability, that the Jordan, at that time, continued its course beyond the Dead Sea, through the valley El-Arabah, till it discharged its floods into the gulf; and that, therefore, necessarily both the Jordan and the basin of the Dead Sea were situated *higher* than the district El-Arabah. Further catastrophes, similar to that which our text implies, and which resulted in the depression of a part of the valley of the Jordan, the plain of Siddim, may later have caused a very considerable depression of the whole valley, while the regions south of the Dead Sea may have remained at their former level, or may even have experienced an elevation, so that the course of the Jordan, down to the Gulf of Akabah, then became impossible, and was arrested in the basin of the Dead Sea; for at present the level of the lake is about 600 feet lower than that of the Mediterranean, and 1,300 feet lower than that of the Red Sea.<sup>6</sup> However, all those changes lie at such vast periods beyond the historical times, and conjecture requires still so much support from more accurate geological observations, that it is sufficient, from these few remarks, to point to the

<sup>4</sup> Am. i. 1; Zech. xiv. 5; comp. Mich. i. 3, 4; Isai. lxi. 1—3; *Jusl.* xviii. 3.

<sup>5</sup> About six million of tons daily.

<sup>6</sup> According to Lynch; Symonds states

this depression at 1,231 par. feet; De Bertou at 1,290; Russegger at 1,341; and Wildenbruch at 1,351.

interesting physical connection existing between the event related in our chapter and a long series of similar revolutions, no doubt all anterior to it.<sup>1</sup>

The length of the lake is about thirty-nine, its breadth between eight and twelve geographical miles. The dimensions given by ancient writers are inaccurate and diverging.<sup>2</sup> The figures of modern travellers exhibit equal fluctuations; but the measurement of Lynch, and the estimation of Robinson, furnish the most reliable numbers. —The water of the lake is impregnated with salt almost to saturation; light subjects float on the surface, and heavy ones sink but very slowly; persons unable to swim are borne along on it, as the Emperor Vespasian and modern travellers proved by experiments; the trees standing in the neighbourhood are covered with a crust of salt, the result of the exhalations; the whole vicinity appears sometimes like a snowy plain; the clothes of those who stay on its shores, or sail on its waters, become impregnated with the same mineral; whatever object is thrown into it assumes a salt-crust; metals, especially iron, silver, and gold, if exposed to its evaporations, become corroded, black, and coated with a slimy substance. The colour of the water is clear and inodorous; but its taste, resembling in nauseousness that of a solution of alum, is so bitter and pungent, that it causes painful itching and even ulceration on the lips; and if brought near a wound, or any diseased part, produces a most excruciating sensation; it contains the muriatic and sulphuric acids; and it consists of salt to about one-fourth of its weight. This mineral is mostly brought into the lake from the salt-mountain (Usdum) on the south-western shores, about three leagues in extent, and forming the extreme eastern point of the large salt-zone, which extends from the islands of Cape Verde, almost through the whole of middle Africa;<sup>3</sup> but in the northern part, the bottom of the lake itself is an incrustation of that substance, and possesses many beds yielding excellent salt, clear as crystal, not only sufficient for the use of the Arabs, but allowing considerable exportation. On the eastern side of the lake are chiefly three points, where salt, pure, white, and wholesome, is found, often in crusts of such thickness that they bear horse and rider.<sup>4</sup>

Besides salt, the lake furnishes another substance, bitumen, or asphalt, so characteristic to it, that it hence received the name *Lacus Asphaltites*. The bitumen is a symptom and remnant of the volcanic nature of the region; and the natives have observed, that those large masses of bitumen which have been compared with bulls, calves, or houses, and even with islands, appear only in consequence of earthquakes; after the shock in 1834, the quantity driven to one part of the south-western shore amounted to nearly 6,000 pounds, while the masses gathered after the convulsion of 1837, were of still more gigantic dimensions. The neighbouring tribes display great zeal in securing it; and, as it forms a most lucrative article of trade, their emulation not unfrequently rises to hostile contention. In ancient times, the natives fetched it on large rafts of reeds, cutting it with the axe, after pouring certain fluids upon it,<sup>5</sup> and sold it especially to Egypt, where it was extensively used for embalming the dead. It was further employed for shipbuilding; as a cement in masonry instead of mortar; and sometimes as fuel instead of coals; and for medicinal drugs (see p. 319). The statement of Diodorus and Tacitus, who maintain that a large mass of solid bitumen, of more than 300 feet in length, rises annually from the lake, is questionable; since, as Strabo correctly remarks, that mineral is vomited up at uncertain seasons, in accord-

<sup>1</sup> Comp. *Letronne*, Sur la séparation primitive des bassins de la Mer morte et de la Mer rouge, etc., 1839; *Humboldt*, Central Asien, I. ii. p. 540, et seq.; *Ritter*, Erdkunde, xv. 768—778.

<sup>2</sup> Diodorus states them at 500 stadia by 60; Josephus at 580 by 150; Pliny at 100 miles by 6 to 25 miles; and Strabo

believed the circumference to be 1,000 stadia.

<sup>3</sup> See *Ritter*, Erdkunde, xv. 766; comp. 765—768.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. *Ritter*, loc. cit. p. 689; 765—769.

<sup>5</sup> *Plin.* vii. 13; *Diod. Sic.* xix. 99. *Tacit. Hist.* v. 6.

ance with the uncontrollable flames at the bottom by which it is produced; but the assertion of natives and others that drops of pitch are distilled from the crevices of cretaceous rocks on the eastern shore, opposite Ain Dsheddi, is not at variance with the character of the locality. The drops agglomerate and harden in the heat of the sun, till they fall or are driven into the lake in considerable masses. In the sand on the shores, pieces of asphalt are frequently found, either fluid or hard, or intermixed with chalk and clay. The whole soil around has, in fact, a burnt appearance, and abounds in volcanic substances; it is, to the distance of half an hour, like "ruinous lime-kilns." The gravel is almost black, and burns like coals, emitting, when lighted, the same strong and offensive odour as the slime of the lake; but it is made into rosaries, toys, and other elegant articles, eagerly bought by pious pilgrims. Together with the bitumen, much soot is brought up, by which every shining metal is tarnished; and this change in the colour of vessels serves the natives as an indication of the approaching rise of asphalt.

Such being the nature of the water, we may easily understand that it is devoid of almost all animal and vegetable life; that especially no fishes live in it; that the conchylia brought down from the Jordan die there; that no water-plants thrive in it; that it even communicates to many parts of its shores a sickly and dreary appearance. But whatever is asserted beyond this, is fabulous. Though the specific gravity of the water is considerably greater than that of other seas, heavy substances sink to the bottom, though slowly; those who wade through it, are not "immediately lifted out of the water"; birds, even pigeons and quails, which happen to fly over its surface, do not die;<sup>6</sup> the exhalations are not pestilential, or fatal to human life, though fevers are not unusual, on account of the intense heat; the asphalt is not ordinarily found floating along the surface in great masses; at present, it is even extremely rare;<sup>7</sup> and the coasts are by no means in all parts utterly destitute of vegetation or animal life, so that no blade of corn should be visible. In the south-east especially is an extensive and in parts very fertile plain, the breadth of which varies between one and five miles; near Ain Dsheddi is a luxurious vegetation; birds of song and birds of prey abound on the trees and rocks; and wherever rivers force their way from the mountains into the lake, the borders are clothed with verdure, and often with useful plants.<sup>8</sup> The apple of Sodom, which is said to be of beautiful appearance, but to contain nothing but ashes, is probably the fruit of the *Asclepias gigantea*, which, if pressed, opens like a bladder, is filled with air, and leaves in the hand nothing but a few fibres, and the fragments of the peel. The Arabs, however, declare the apple of Sodom to be the spurious pomegranate which, they assert, possesses the qualities alluded to. There is no reason to deny the existence of such a fruit altogether, and it does not necessarily belong to that class of fictions which, as Lord Bacon observed, are only kept up because they "serve for a good allusion, or help the poet to a similitude."

The atmosphere over and around the sea is heavy and oppressive; pale-blue and misty; shut in on both sides by high, naked, and often precipitous mountains, which, on the east side, rise 3,000 feet above its level, the lake is, for the greatest part of the year under the influence of the powerful solar rays; the shores, in many places, descend with extraordinary steepness into the lake; the surface of the water lies like lead, unruffled by a breeze, and unmoved by a wave; death-like silence hangs over it; the birds hasten across: a gloomy and desolate spectacle. Those who navigate it, experience a paralysing drowsiness, thirst, and giddiness; it offers sometimes a kind of mirage, and the strangest contrasts of colours; in stormy nights, it is like "a sheet of phosphorescent foam." The noxious smell which ancient and modern travellers have

<sup>6</sup> Comp. *Maunderell*, Journey, p. 453.

<sup>8</sup> Comp. *Died. Sic.*, xix. 98; *Schubert*,

<sup>7</sup> See *Ritter*, *Erdk.*, xv. 568, 750—760.

*Reise*, iii. 85; *Russegger*, *Reise*, iii. 106.



noticed, and which resembles that of sulphuretted hydrogen, is not constantly felt, but is, in seasons of great heat, occasioned by the stagnation of the inert waters, by the marshes and pools along the shores and north of the lake, and especially by the black slime at the bottom; while Diodorus ascribes the disagreeable odour to the asphalt burning beneath the ground, and spreading a fetid smell twenty days before it is visible on the surface. Josephus remarks, that the waters of the sea change their appearance three times every day, and reflect different colours from the rays of the sun; and a similar observation has been made by recent explorers; it is said, that in the morning the water is nearly black, owing to the dense fog above it; at noon, in the increased heat, of a pale-blue; while before sunset it assumes a reddish or yellowish colour, as if tinged by an admixture of slime. It has, further, been described as enveloped in a thin transparent vapour of a purple colour, appearing, in the distance, like smoke from burning sulphur; and it has been compared to a vast and sometimes seething caldron of metal, fused, but motionless.—A broad strip of foam, perhaps indicating the direction of the floods of the Jordan, though beginning several miles west of its influx, is sometimes seen, extending through the whole lake from north to south, showing a constant bubbling motion, and accompanied by a similar corresponding strip above it in the air.<sup>1</sup>

Strabo already had a correct notion of the volcanic nature of the valley of the Dead Sea; he observes, that the asphalt rises mostly from the middle of the lake, because the source of the fire is in the centre; he mentions rugged rocks near Masada, bearing marks of fire; speaks of fissures in many places, of a soil like ashes, of pitch falling in drops from the rocks, of rivers boiling up and emitting a fetid odour to a great distance, and of dwellings in every direction overthrown; and he then alludes to the tradition of the natives, that formerly thirteen cities, with the capital Sodom, flourished in those parts; that, however, shocks of earthquakes, eruptions of flames, and hot springs, containing asphalt and sulphur, caused the lake to burst its bounds; that the rocks took fire, and some cities were swallowed up, while others were deserted by such of the inhabitants as were able to escape.—But as our text (ver. 24) states, that the destruction of Sodom was caused by “a rain of brimstone and fire,” it has been supposed, by many ancient and modern writers, that the bitumen which covered the valley, and of which, perhaps, even the houses were partly built, was kindled by lightning, and that the region was totally burnt out. But, if brimstone descended at the same time from heaven, the lightning was not the only agency, and the bitumen would have been unnecessary to effect the destruction. We must rather take the emphatical sentence: “the Lord rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah brimstone and fire from the Lord out of heaven,” as describing the Divine judgment coming from above, whatever the means employed for this purpose may have been; although it was possibly the author’s notion, that the bitumen, lighted by the heavenly fire, and increased by the brimstone, caused the slumbering volcanic flames of the earth suddenly to break forth.<sup>2</sup>

After these explanations, the various names which the lake bears, will be easily understood. It is called the *Eastern Sea*,<sup>3</sup> because it separates in the east the territory of Palestine Proper from Peræa, or the districts east of the Jordan; the *Sea of the desert-plain*,<sup>4</sup> from its situation in the depressed tracts in the east of the mountains of Judah; the *Salt-sea*,<sup>5</sup> and *Asphalt-sea*,<sup>6</sup> from the minerals which its waters contain or carry along; and *Dead Sea*,<sup>7</sup> on account of the death-like stillness which prevails

<sup>1</sup> According to Molyneux; see Journ. Roy. Geogr. Soc., 1848, xviii. 126—130.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. 2 Kings i. 12; Ps. xi. 8; Ezek. xxxviii. 23.

<sup>3</sup> יַם הַקֶּדְמוֹנִי; Ezek. xlvii. 18, etc.

<sup>4</sup> יַם הַעֲרָבָה; Deut. iii. 17; iv. 49; Josh. iii. 16, etc.

<sup>5</sup> יַם הַמֶּלַח; Gen. xiv. 3, etc.

<sup>6</sup> Ἡ Ἀσφαλτῖτις λίμνη, or Ἀσφαλτοφόρος λίμνη; Joseph., Bell. Jud., IV. viii. 2; Antiq., XVII. vi. 5.

<sup>7</sup> Mare Mortuum; θάλασσα ἡ νεκρά; Justin., xxxvi. 3, 6; Pausan., v. 7, etc.

through its extent, and the absence of cheering animal or vegetable life. The Arabians designate it generally by the name of *Sea of Lot*,<sup>8</sup> from obvious reasons. Strabo calls it, by a curious mistake, *Lake Sirbonis*,<sup>9</sup> perhaps from the district of Silbonitis, an eastern part of Peræa,<sup>10</sup> if not from a singular confusion with the Egyptian lake of that name, lying between the eastern angle of the Delta, the Isthmus of Suez, Mount Casius, and the Mediterranean.<sup>11</sup>—The Hebrews, as sometimes other nations, called the lakes seas;<sup>12</sup> as, on the other hand, Homer and other poets designate the seas, and especially the Ocean, by the name of lake (*λίμνη*).—The water of the Dead Sea has several times been subjected to a careful chemical analysis, which has yielded interesting scientific results.<sup>13</sup>—The navigation of the lake has, within the last twenty years, been several times attempted. Costigan (in 1835) was followed by More and Beek (in 1837), by Symonds (in 1841), and Molyneux (in 1847); but more successfully than by his predecessors, the difficult undertaking was executed by Lynch (in 1848), in the name of the North American government; and this expedition was attended with results of the utmost importance to the accurate knowledge of the extraordinary region.<sup>14</sup>—The question, whether the water contains animal life, received new interest from the microscopic observations of Ehrenberg; and a not inconsiderable number of animals of the lower orders have been discovered; though the greatest nicety is necessary to distinguish the beings originally living in the Dead Sea, and those carried into it from the floods of the Jordan.<sup>15</sup>

We add, in a foot-note, a few of the numerous passages and works treating of this remarkable lake.<sup>16</sup>

26. But his wife looked back behind him, and she became a pillar of salt.—27. And Abraham repaired early

26—29. A fearful judgment had been brought upon the sin-laden cities; awful desolation was spread over a district once blooming like the beauty of paradise; God had manifested His omnipotence and sovereignty; but, in punishing the wickedness of a province, His paternal care had

not neglected the welfare of one family which He deemed worthy of deliverance; in His anger, He had not forgotten His mercy; and while the flames were devouring the cities, Lot had safely reached the town expressly preserved in order to afford him refuge and shelter. Could God, in

<sup>8</sup> Birket Lût, or Bahharet Lût.

<sup>9</sup> Συρβωνίς λίμνη.

<sup>10</sup> Joseph., Bell. Jud., III. iii. 3, according to a conjecture of Letronne.

<sup>11</sup> Herod., ii. 6; Diod., i. 30; Strabo, i. 50.

<sup>12</sup> Comp. Arist., Meteor., i. 13; Plin., iii. 16.

<sup>13</sup> Robinson, Bibl. Res., ii. 224, 225; Horne, Introduction, ii. 47, 48.

<sup>14</sup> See Ritter, Erdkunde, xv. 698—748.

<sup>15</sup> Comp. Ritter, Erdk., xv. 779, 780.

<sup>16</sup> Aristot., Meteor., ii. 3; Diod. Sic., ii. 48; xix. 88, 99; Strabo, xvi. 763, 764; Joseph., Bell. Jud., IV. viii. 4; Jerome, on Ezek. xlvii.; Pliny, Hist. Nat., v. 15; vii. 13; Tacit., Hist., v. 6; Justin., xxxvi. 3; Galenus, De simpl. med. fac., v. 19; Pausan., v. 7; Reland, Palest., pp. 239—

258; Seetzen, in Zach's Corresp., xviii. 417, et seq.; Burchhardt, Trav., 363—378; Irby and Mangles, Trav., 351—356, 444—478; Volney, Trav., i. 281, 282; Shaw, Trav., ii. 157; Robinson, Bibl. Res., ii.; Russeger, Reise, iii.; Wilson, Lands of the Bible, ii. 24, et seq.; Carne, Letters from the East, p. 316; Clarke, Travels, iv. 400—406; Daubeny, On Volcanoes, in Jameson's Phil. Journ., 1826, p. 365, et seq.; Mannert, Geogr., VI. i. 332; Rosenmüller, Alterth., II. i. 180; Schubert, Reise, iii.; Tischendorf, Reise, ii.; Ritter, Erdkunde, xv. 557—780; Lynch, Narrative of the United States' Expedition to the Jordan; De Saulcy, Voyage en Syrie, etc.; Fan de Velde, Narrative of a Journey, etc.; Fallmerayer, Das todte Meer; Stanley, Sin. and Pal., 281—288.

in the morning to the place where he had stood before the Lord: 28. And he looked toward Sodom and Gomorrah, and toward all the land of the district, and saw, and, behold, the smoke of the country rose like the smoke of the furnace.—29. And when God destroyed the cities of the district, God remembered Abraham, and sent Lot out of the midst of the overthrow, when He overthrew the cities

showing so much love, not expect faith and reliance? The trial of obedience was small and easy indeed; but it involved the proof whether the rescued family believed the angel, or required personal certainty, before they would follow his guidance; and it was a trial deemed sufficient by ancient nations under similar circumstances. When Orpheus had descended into the lower world in order to ask back his beloved wife Eurydice, Pluto, moved by the magic of his harmonies, gave him the promise, that she would be restored to him under condition that he did not turn round to her till he had passed the Avernian valley: and when he disobeyed, she fell back into the regions of hell (*Ovid*, *Metam.*, x. 50—63; *Virg.*, *Georg.*, iv. 485—493). Sacred actions, performed in reliance on the omnipotent assistance of the gods, were done with the face averted, as if symbolically to express, that the believing mind requires no ocular evidence (comp. *Virg.*, *Ecl.*, viii. 102; *Ovid*, *Metam.*, i. 383, 399). We have, therefore, to explain the command here given to Lot from the same notions; it was a proof of faith; those who are, or wish to be, rescued, must, without hesitation, and without reserve, yield themselves to Divine assistance; and from this point of view, we have to understand the pillar of salt into which Lot's wife was converted, which even Josephus pretended still to have seen; for which travellers have searched as for a most sacred relic; and to which Fathers of the Church have ascribed the most extraordinary qualities, among which is, that it affords periodical proofs that a woman is hidden within it! (*Joseph.*, *Antiq.*, l. xi. 4; *Iren.*, iv. 51, 64; comp. *Wisdom of Solom.* x. 7, 8; *Luke* xvii. 32; comp. *Maundrell*, *Journey*, p. 454).—The history of the de-

struction of Sodom and the other towns has a parallel in the Greek traditions, too generally known to require more than a passing allusion. Philemon and Baucis were the only couple whom Jupiter, when travelling on earth, accompanied by Mercury, in order to explore the moral state of mankind, found virtuous and hospitable; they alone cheerfully received the gods, insulted and rejected by all others, into their humble dwelling, and treated them to the best of their provisions. Jupiter determined to destroy the whole region, but wished to save his pious hosts; he commanded them to repair to the neighbouring mountain; only after the destruction had been completed, they turned their eyes to the awful scene, and saw with horror that the god had fully realised his menace; that the whole town had been immersed in the marshes; and that their house alone had remained untouched (comp. *Ovid*, *Metam.*, viii. 620—724). If we find many analogies in the form of the two narratives, their spirit shows the same differences which we have above pointed out, on the occasion of the visit of the three angels before Abraham's tent (see p. 401).—The patriarch, who had evinced so deep a sympathy in the fate of Sodom, was naturally anxious to learn the decision of the Divine judge; and when, at the early dawn, he looked in the direction of the Pentapolis, and saw the whole country enveloped as in the smoke of a furnace, he felt with sorrow, that not even ten righteous men had been found in the whole population; though he learnt soon afterwards, that Lot at least had been saved for his sake.—Thus, the narrative exhibits not only the completest consistency, but displays unabating interest by its graphic liveliness.

in the which Lot dwelt.—30. And Lot went up out of Zoar, and dwelt in the mountain, and his two daughters with him; for he was afraid to dwell in Zoar: and he dwelt in a cave, he and his two daughters. 31. And the older said to the younger, Our father is old, and *there is* not a man on the earth to come to us after the manner of all the earth: 32. Come, let us make our father drink

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—Lot's wife looked מֵאַחֲרָיִךְ, that is, "from behind him"; for she followed his steps; the conjecture אַחֲרֵיהֶּ is, therefore, gratuitous. The sense of the received, and more difficult reading could not be doubtful after the distinct command in ver. 17, תָּבִיט אַחֲרַיִךְ. — She was, according to our text, converted into a "pillar of salt" (נָצִיב מֶלַח); Sept., στήλη ἁλός; all other explanations, which attempt to disguise that fact, are artificial, for instance: "she fell into a salt-brook"; or, "was fixed for the time to the soil by saline or bituminous incrustations"; or, "she was covered with a salt-crust"; or, was "like a pillar of salt."

This chapter, the direct continuation of the preceding portion, belongs also to the Jehovist; but he inserted here, in a perfectly appropriate place, a remark of the Elohist, the 29th verse, which, though indeed unnecessary, and appearing like a mere recapitulation, is by no means, as some critics assert, in contradiction with the spirit of the narrative. It seems, from the tenour of that verse, that Lot was not saved on account of his own virtue, but for Abraham's sake; and, in harmony herewith, the preceding story is, on the one hand, far from representing Lot as a model of piety; and attributes, on the other hand, his deliverance, in ver. 16, expressly to the mercy and compassion of God (comp. Dent. xxix. 22, where יְיָ is used; Am. iv. 11; Isai. xiii. 19). The sagacity of Tuch is here led into superfluous and subtle speculations, how the Jehovist everywhere followed the traces of the Elohist, and did nothing more than work out and complete his allusions. But if the former possessed other sources for his supplements, he might as well have been furnished by them with

original facts and ideas, embodied by him in the narrative, if they appeared to be in harmony with the plan of the whole conception. The 29th verse proves, further, that he omitted remarks of the Elohist, whenever he intended to insert them in greater detail with his own words, or from other sources; for it presupposes, that Lot had emigrated with Abraham from Mesopotamia, although this fact is nowhere mentioned in the Elohist portions preserved in the narrative.—Very few will agree in the opinion, that ver. 29 stands in close and immediate reference to xvii. 27; for a greater abruptness of style, and a more fragmentary mode of composition could not easily be imagined. Here again, therefore, we see the Jehovist using his materials with perfect freedom and deliberation, now abridging, and now enlarging them; and it is a vain and illusory attempt to deduce from the present text a complete system of the Elohist's views; for his notices are often closely interwoven with those of the Jehovist; names of the Deity do not always occur; and few of the other criteria are quite decisive (see p. 386).

**30—38.** In the first consternation of imminent danger, Lot had escaped to Zoar; but when he saw the destruction, like a devastating flame, spread over wider and wider tracts; when the streams of lava rose in higher pillars, and the fiery masses were hurled over the whole plain: he did not consider himself safe in a town so near, and so lowly situated; and he hastened to the mountain of Moab, originally assigned to him by the angels as the place of refuge (ver. 17). These heights abound in natural caverns or grottoes, peculiarly fit for human occupation (see p. 352). Here Lot arrived with his two daughters, alone

wine, and we will lie with him, that we may preserve seed from our father. 33. And they made their father drink wine that night: and the older went and lay with her father; and he perceived not when she lay down, nor when she rose. 34. And on the following day, the older

left to him of all his household. A sense of dreariness and solitude might soon have overwhelmed them; the stillness of death around; the absence of human beings; the vegetation burnt up as far their eyes could reach. What was more natural for them than to believe, that a second universal judgment had visited the earth, as in Noah's age; but that this time fire was the agency of the Divine wrath, since He had promised to bring no other deluge over the earth? Lot's daughters had been reared in a depraved town; they had been betrothed to wicked men; their father had but the day before consented to expose their virtue to the unbridled desires of an excited multitude; let us add to all this their oriental notions, that it is ignominious to leave no children; and we can understand, though we cannot cease to abhor, their incestuous conduct. They had fallen into a most deplorable confusion of views; so far from considering their wishes criminal, they regarded the offspring thus produced as peculiarly pure and legitimate; they called their sons, with a certain boast, "the son from the father" (בן־אב), and the "son of my own people" (בן־עמי), or my own family; they had, indeed, some consciousness that their conduct was guilty, since they made their father drunk, and did not venture to communicate to him either their design or their deed; but they believed that the preservation of their name and race was a higher duty even than morality; just as their father had known no other means of protecting his guests than by abandoning his daughters. But however their conduct might have been estimated, our narrative certainly exempts Lot from all serious reproach; he was a mere instrument; his senses were overpowered by unconscious torpor; "he knew not when

they lay down, nor when they rose"; and his excess in the enjoyment of wine is no more blamed than it was before in Noah. No word is employed, no allusion made, in the whole of this tale to express disgust, aversion, or hatred; the laws concerning the allowed and forbidden degrees were not yet fixed; Abraham himself lived in a matrimony cursed as an abomination in the Mosaic code (Lev. xviii. 9); the event is related with all the calmness of historical composition; it must have been derived from tradition; and the extraordinary circumstances believed to have occasioned it, extenuated, if they did not excuse, the preposterous conclusions and the hasty conduct of the daughters. The impartiality of the narrative is sufficiently guaranteed by the fact, that it openly acknowledges the near relationship of the Moabites and Ammonites with the Hebrews; this concession may imply the historical fact, that the former, like the latter, were of Mesopotamian origin; nor do we later, for a considerable period, hear these nations taunted on account of incestuous descent; they were simply called the sons of Lot (Deut. ii. 9, 19; Ps. lxxxiii. 9); being kinsmen of Abraham, they had duly received from God, in the east of the Jordan, a tract of land which the Israelites were forbidden to attack or to injure, since it was intended as their permanent possession (Deut. ii. 9, 19, 20). But later they evinced an unfriendly and invidious spirit against the Hebrews, refusing to furnish them with provisions on their way through the desert to Canaan, and appointing the heathen prophet Balaam to curse them. Hence a bitter and implacable enmity arose; the legislator ordered that the Ammonites and Moabites should not, even in the remotest generations, come into the

said to the younger, Behold, I lay yesternight with my father: let us make him drink wine this night also; and go thou, *and* lie with him, that we may preserve seed from our father. 35. And they made their father drink wine that night also: and the younger rose, and lay with

congregation of the Lord; and that they should never be received as allies, friends, or associates (Deut. xxiii. 4—7). Nor is it impossible, that after that time, when the flame of national hatred was kindled, the origin of both tribes was branded as criminal; as, indeed, the precepts regarding their future separation from the Hebrews follow immediately after the interdiction concerning "the bastards" (רמז) who should never be admitted into the holy community; and the expressions used, in both instances, are so similar, that it is scarcely doubtful that the Moabites and Ammonites were then also despised and rejected as bastards. The subsequent epochs witnessed constant and virulent conflicts between them and the Israelites.—The history of the Moabites, as far as it is connected with the Hebrews, has been noticed in another place (on Exod. xv. 15); a few facts will suffice with regard to the Ammonites. They had expelled the Zamzumim from the tracts between the Jabbok and Arnon, and settled in those mountainous and naturally fortified regions (Deut. ii. 20); but after the immigration, under Joshua, they were attacked by the Israelites and deprived of a part of their territory; they joined the Moabites and other nations to take revenge upon their enemies (Judg. iii. 13); but their success was but transitory; they were defeated successively by Jephthah, Saul, and David, who curbed their pride and broke their power (Judg. xi. 32; 1 Sam. xi. 11; 2 Sam. viii. 12; x. 14, etc.). But they recovered a part of their strength, and attacked the Hebrews, under Jehoshaphat; but were defeated, and became, later, tributary to Uzziah and Jotham (2 Chron. xx. 1; xxvi. 8; xxvii. 5). Their aversion against the Israelites survived the captivity of the latter; they insulted them in

their national misfortune, joined their Babylonian enemies, and subdued the provinces east of the Jordan (Zeph. ii. 8; Jer. xlix. 1; 2 Kings xxiv. 2). Their insatiable vindictiveness was not satisfied by these disasters; their king, Baalis, caused the assassination of Gedaliah, the hope of the peaceful colonists; they constantly vexed the returning Jews, and took arms against them even in the Maccabean wars (Jer. xl. 14; Neh. iv. 1; 1 Macc. v. 6, 30—43; comp. *Winer*, Real-Woert. i. 53). Thus, without intermission or abatement, the fury of the younger tribes raged against their kindred and their blood, during more than thirteen centuries.

After this event, Lot disappears from the pages of the Bible; but his history was not introduced without purpose; though but collateral, it eminently serves to illustrate the chief ideas of Genesis. As he belonged to the family of Abraham, he was blessed with wealth; but as he did not avoid the intercourse with the wicked, he fell into dangers, misfortunes, and crime (comp. 2 Peter ii. 7, 8). His history is, therefore, a practical warning to the Israelites, to avoid every familiarity with idolators; not to suffer them among themselves, nor to admit their religious worship. But further, the Canaanites had received from God the land of Palestine as a temporary possession; but having shown themselves undeserving of the grant, they were doomed to extirpation; the land fell, therefore, back to God; He might destroy it or give it to another more virtuous nation. Now, the history of Sodom, as later that of Jericho, was to teach the Israelites, that though they conquered Palestine, it belonged to God, who is its only lord. This idea forms one of the essential points of the Hebrew

him; and he perceived not when she lay down, nor when she rose. 36. And both daughters of Lot conceived from their father. 37. And the older bore a son, and called his name Moab: he is the father of the Moabites to this day. 38. And the younger also bore a son, and called his name Ben-ammi: he is the father of the children of Ammon to this day.

theocracy; it is the basis of many most important laws; in fact, of the whole agrarian constitution of Mosaism; the land was inalienable; it lay uncultivated in every seventh, and returned to its original owner in every fiftieth year; God might either devastate it or take it from the Israelites, whenever their depravity rendered them unworthy of the gift. The destiny of the devoted cities embodies, then, the solemn sentence of the Law: "When later the generation of your children and the stranger from distant lands see the plagues of this country (Palestine) and all the diseases which the Lord hath laid upon it, and observe that the whole land is brimstone, and salt, and combustion, that it is not sown, nor produceth vegetation, nor bringeth forth grass, like the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah, Admah, and Zeboiim, which the Lord overthrew in His anger and in His wrath; and when all the nations will ask, wherefore the Lord hath done thus to the land, then they shall say, Because they have forsaken the covenant of the Lord God of their fathers" (Deut. xxix. 22—25; comp. Hos. xi. 8). The very names of Sodom and Gomorrah became, later, terms for horror and destruction; and were employed by the prophets to describe the abysses of sin and to warn of its direful consequences (comp. Isai. i. 7; iii. 9; xiii. 19; Jer. xx. 15;

xxiii. 14; xlix. 18; l. 40; Am. iv. 11; Zeph. ii. 9; Lament. iv. 6). Korah and his followers had committed one flagrant crime against the man of God, on a strange soil on which they happened to have their temporary encampment (Num. xvi.); therefore the earth opened its mouth, devouring the offenders, but remaining itself uninjured. But the people of Sodom had sinned in their own land, staining it with their iniquity for many generations; therefore it was entirely and utterly swept away.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS. — **וְיָצְאוּ** (vera. 33, 35) is used instead of **וְיָצְאוּ**, like **וְיָצְאוּ**, **וְיָצְאוּ** (Exod. i. 17, 18, etc.).—The name **מוֹאָב** may be regarded as an inaccurate form instead of **מוֹאָב** (Sept. *ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς μου*); but more probable is the opinion, that the first part **מוֹ** is the old and poetical word for *water* (Job ix. 30; **בְּמֵי שָׁלֵן** for **בְּמֵי שָׁלֵן**), and that this is used instead of *seed*, as in Isai. xlviii. 1: **כִּמְיֵי יְהוּדָה יֵצְאוּ** "they came out of the seed of Judah" (comp. *Gesen.*, *Thea.* pp. 774, 775); so that **מוֹאָב** is "the seed of the father" (comp. vera. 32, 34).—**וְיָצְאוּ** is aptly explained by **וְיָצְאוּ** the son of my people, or perhaps, "of my relative," for **מוֹ** has not only the stricter meaning of tribe (Psalm xlvii. 10; comp. *δῆμος*), but perhaps also of family (3 Kings iv. 13; Sept. *ὁδὸς γένους μου*).

## CHAPTER XX.

SUMMARY.—Abraham journeyed from Hebron to Gerar, in the land of the Philistines. Sarah, professing to be his sister, was brought into the house of the king, Abimelech, who, however, did not approach her; and warned both by diseases and disorders befalling his house, and by a vision of God, restored her to the patriarch, and was, on his intercession, released from the threatening dangers. Though

arguing with Abraham about his inconsiderate conduct, and scarcely satisfied with the excuse offered by him, he dismissed the couple, enriched with many presents, and permitted them to choose for their permanent abode any part of his territory.

1. And Abraham journeyed from there to the country in the south, and dwelt between Kadesh and Shur, and sojourned in Gerar. 2. And Abraham said of Sarah his wife, She is my sister: and Abimelech king of Gerar sent, and took Sarah. 3. But God came to Abimelech in a dream by night, and said to him, Behold, thou wilt die on

1—8. Abraham, reminded by the catastrophe of the cities of the Jordan, that he ought not to bind up his fate too closely with that of any heathen town, and that he should never cease to regard himself as a stranger in a strange land; left Hebron, where he had long stayed, had found fertile plains, had gained friends and allies, and which was sacred to him as the locality of repeated visions and a Divine covenant (xiii. 18; xiv. 13; xviii. 1). He journeyed southward, halted at different places between Kadesh and Shur, till he reached Gerar, where he intended to take up his temporary abode. The position of this town is, on the whole, certain from the statement of our text; and corresponds with the ruins of Khribet-el-Gerar, lately identified with it (see p. 275; about Kadesh see p. 353; and about Shur comp. on Exod. p. 280). It belonged to the territory of the Philistines, who, even at that time, had not only occupied the southern coast, but had seized or built towns in the interior of the land, in districts, at later periods, less fertile and less inhabited (see p. 266). Abraham had scarcely reached Gerar when trials and dangers beset him; he succumbed to the former, though he was saved by God from the latter. He feared the sensuality and barbarity of the Philistines as he had apprehended the licentiousness of the Egyptians (xii. 10—20); and he resorted to the same ignoble device by which he had intended to shield himself before. However, his guilt was, in this instance, considerably greater; he repeated an offence which

manifested a want of faith, and for which he had been censured by Pharaoh (xii. 18); but what is still more aggravating, he exposed Sarah to degradation at a time when the long-promised son, the seed of all future blessing, was expected. It is impossible to conceal the weakness and vacillation of Abraham; and difficult, not to compare his conduct with Lot's endeavour to protect his guests at the expense of his daughters' shame. But on the other hand, it may be argued that the result of the first occurrence in Egypt encouraged him to venture upon the same course a second time; that he was convinced God would watch over the purity of his house as He had done before; and his action may thus be construed into true reliance and faith. In this manner, the offence would, indeed, be lessened; but it would be "trying God"; it would be moral debility, which, instead of courageously facing difficulties, leaves them indolently to Divine compassion; and it would be forgetfulness of the first maxim of active religion, that to be worthy of God's assistance, man must unwearingly exert his strength. But we may ask, what was the guilt of Abimelech? He had taken Sarah into his house, believing that she was Abraham's sister; and he was smitten with disease (ver. 17); his whole household fell into alarming misery (ver. 18); and he was terrified by the threat of imminent death (ver. 7). The reply to this question is important and significant, and shows the unity of the composition. The plagues befalling Abimelech were the trial of his own virtue. The people of Sodom



account of the woman whom thou hast taken; for she *is* a husband's wife. 4. But Abimelech had not come near her: and he said, Lord, wilt thou slay also righteous people? 5. Did he not say to me, She *is* my sister? and she, even she herself said, He *is* my brother: in the integrity of my heart and in the innocence of my hands have I done this. 6. And God said to him in a dream, I know also that thou didst this in the integrity of thy heart; and I

had just been subjected to a moral test; they had been found steeped in wickedness, and were, therefore, annihilated with their territory. But the sin of the other inhabitants of Canaan had been said to require four hundred years more to be complete, and to cause their destruction (xv. 16); and our narrative proves the correctness of that announcement; the king of the Philistines stood victoriously the trial; and, like Melchizedek, he exhibits a picture of virtue, forcing upon us the conviction, that it would have been injustice to deprive men like him of their land. For he was warned by a sudden infliction, that his house was on the brink of sin; he abstained from approaching Sarah; he deferentially submitted to the admonition of God; he was conscious of his innocence, and relied upon Divine justice; he mentioned, with a certain moral indignation, the insincerity of both Abraham and Sarah; God Himself declared him pure and guiltless; and even his servants acknowledged and revered the Divine visitation. Thus, our chapter stands in close and organic relation with the preceding judgment held over Sodom. —It is true, that the king had, by God Himself, been withheld from sin (ver. 6); but, as his heart was inclined to righteousness, God assisted and fortified him; whereas minds already infected with the taint of sin, as that of Pharaoh, who, from the commencement, haughtily asked: "Who is the Lord that I shall obey His voice?" (Exod. v. 2), show themselves unworthy of Divine grace, and hasten into their destruction. The sixth verse is, therefore, of especial importance for the ethics of the Old Testament. —Every transgression is an offence

against God; violence done to Sarah would, therefore, have been a crime against His authority (נִשְׁחָטוֹת); but the sin would in this case have been the more grievous, as Abraham "the prophet" was concerned (ver. 7). The text leaves no doubt how this dignity is to be understood. The prophet, or "the mouth" of God, being the medium by which God communes with man, may also be the instrument through which man brings his wishes before God; he may *pray* for another, certain that the supplications are more acceptable from his purer lips (Jer. vii. 16; xiv. 11). To this we may add, that forgiveness is the more readily granted, if solicited by the injured man himself (comp. Job xli. 8, 10); and, hence, there was double reason why Abraham should have interceded for Abimelech (about the meaning of "prophet" נָבִיא, see notes on Exodus iv. 15, 16; xv. 20). Though the danger of pollution had been occasioned much more by Abraham's than the king's guilt, the former stood nearer to the love of God than any other being, by the covenant which He had concluded with him, and by the end which He intended to realize with his posterity.

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—It requires but an unbiassed perusal of this chapter to perceive how groundlessly the style has been denounced as "awkward" and "unskillful." It appears, in fact, extremely interesting and forcible; if the author treated some incidents briefly, he relied upon the reader's attention, to fill up the outline from the very similar occurrence related in the twelfth chapter; but the three chief points scarcely touched in that former narrative, the vision and warning of God,

withheld thee also from sinning against Me: therefore I did not suffer thee to touch her. 7. Now, therefore, restore the man's wife; for he is a prophet, and he shall pray for thee, and thou shalt live: and if thou dost not restore her, know thou that thou shalt surely die, thou, and all that are thine. 8. And Abimelech rose early in the morning, and called all his servants, and told all these things in their ears: and the men were very much afraid.—

the indignation of the king, and the escape of the patriarch, are here dilated upon with a power and energy which cannot fail to excite and to rivet attention. No single trait is wanting for a complete picture; and exact regularity is no characteristic of oriental composition.—Equally untenable is the objection, that this chapter is not inserted in its proper place, which it, indeed, occupies so clearly, that it would be inappropriate at any other part of the book, and especially after the twelfth or sixteenth chapter. After the twelfth, it would not only be an immediate repetition; but the beginning of the thirteenth, "Abraham went up from Egypt" would, after our narrative, be unintelligible. But if we place it after the sixteenth, there would have been another confusion in the localities; for, according to xiii. 18, and xiv. 13, Abraham dwelt at that time near Hebron; if we, therefore, insert our chapter after the sixteenth, he would journey "from there" (שם) to the south, and stay at Gerar (ver. 1), whereas we find him, in the eighteenth chapter, again at Hebron (ver. 1), without any change of place having been indicated. The reason why such violent transposition has been advocated by several critics, lies in the supposed contents of the last verse of our chapter, where it is stated, "that the Lord had closed all the wombs of the house of Abimelech"; for it has been asserted, that at least two years are required to notice this fact; but as between our chapter and the following lies but one year (comp. xviii. 10, 14, and xxi. 1, 2), Isaac would have been born in Abimelech's house, which is contrary to the tenour of the narrative. However, it

is obvious, that the expressions of the last verse merely imply a cessation of births, not of conception; and the former could be noticed in a very few months. The passages Isai. xxxvii. 3; lxvi. 9, have been aptly adduced as parallels.—Abraham said, אֵל שָׂרָה אִשְׁתִּי, that is, concerning his wife Sarah; in which sense אֵל is sometimes used (comp. 2 Kings xix. 32; 1 Sam. iv. 19, etc.), and sometimes ? (see ver. 13).—The Septuagint adds, after אִתִּי הָיָה, the words: "for he was afraid to say, She is my wife, lest the people of the town kill him on her account," which unnecessary insertion is taken from xxvi. 7.—הָנָךְ מָוֶת (ver. 3), "thou wilt die," or bringest death upon thyself (comp. xix. 14; Dent. xviii. 20).—As תֵּלֵךְ signifies, "to take a wife" (Dent. xxiv. 1; Mal. ii. 11), the passive participle of Kal תֵּלֵךְ is a married woman (Isai. liv. 1); and תֵּלֵךְ אֵל a pleonastic expression, "the wife of a husband" (Dent. xxii. 22).—The phrase וְהָיָה נָם (ver. 5) seems to point with a certain stress to the fact, that this time Sarah also had expressly confirmed the subterfuge of her husband.—Whether the illness (ver. 17), or some feeling of awe inspired by God, was considered as the cause of Abimelech's separation from Sarah, is not clearly stated in the text; but, as the disease is but later mentioned, we may regard the latter cause as more probable, since it is, besides, in greater accordance with the direct and manifest interposition of God.—מִתְחַטֵּא (ver. 6), instead of מִתְחַטֵּא (comp. 2 Kings xiii. 6).—The imperative חַטֵּא (ver. 7) is used, where, in the third person, the future would be employed (Isai. viii. 10), and expresses more em-

9. And Abimelech called Abraham, and said to him, What hast thou done to us? and what have I sinned against thee, that thou hast brought on me and on my kingdom a great sin? thou hast done deeds to me that ought not to be done. 10. And Abimelech said to Abraham, What didst thou see, that thou hast done this thing? 11. And Abraham said, Because I thought, *There is not any fear of God in this place; and they will slay me for my wife's sake.* 12. And yet indeed *she is* my sister; she is the daughter of my father, but not the daughter of my mother; and she became my wife. 13. And when God

phatically the certainty, that he will live (comp. Am. v. 4, 6; see Gen. xlii. 18; 2 Kings xiii. 32).

9—18. When Abimelech, with an emphasis disclosing the earnestness of his indignation and the awe of his heart, represented to Abraham the danger into which he had been unconsciously led, the patriarch found it necessary to attempt an excuse and a justification before the heathen king. But his efforts were far from successful; he uttered three reasons scarcely amounting to more than as many pretexts; first, he exonerated the king, and pleaded, that he feared the depravity of the people; he then urged the specious fact, that though Sarah was his wife, she was also his half-sister; and he, lastly, appealed to the compassion of the king, alluding to the erratic and uncertain life which his God had imposed upon him, far from his home and native land, and which brought him into contact with so many ferocious and lawless tribes, that precaution was an absolute duty. Though these reasons were in themselves scarcely satisfactory, they afforded, thus accumulated, at least a proof of Abraham's repentance; and implied an acknowledgement, that Abimelech's surprise was not unjustified. This sufficed to the noble-mindedness of the latter to make him forget the past, and to see in Abraham only "the prophet," the friend of God, to whose prayer he was to owe his deliverance and the restoration of his happiness. He re-united him with his wife, gave him valuable presents in cattle and

servants, and permitted him unrestricted settlement in his territory; and, since Sarah deserved likewise a compensation for the anxiety suffered by her in the house of the stranger, he gave to Abraham for her a thousand shekels of silver (for, the property of the wife belonged to the husband), and addressed to her a remark embodying the experience which he had just made, and the respect with which it inspired him (ver. 16); he said, though she might profess that Abraham was her brother (אָבְרָהָם), he was her protection against every man; she might be taken by others as his sister, but she would soon be known and convicted (תִּפְתָּח) of being his wife by the supernatural interference of God, who, both in his case, and that of the Egyptian king, had watched over her purity (see *infra*). This remark implied no blame or reproach; it was, on the contrary, dictated by the king's conviction of Abraham's high dignity; but it might yet contain a slight allusion to the duty devolving on the patriarch and his wife, not to cause and provoke such Divine manifestations, and thereby to bring danger and fear over innocent individuals and households.

Abraham's prayer was efficacious; Abimelech was healed; and his wives gave again birth to children. It is necessary to remark, in conclusion, that though the Hebrew historian records the weakness of Abraham's conduct, he manifestly designed this occurrence in Gerar for shedding an additional halo round his person; and the

caused me to wander from my father's house, I said to her, This is thy kindness which thou shalt show to me; at every place whither we shall come, say of me, He is my brother. 14. And Abimelech took sheep, and oxen, and menservants, and maidservants, and gave *them* to Abraham, and restored to him Sarah his wife. 15. And Abimelech said, Behold, my land is before thee: dwell where it pleaseth thee. 16. And to Sarah he said, Behold, I have given to thy brother a thousand *shekels* of silver: behold, he is to thee a protection to all who are with thee, and with all: and thou wilt be recognised. 17. And

effect is, that his failings, if not forgotten, are certainly veiled, and removed into a distant background.

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—The words **יָעַשׂ מַעֲשִׂים אֲשֶׁר לֹא יֵעָשׂ** (ver. 9) imply indisputably a reproach of some severity: "deeds which ought not to be done thou hast done with me"; it is only necessary to compare xxxiv. 7; 2 Sam. xiii. 12; Lev. iv. 2, 13.—As **כִּן** has sometimes the power of strengthening the notion before which it stands (for instance, Deut. iv. 6; 1 Ki. xiv. 8), the phrase **כִּן כִּן** (ver. 11) signifies, "not any," and the sense is: I thought, there is no fear of God whatever in this place; which interpretation is preferable to the rendering: "there is everything in this place but fear of God."—The plural of the verb in **הִתְעוּ אֹתִי אֱלֹהִים** has caused unnecessary dispute; this is not the only instance in which **אֱלֹהִים**, the true God, is construed with the plural; it is neither a concession made to the heathen king here addressed, nor is it an adaptation to his notions; it shows simply, that **אֱלֹהִים** is here taken as the *pluralis majestaticus*. The ideas of monotheism pervade so thoroughly every part and sentence of the Old Testament, that it was not deemed necessary anxiously to avoid every construction which might be open to distortions (see p. 56, and note on Exod. xxxii. 1—6).—**בְּטוֹב בְּעֵינַיִךְ** (ver. 15) is an elliptical expression, instead of **בְּמִקּוֹם אֲשֶׁר בְּטוֹב וְכִי** as **בְּאֲשֶׁר הוּא שָׁם** (xxi. 17), instead of **בְּמִקּוֹם אֲשֶׁר וְכִי**; comp. 1 Chron.

xv. 12 with Exod. xxiii. 20. — It is well known, that an extraordinary variety of explanations has been proposed regarding the words addressed by Abimelech to Sarah (ver. 16); but it appears, that either the sense or the words have not been sufficiently regarded. We remark: 1. The king calls Abraham Sarah's *brother*, not only with a certain pointed allusion to his excuse, but with an evident reference to the following words; 2. **הוּא** refers to **לְאִחֶיךָ**, not to **כִּסְפִּי**; 3. **כַּסּוֹת עֵינַיִם** is literally, "covering of the eyes," implying that Abraham was sufficient to protect Sarah from the gaze of voluptuous eyes, and then *protection* generally; for, 4., even if she pretended to be his sister, she would, by the direct intercession of God, be known to be his wife, **וְנִכְרַחְתָּ** "and thou wilt be convicted" (instead of **וְנִכְרַחְתָּ**, second pers. fem. of Niphal of **כָּרַח**, like **וְלִקְחָתָהּ**, xxx. 15). Abimelech had given to Abraham presents, accompanied by friendly words (ver. 15); and he showed the same twofold consideration for Sarah, and told her, that she was a prophet's wife, whom God would never permit to suffer violence or degradation.—We adduce some of the other interpretations. It seems, that one of the oldest acceptations of **כַּסּוֹת עֵינַיִם** is *expiation*, so that the thousand shekels would be a self-imposed fine or atonement-money given to Sarah; for which meaning the phrase **אֶכְפְּרָה פָנָיו בְּמַנְחָה** (xxxii. 21) is usually quoted. Thus the Septuagint (*τιμή*), Targum Jerusalem, and per-

Abraham prayed to God: and God healed Abimelech, and his wife, and his maidservants; and they bore *children*. 18. For the Lord had entirely closed up all the wombs of the house of Abimelech, on account of Sarah, Abraham's wife.

haps Jonathan. But כסות עינים and כפרת פנים are two very different notions; כסות פנים cannot be translated, "for everything that has been done to thee" (*Gesen.*, *Thes.*, p. 700); and the concluding word of the verse, ונכחת, would scarcely have any appropriate sense; for the translation of Maurer and Tuch: "and thus satisfaction will be given to thee," assumes a meaning of the Niphal of כח which it nowhere possesses, although the *Hiphil* signifies sometimes, "to procure right or justice" (*Isai.* xi. 4; comp. *Prov.* xxxi. 9).—The usual explanation is, that כסות עינים is a *veil*, and that the thousand shekels were given to Abraham to purchase one for Sarah, so that she might thus be recognized as a married woman, since unmarried females only were unveiled. We shall not urge that, so understood, our narrative would take a very trifling turn, and at once sink down from its high tendency; but it is acknowledged, that the veil is, in the east, not so distinctive a characteristic between married and unmarried women as this interpretation would suppose; the sum of a thousand shekels

(about £130) is too enormous as the price of a veil; and that sense would require לכסות instead of ונכחת.—ונכחת cannot be taken as the participle, or as the *third* person (like נשכחת, *Isai.* xxiii. 15), "and she was convicted," or could offer no excuse; as this would imply a reproach quite inappropriate after the conciliation effected between Abraham and the king.—It would be unavailing to enumerate the other very improbable opinions. About the Talmudical view of this narrative, compare *Bab. Kam.* 92, 93, *Megilla* 15; *Jalkut Gen.* 90, *Judg.* 65; *Midr. Rabb. Gen.* 52, *Exod.* 80; *Lev.* 1.

This chapter is obviously the composition of the Elohist; but it is characteristic of the form of Genesis, that the Jehovist not only explained the rather indistinct expressions: "God healed Abimelech and his wife and his maid-servants, and they bore children" (*ver.* 17) by a longer remark (*ver.* 18); but that, as a transition or connecting link to the following chapter, which is also Elohist, he inserted a notice (*ver.* 1), completing the narrative.

## CHAPTER XXI.

**SUMMARY.**—In the hundredth year of Abraham's life, Sarah, herself ninety years old, bore a son, who was called Isaac, and circumcised on the eighth day from his birth. But discord arose between Sarah and Hagar; the former insisted upon the expulsion of the latter, together with her son Ishmael; and Abraham, at first indignant at the proposal, yielded to the direct command of God. When Hagar and Ishmael were wandering in the desert of Beer-sheba, and nearly exhausted from want of water, an angel came to their rescue, and repeated the promise that Ishmael would grow to a powerful nation. They remained in the desert of Paran; and Ishmael took a wife from Egypt.—Abimelech, beholding with astonishment the growing prosperity of Abraham, concluded with him a treaty at Beer-sheba, and received from him the promise that he would always treat his descendants with friendship. Abraham dug wells, and secured them as his own by solemn ceremonies, planted a tamarisk, and invoked there the name of God.

### 1. And the Lord remembered Sarah as He had said,

1—8. At last the time of fulfilment had arrived. During five-and-twenty years cheering assurances had brightened the gloom of Abraham's pilgrimage; he

and the Lord did to Sarah as He had spoken. 2. For Sarah conceived, and bore to Abraham a son in his old age, at the time which God had indicated to him. 3. And Abraham called the name of his son who was born to him, whom Sarah bore to him, Isaac. 4. And Abraham circumcised his son Isaac when he was eight days old, as

had risen to God by altars and prayers, and God had descended to him by visions and revelations; he had obeyed with spontaneous faith, and had received signs and pledges; a covenant had sanctified, and miraculous aid had protected, his life; land and posterity were promised, blessings guaranteed to his seed and to mankind; the child of faith had been announced both to him and to Sarah:—and the realization corresponded strictly with the promises. Sarah became a mother; she gave birth to a *son*, and exactly at the time foretold by God, in the hundredth year of Abraham's life (xvii. 1, 21); he was called Isaac (יִצְחָק, xvii. 19); and was, by circumcision, introduced into the covenant of God on the eighth day after his birth (xvii. 12). The extraordinary event, the prediction of which both parents had heard either with a secret smile of doubt or with open disbelief, could not fail to work a decided change on the minds of either; Abraham was henceforth purified from every wavering frailty; his character rose to sublime heroism; he had seen the power of nature conquered by the will of God (vers. 2, 7); and he turned for ever from the limited sphere of reality to the infinity of faith and hope. But Sarah's heart also was moved; she had received a precious proof of God's love; she warmed into a fervent emotion never before kindled within her; the son granted to her was indeed an object of laughter (צִחֻק), but not caused by doubt or contempt (xviii. 12), but by joy; she was certain that his birth would rouse in others the same surprise and astonishment; that he would be regarded as the offspring of a miracle; and as she had been leniently reproved by God for her sceptical smile (xviii. 13—15), she now atoned for

it by an exclamation echoing gratitude and confidence, submission and adoration (vers. 6, 7). Her words assume a higher elevation; and if they are not poetical in form, they certainly breathe the enthusiasm of an enraptured heart.—When Isaac had passed safely through the first dangers incident to early childhood, a great feast of joy and thankfulness was celebrated; for his progress and his strength were matters of sacred anxiety.—It is known that infants, in the east, are generally weaned after the completion of their second year, and sometimes when they are three years old (see note on Exod. ii. 10; comp. 1 Sam. i. 23; 2 Macc. vii. 27; *Joseph.*, Antiq. II. ix. 6). Dr. Hooker saw a lad, upwards of four years of age, taking food from his aunt, and immediately afterwards chewing hard dry grains of maize (*Himalayan Journals*, ii. p. 87), and Ermaux, in his "*Siberia*," mentions having seen a boy, of six years old, suckled among the Tungoozes of East Siberia.

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—The announcement of the birth of a son had been made in the older Elohistic document, and by the later Jehovist; in the former to Abraham (chap. xvii.), by the latter to Sarah (chap. xviii.); therefore the Jehovist added the first verse, and hence, probably, modified the second, the usual construction of which would have been יֵעַן אֵיבָב יִאמֹר וְתֵהָרָה שָׂרָה וְתִלְדָּה, like יֵעַן אֵיבָב יִאמֹר (Job iii. 1; vi. 1; ix. 1, etc.); in the present form of our chapter וְתֵהָרָה refers to the *preceding* שָׂרָה לֵאמֹר.—The verb פָּקַד, the primary meaning of which is, *to regard*, signifies, in this and several other passages, to remember with love, with the view of offering assistance (comp. Exod. iv. 31; 1 Sam. ii. 21; Isai. xxiii. 17, etc.;

God had commanded him. 5. And Abraham was a hundred years old when his son Isaac was born to him. 6. And Sarah said, Laughter hath God prepared for me; all who hear *it* will laugh with me. 7. And she said, Who would have said to Abraham, Sarah giveth suck to children? for I have born *him* a son in his old age. 8. And the child grew, and was weaned: and Abraham made a

Sept. *ἐκείνου*). It is, in this sense, synonymous with לֹד, which is also used with reference to women to whom God gives children after a period of barrenness (xxx. 22; 1 Sam. i. 19, etc.).—In חֲנֹלֶרֶךְ (ver. 8), the definite article is used instead of the relative pronoun, like חֲחֹלֶבָא (Josh. x. 24) instead of חֲלָלָהּ; comp. 1 Sam. ix. 24.—The name יִצְחָק cannot signify the laughing or cheerful man; if this were its purport, it would not be evident from Isaac's history, which nowhere prominently brings out this feature of his character; moreover, it is highly improbable that precisely the most significant trait should have been omitted; the names of Kain, Abel, Abraham, Sarah, and others, are perfectly intelligible from the narrative; and as, perhaps, no other Biblical name is so frequently and distinctly explained or alluded to as that of Isaac (xvii. 17; xviii. 12—15; xxi. 6, 9), it would be strange indeed if it should yet not be illustrated in the text. We take, therefore, צָחַק in the sense which the whole tenour of the narrative justifies; he at whom people are rejoiced; the delight and hope of mankind. Thus only the name indicates the full importance of Isaac's character, and points emphatically to the great promises to be fulfilled in him; and so it is explained in the text itself, "thou shalt call his name Isaac; and I shall establish My covenant with him for an everlasting covenant, with his seed after him" (xvii. 19). Sometimes צָחִיק is written instead of צָחַק (Ps. cv. 9; Am. vii. 9, etc.; Arab.

أَسْحَق).—The construction צָחֵק לִי (ver. 5) is like ver. 8, and iv. 18 (see p. 151).—It is impossible to understand צָחַק (ver. 6) "he will laugh

at or deride me," for scorn is certainly not the feeling which even Sarah's most bitter enemies could evince at the unexpected and miraculous birth of her son; nor does צָחַק with ל generally imply that meaning; in the passages usually adduced, it signifies "to despise difficulties and dangers, or to be fearless when they arrive" (Job v. 22; xxxix. 7, 18, 22; יִשְׂחָק לַמַּחֲדָּר וְלֹא יַחֲת; and no other sense is adapted here but the smile of surprise and admiration.—The sixth and the seventh verses are closely connected; the latter contains the fuller and more forcible exposition of the former; hence the poetical verb מָלַל, the poetical plural בָּנִים instead of the singular (comp. xvii. 14) and the solemn repetition of וְדָנָה (comp. xvi. 9—11); it is perfectly inappropriate to suppose that the seventh verse goes back to the moment of Isaac's birth; that Sarah wished somebody to announce to Abraham the joyful event; and that she said: "Who will tell Abraham, Sarah gives suck to children," etc. This would not only confound the logical order of the whole passage, and render it singularly abrupt, but would presuppose an artificial and improbable situation, little in harmony with patriarchal customs (comp. Jer. xx. 15). The words מִי מָלַל are, therefore, correctly translated in the English Version: "Who would have said to Abraham?" (comp. xii. 19 and p. 342), not by the Sept. *τίς ἀναγγελεῖ*; while the Vulgate renders them too freely (*Quis audieram crederet Abraham, quod, etc.*). If the words of Sarah are, indeed, intended as a little song, and if they have the characteristic of Hebrew poetry, they are expressed in the synthetic parallelism which

great feast on the day that Isaac was weaned.—9. And Sarah saw the son of Hagar the Egyptian, whom she had born to Abraham, mocking; 10. And she said to Abraham, Expel this bondwoman and her son: for the son of this bondwoman shall not be heir with my son, with Isaac. 11. And the word displeased Abraham much on account of his son. 12. And God said to Abraham, Let it not

is particularly pithy by the progression of ideas it implies (see on Exod. p. 261).

9—13. The assiduous care lavished on Isaac, and the fondness and pride with which he was reared, excited in Ishmael feelings of jealousy and bitterness. The latter had passed his sixteenth year (comp. xvii. 25), when the wild, ungovernable, and pugnacious character ascribed to his descendants, began to develop itself, and to appear in language of provoking insolence; offended at the comparative indifference with which he was treated, he indulged in mockery, especially against Isaac, whose very name furnished him with satirical sneers. Sarah was unable either to correct or to bear his conduct. Her heart, overflowing with gratification and felicity, was stained with vanity and pride, and she relapsed into her former loveless coldness. Seeing in Ishmael nothing but the contemptible son of an Egyptian bond-maid; forgetting that he was that offspring of her husband whom she had herself desired (xvi. 2); and, heedless of the blessings which God had pronounced upon him: she demanded his expulsion, together with that of his detested mother. When Sarah had made a similarly heartless request before his birth (xvi. 6), Abraham had shown the calmest submission and unopposing compliance, renouncing the child she was about to bear to him. However, at that time, he but vaguely hoped that this child was destined for some great purpose, though he indeed regarded it as the representative and preserver of his name. But when Ishmael was born, the father's tenderness began to attach to his future a greater significance; for a while he considered him even as the long promised son,

through whom all spiritual benedictions were to be fulfilled (xvii. 18); and when God repeatedly gave the prophetic assurances of the vastness of his future dominion (xvi. 12; xvii. 20), Abraham felt his heart bound by mighty ties to the firstling of his strength and his hope. When, therefore, Sarah demanded Ishmael's rejection, Abraham was roused to a deep indignation; his affections warmed for *his son*; and he refused this time to yield to his wife's impetuosity. — But the scheme which God pursued with Abraham demanded the subordination of the flesh to the spirit; the father was to be merged in the prophet; he no more belonged to himself, but to God and to mankind; his heart might bleed, but his will must obey. It was necessary, that the fate of Ishmael and that of Isaac should, from the beginning, be most distinctly separated; the elder branch was to acquire fame and wealth; the younger was to glory in piety and truth: avocations so radically different could scarcely be pursued within the same land; they indicate an absolute divergence of character; and though they may not necessarily engender enmity, they cannot secure sympathy;—the descendants of Ishmael, those roaming, adventurous, restless tribes, could not be satisfied with the narrow limits of Canaan; nor could the progeny of Isaac, the people of priests and prophets, wield the spear in the unfriendly desert against the straying wanderer. Therefore, God commanded Abraham to submit without reluctance to Sarah's demand, and henceforth to centre his hope and his care upon the younger son alone, born to propagate both his name and his faith. But although Sarah's request



displease thee because of the youth and because of thy bondwoman; in all that Sarah saith to thee, hearken to her voice; for by Isaac shall thy seed be called. 13. And of the son of the bondwoman also I shall make a nation; for he *is* thy seed.—14. And Abraham rose early in the morning, and took bread, and a skin of water, and gave it to Hagar, putting it on her shoulder, and the young man,

was ratified, it is not certain whether her conduct is justified in our narrative. Her wish may have been desirable; but it did not proceed from the right motive; it was dictated by petty jealousy, lest the son of the maid-servant should enjoy a part of the inheritance: in this sense Abraham understood her words; and he, therefore, condemned them.

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—Ishmael was seen וַיִּרְאֵהוּ. It is obvious, that this is again an allusion to וַיִּצְאֵהוּ. To the son of Hagar, Isaac was no agent of salvation; “he who was born after the flesh” could not understand “him who was born after the spirit” (Galat. iv. 29); he was to him merely an object of laughter, envy, and mockery. The translations of the Septuagint and the Vulgate, “Sarah saw Ishmael *play* with her son Isaac” (*παίζοντα, ludentem*) are, therefore, inappropriate; they would not explain Sarah’s displeasure just at that time; and would leave the following portion unconnected with the preceding verses. But the other explanations that Ishmael had begun quarrels with Isaac about the inheritance; or that he *danced* at the feast of weaning, and thus gained still more the affections of his father (*Gesenius*; comp. Matt. xiv. 6); or that he persecuted Isaac (Galat. iv. 29), are either rendered impossible or are unsupported by the text. The references to xxvi. 8, and xxxix. 14, 17, do not illustrate our passage.—It is true, that Ishmael was, at the time of the expulsion, between 16 and 17 years old; for he was circumcised in his thirteenth year (xvii 25); and Isaac was born one year, and weaned, at least, three years later: but there is nothing in the Hebrew text to exclude that age.

For Ishmael was not, as it is generally explained, put on Hagar’s shoulder (ver. 14); וְאֵת הַיֶּלֶךְ refers to וַיִּתֵּן, not to שָׁם עַל שִׁכְמָהּ; he was rather led by the mother’s hand (ver. 18) as her tenderness urged her to do; he is called נֶעָר (vers. 17, 18, 20); but this latter term is used not for boys only, but for young men who have long reached the age of manhood; thus Joseph is called נֶעָר in the house of Potiphar (xxxiv. 19), Benjamin when he went to Egypt (xliii. 8), Absalom when he revolted against his father (2 Sam. xviii. 5, 12), and others at a similarly advanced stage of their lives. Nor is יָלֵךְ always used of young children; in iv. 23, it is synonymous with שָׂאָה; when Joseph was seventeen years old he was called יָלֵךְ (xxxvii. 30; xlii. 22); the young friends and advisers of Rehoboam are יָלֵךְ (1 Kings xii. 8, 10), and so are Daniel and his associates in Nebuchadnezzar’s palace (Dan. i. 4, 10, 13). Hagar, further, put Ishmael behind the shrubs to shield him against the scorching rays of the tropical sun; and when he had grown older (וַיִּגְדֵּל, ver. 19), and became skilled in the art of the bow, she took for him a wife from her Egyptian countrymen.

**14—21.** Abraham furnished Hagar with the necessary provisions for the journey from Beer-sheba to Egypt, her native country; and he was himself eager to give her this last proof of love. Not the Hebrews alone used skin-bottles to carry water or to preserve wine; the Egyptians and Assyrians, the Greeks and Romans employed them from the earliest times; they seem, in fact, to have been the first receptacles for liquids, until partially superseded and replaced by more convenient or more

and sent her away. And she departed, and wandered in the wilderness of Beer-sheba. 15. And when the water was spent in the bottle, she placed the young man under one of the shrubs. 16. And she went, and sat down opposite *him*, at a distance like bowshot: for she said, I will not see the death of the child. And she sat opposite *him*, and lifted up her voice, and wept. 17. And God heard the voice of

valuable vessels of gold, glass, earthenware, stone, porcelain, or alabaster. The monuments of Egypt, the sculptures of Mesopotamia, and the relics of Herculaneum and Pompeii, afford ample opportunities to learn the shape and use of every variety of bottles, often surprising us both by their elegance and costliness. Those made of skin usually consisted of the hide of the animals, sewed up so that the projection of the leg and foot formed the aperture, which was closed with a plug or string; or so that the neck of the animal alone was left to open, to serve as the neck of the bottle. The skins of goats, oxen, or sheep were generally, and those of asses and camels frequently employed. The vessels were carried on the back or shoulder, as may still be seen in many parts of Asia (comp. Josh. ix. 4, 13; Judg. iv. 19; 1 Sam. xvi. 20; Matt. ix. 17; Luke v. 37, 38; *Hom.* II. iv. 247; *Herod.* ii. 121; iii. 9; *Polyb.* viii. 23; *Strab.* xvii. 828; *Pliny*, xxiii. 27; *Niebuhr*, Travels, i. 212; *Robinson*, Bibl. Res. i. 385; ii. 405, etc.; *Botta*, pl. 92; *Bonomi*, Nin. and its Palaces, pp. 182, 330).

But Hagar lost her way in the trackless desert; and her provisions were exhausted before she had reached her destination, or had arrived at an inhabited place. And now her trials, severer even than those encountered at her first flight from Abraham's house, began anew; on the former occasion she does not seem to have suffered any physical want; she was sitting at a well of water, when the angel of God appeared to her, and ordered her to return to her mistress (xvi. 7); the reason of this command was, that Ishmael should be born under the sacred roof of the pious patriarch, that he might parti-

cipate in the covenant of circumcision (xvii. 25), and thus be included in the blessings of the race from which he was descended. But this time she was tormented by thirst, the most fearful of all privations in the desert; a horrible death stared in her face; her pangs were a thousandfold multiplied by the distressing sufferings of her son, whose vital powers began to fail; and lest her heart should break at the sight of his death, she put him under a shrub, and sat down at some distance, whence she mingled her accents of despair with his cries of agony. That this awful visitation was intended as a punishment, is undoubted; if happiness and wretchedness are at all under the control of Providence, this enormous calamity of the mother and the son cannot have been accidental or unmeaning. However, their guilt is obvious; it was similar, like their suffering;—both had insulted those who ought to have been to them objects of respect and veneration; Hagar despised Sarah, Ishmael sneered at Isaac; the former boasted of her conception, the latter of his primogeniture; the one forgot the dignity of a prophet's wife, the other the higher promises vouchsafed to her son. Yet priority of birth establishes no truly higher claim; thus Cain, the first-born son of Adam, was less acceptable to God than Abel; and Esau was subordinate to Jacob. Not physical, but spiritual birthright constitutes the greater blessing; primogeniture may secure greater worldly possession, but it does not command that true felicity which is accessible to every man according to his virtue. This important truth, which a nation with an agrarian constitution, like that of Moaism, easily forgets, is with great power embodied in Ishmael's history, every part of

the youth; and the angel of God called to Hagar from heaven, and said to her, What aileth thee, Hagar? Fear not; for God hath heard the voice of the youth where he is. 18. Arise, take the youth, and hold him by thy hand; for I shall make him to a great nation. 19. And God opened her eyes, and she saw a well of water; and she went, and filled the skin with water, and gave the youth to drink. 20. And God was with the youth; and he grew, and dwelt in the wilderness, and became a great archer.

which is truth, and life, and instruction. "Touch not my anointed, nor harm my prophets" (Pa. cv. 15); this warning, received and heeded by Pharaoh and Abimelech, was neglected by Hagar and her son; and they endured the consequences of their stubborn pride.—But Ishmael was yet Abraham's son: when, therefore, anguish of death seemed nearly to overwhelm him, God sent His angel to rescue him; He had waited till all natural hope was passed, in order to show more clearly His immediate regard, and His miraculous aid. He opened Hagar's eyes, and she saw a fountain, which had before escaped her searching looks. As the wild desert was destined for Ishmael's unbounded home, he was not led back to Abraham's house, from which he was henceforward separated; but he took up his abode in the wilderness of Paran (p. 353), became skilled in the art of the bow, in which many Bedouin tribes greatly excelled; as, for instance, the Kedareni, the Itureans, and others (comp. Isai. xxi. 17); and, in order to complete the estrangement from Isaac and his progeny, he took a wife chosen for him by his mother from Egypt, the land of her birth and the land of superstition.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—From these remarks it will be clear, that this narrative is by no means identical with that regarding her flight (xvi. 6—16); both the details and the whole tendency are fundamentally different; in the one, *Hagar's* conduct is insulting, in the other, *Ishmael's*; in the one, Abraham readily sanctions Sarah's harshness, in the other, only after an express permission of God; in the one, Hagar

is protected from want; in the other, she endures the most excruciating privations; in the one, she returns to the patriarch's house; in the other, she remains for ever in the desert. The only analogies are the vision of the angel, and the well of water; but in the former case, the angel found Hagar at the well; in the latter, he showed it to her, and thus gave her the first guarantee that he would protect and nourish her descendants even in the sterile wilderness. It is equally fallacious to maintain, that this narrative was designed to explain the "well of water" (ver. 19); for the latter does not form a very conspicuous point in it; nor is it the same as the "well for the life of beholding" (בְּאֵר לְחַיֵּי רְאוּיָה, xvi. 14); for the one is in the desert of Beer-sheba (ver. 14), the other in the desert of Shur, between Kadesh and Bered (xvi. 7, 14); and the end of our portion is not so much the appearance of the angel, as the final separation of Ishmael from Isaac, and his permanent settlement in those extensive tracts assigned to his possession.—Nor can the divergence in both narratives be simply accounted for by the circumstance, that the one proceeds from the Jehovist, and the other from the Elohist: the same fact could not be related so differently; the details of a tradition may be modified; but an event, the end of which is to show the necessity of Hagar's connection with Abraham's house, cannot be identical with a tale which urges the unavoidable separation of both.—מִקְוֵה (stat. constr. מִקְוֵה) is like מִקְוֶה and מִקְוֶה, the skin-bottle especially used on journeys, and at every successive fountain filled with fresh water.

21. And he dwelt in the wilderness of Paran: and his mother took for him a wife from the land of Egypt.

22. And it was at that time, that Abimelech and Phichol the chief captain of his army spoke to Abraham, saying, God is with thee in all that thou doest: 23. And now swear to me here by God, that thou wilt not deal falsely with me, nor with my offspring, nor with my progeny: according to the kindness that I have done to thee, thou shalt do to me, and to the land wherein thou sojournest.

—וַתֵּשֶׁב לָהּ (ver. 16) with the *dativus ethicus*, like הָלַךְ לוֹ Cantic. ii. 11, 13; comp. Gen. xii. 1; xxii. 5.—וַיִּרְחֹק is used as an adverb, *far off*, at a distance, as in Josh. iii. 16; it is less convenient to take it in its original verbal meaning, instead of the preterite “and removed” (*Ewald*, Gram. § 489. 2. b.), since this would be inappropriate after “she sat down.”—The verb נָחַץ (to extend, or stretch) forms the Pilel, and doubles, therefore, the last radical letter, which becomes נָחַץ for the sake of euphony; the participle is, therefore, נֹחֵץ, like מִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה (from שָׁחָה), and מִטְחִוֶה (from נָחָה). Hence, נֹחֵץ קֶשֶׁת, is one who stretches the bow, an archer. The Sept. renders the sense correctly: μακροθεν ὡς εἰς ῥόσιν βολήν.—The verb רָאָה with ב signifies, either to behold with satisfaction and delight (Ps. liv. 9; Job iii. 9, etc.), or, to regard with grief and anguish, as in our passage (ver. 16; comp. Num. xi. 15, etc.).—בְּאִשֶּׁר הוּא שָׁם (ver. 17) is elliptic, instead of בְּמָקוֹם אֲשֶׁר הוּא שָׁם, like בְּמִטְבֵּי בְעִינִיךָ in xx. 15. Though hidden and invisible behind the shrubs, he was heard by God; and his voice roused the Divine love.—The words וַיְהִי רֵכֶה קֶשֶׁת signify: “and he was growing an archer,” that is, acquired increasing skill in the use of the bow; for רֵכֶה means to *grow great* (Deut. xxx. 16; Ezek. xvi. 7, etc.); and קֶשֶׁת is a man using the bow, or an archer. The Sept. and Vulg. translate inaccurately *kal tyiveto rothōrēs*, and *factus est juvenis sagittarius*. Kimchi derives רֵכֶה from רָכַב in the uncertain meaning of *throwing* (xlix. 23; Ps. xviii. 15; Job xvi. 13), so that וַיְהִי רֵכֶה קֶשֶׁת would be “*jaculator sagittarius*”

(comp. וַיִּמָּה קֶשֶׁת, Jer. iv. 29). But the translation: “and when he grew, he became an archer,” seems still more objectionable, as it would require וַיְהִי קֶשֶׁת וְהוּא רֵכֶה.

22—34. Nobody had learnt more strikingly the miraculous care with which Abraham was guarded by God, than Abimelech, the king of Gerar (xx.). Expediency, therefore, not less than piety, urged him to seek a closer alliance with the patriarch; he was, no doubt, supposed to have heard and believed the promises received by Abraham regarding the possession of Canaan; and he was, therefore, anxious to secure the integrity of his own territory; he had a right to appeal to Abraham's sense of justice, and even to his gratitude (xx. 14—16); and he requested him to swear by that God, who was his hope and his protection. Abraham readily complied, and offered a solemn assurance. We may hence infer the historical fact, that, for some time at least, the southern part of Philistia was not attacked by the Hebrews. But, though the Philistines were never subjugated by them, it is certain that almost incessant hostilities were carried on between both nations. Thus, immediately after the conclusion of the alliance, a contention arose, which threatened to result in serious enmity. Abimelech's servants had violently seized a well dug by Abraham. A more serious injury can scarcely be inflicted on a nomad chief rich in flocks and herds. The possession of a well in arid regions not unfrequently causes strife and warfare between whole tribes; and the protection of his wells is a prominent object of solicitude to an Arab sheikh. Abimelech, therefore,

24. And Abraham said, I will swear. 25. And Abraham reproved Abimelech on account of a well of water, which Abimelech's servants had violently taken away. 26. And Abimelech said, I do not know who hath done this thing: neither didst thou tell me, nor did I hear of it, but to-day. 27. And Abraham took sheep and oxen, and gave them to Abimelech; and they made both a covenant. 28. And Abraham placed seven lambs of the flock by themselves. 29. And Abimelech said to Abraham, What do these

perceived fully the force of Abraham's complaint; he was indignant at the injustice of his slaves, of which he had never before been informed. But the patriarch, desirous of obtaining a guarantee which might, in future, shield his property against Abimelech's subjects also, conducted him to the well (see vers. 31, 32); and here concluded with him a treaty, by dividing animals, and passing between the dissected parts (see p. 367); but, in order to impart still greater solemnity to the ceremony, he gave besides seven lambs to Abimelech, to serve as a proof and a witness that the well belonged to himself. The text explains the name of the place: "it was called Beer-sheba, for there both of them swore" (ver. 31); although it is not improbable, that generally the name Beer-sheba was understood to mean the "seven wells"; so it is explained in another part of Genesis (xxvi. 33); and so was a similar place in Arabia called (*Ἐντὶ φείαρα*, *Strab.* xvi. 782).

Both when Abraham promised to Abimelech safe possession of his land, and when Abimelech swore to Abraham undisturbed occupation of the well, the Philistine king was accompanied by the chief commander of his troops. This circumstance gives to the transactions a political character, and a more extensive scope. The alliance was not to be personal, nor should it depend on the individual virtues and inclinations of the two contracting parties, but was to be inherited to their descendants as a part of their political and social obligations.—The locality of Beer-sheba is evidently treated with peculiar

interest, not in this passage only, but in several other parts of the Pentateuch. Here God appeared to Isaac, who built an altar to commemorate the vision (xxvi. 24, 25); the name is again explained by an occurrence similar to that related in our chapter (xxvi. 26—33); and here God gave encouraging promises to Jacob when he was on the point of leaving the territory of Canaan (xli. 1—4). From the latter passage, the significance of Beer-sheba is especially evident; it was the boundary-town of Canaan in the south; the point which separated the Holy Land from profane ground, not standing under the same immediate protection of God. It was, therefore, important, that the patriarch should in this place own property guaranteed to him by the heathen king; from this southern part, his descendants should spread northward till they reached Dan, at the foot of the Lebanon (Judg. xx. 1; 2 Sam. xvii. 11, etc.); and hence it was, in the time of Samuel, a place of public jurisdiction (1 Sam. viii. 2). But Beer-sheba acquired later another less desirable celebrity; it was, in the time of the prophet Amos, one of the chief seats of Hebrew idolatry; it is, in this respect, mentioned together with Samaria, Gilgal, and Bethel (Am. v. 5; viii. 13, 14); and we have here, therefore, the same admonitory anticipations, which have been noticed in almost all places connected with the patriarch's history (see p. 335). And lest there be any doubt, the text adds, that Abraham planted in Beer-sheba a tamarisk (*תְּמָר*), and here "invoked the name of the Lord, the everlasting God." Nor is this

seven lambs *mean* which thou hast placed by themselves? 30. And he said, Surely, these seven lambs thou shalt take of my hand, that it may be a witness to me, that I have dug this well. 31. Therefore he called that place Beer-sheba; because there they swore both of them. 32. Thus they made a covenant at Beer-sheba. Then Abimelech rose, and Phichol the chief captain of his army, and they returned into the land of the Philistines. 33. And *Abraham* planted a tamarisk in Beer-sheba, and

notice without dogmatical importance; for the patriarch's example shows, that worship under "a green tree" is not under all circumstances criminal and objectionable, as might later have been wrongly deduced from the exhortations of the prophets (Is. lvii. 5; Jer. ii. 20; comp. Deut. xii. 2, etc.), but only if it is addressed to idols, and not to God: we have here a practical instance of the doctrine: "In all places where I shall let My name be mentioned, I will come to thee, and I will bless thee" (Exod. xx. 21). — The town Beer-sheba existed not only after the exile (Neh. xi. 27, 30), but in the time of Jerome and Eusebius; and even at present, about thirty Roman miles south of Hebron, ruins of houses are found at a place called Bir-es-Seba, with two deep wells of clear and abundant water.—It has been observed, on a former occasion (p. 333), that trees distinguished by longevity were not unfrequently selected as witnesses of contracts or promises; and this custom may have been another inducement to Abraham to plant a tamarisk immediately after the conclusion of the alliance. The tamarisk (עֵץ) especially was, besides the oak and the terebinth, used for such purposes; and on the ruins of the Kasr at Babylon stands a celebrated tamarisk, noticed and described by many modern explorers, and still venerated by the Moslems in its hollow and shattered trunk, because they believe, that it gave shade and shelter to the calif Ali after the battle of Hilla (see p. 299). The tamarisk occurs in numerous varieties in Egypt and western Asia; Syria and Palestine offer many specimens; in Arabia

and the Peninsula of Mount Sinai grows the species of Tarafa which yields the munna (see Comm. on Exod., p. 290); and other kinds of the same tree are highly valued for their medicinal properties. It attains the size of the olive-tree, and often of the oak; the wood is of great hardness; it is, therefore, used both for fuel and for vessels; and it is cultivated by the Arabians both for these purposes, and for the charcoal it yields, and the nutgall it bears. Tamarisks have been found in the very locality of the ancient Beer-sheba (*Royle*, in *Kitto's Cyclop.*, i. 657). It seems, in some regions, to have been a sacred tree; for the Lesbian Apollo carried a branch of it in his hand; and the same custom was followed by his priests and votaries, when pronouncing prophecies.

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—In the history of Isaac, an event occurs similar to our narrative, in so many respects that it has again been deemed merely another version of the same facts (xxvi. 15—33). We shall, in the latter place, consider this point.—That the last two verses of our chapter are added by the Jehovist, is not quite so certain as has been assumed, since קרא בשם יהוה was the usual phrase for prayer and worship. They do not, however, in any way break the connection, nor are they at variance with the context; for Abraham must have dwelt a long time in the land of the Philistines, since a rather protracted period elapsed between the weaning and the intended sacrifice of Isaac.—הֵנָּה (ver. 23) has sometimes the meaning of *here*, instead of *hither*, as is especially clear from Dan.

there invoked the name of the Lord, the everlasting God.  
34. And Abraham sojourned in the land of the Philistines many days.

xii. 5. It is, therefore, unnecessary to take it in the meaning of אָמַן or אָלֵא: "swear to me this" (Ps. vii. 4; xlii. 5; *Ewald*, Gr., § 573. 2).—גִּין וְנֶכֶד (ver. 23) is a proverbial term to express every branch and member of a family down to a later generation (Isai. xiv. 22; Job xviii. 19). The root גִּן or נֶכֶד signifies to sprout or germinate (Ps. lxxii. 17), and is, no doubt, synonymous with the verb נָכַד. The ancient translations render the sense, although they deviate in the exact words; Targ. Onk. בְּרִי וְבֵר בְּרִי; Sept. σπέρμα καὶ ὄνομα; Vulg. *posterī et stirpes*; and in Isaiah, *germen and progenies*, which appears to be the happiest translation.—לְבִדְיָהּ (ver. 29) stands instead of לְבִדְיָהּ (ver. 28); comp. בְּוֹאֵתָהּ Ruth i. 19.—The particle כִּי (ver. 30) is said to introduce the direct speech, like ὅτι in Greek; but there is scarcely a clear instance of this usage in the Old Testament; most of the cases adduced imply the notion of an opposition, so that it is elliptically applied instead of לֹא כִי (xix. 2); so, for instance, 1 Sam. x. 19; Ruth i. 10; and so in our passage, where the sense is: the king asked why Abraham placed the seven lambs *apart*; to which the latter answered, that on the contrary, they were destined for him as a symbol of the wit-

ness. In Josh. ii. 24, כִּי has the meaning of indeed.—The verb נִשְׁבַּע to swear, is derived from the same root as שָׁבַע, seven; as, perhaps, the Greek *ἑπτά*, or the older *σιπτά*, may be traced to *σέβεισθαι*, to worship or to venerate; which etymological connection receives an apt illustration from the ceremony described in these verses; and may be further explained by the fact, that the Arabians, in pledging their faith, smeared blood drawn by an incision from their hands, on seven stones (*Herod.* iii. 8). "To swear" is, therefore, to perform certain rites "seven times" (see Comm. on Exod., p. 448); and, hence, בְּאֵר שָׁבַע is simply employed for בְּאֵר נִשְׁבַּע (comp. xxvi. 33).—אֶשְׁלָל (Greek *μυρική*) is a tamarisk, not a grove, nor simply a tree (Luther, English Version), although it was, in later Hebraism, sometimes used in that indefinite meaning (comp. *Michael*, Suppl., p. 134, against *Celsius*, Hierob. i. 535). Which species of the large genus of tamarisk is denoted by the Hebrew אֶשְׁלָל, it is impossible to determine; the latter was, perhaps, likewise the name for the whole genus (comp. *Plin.* xiii. 37; xvi. 33; *Dioscor.* i. 116; *Prosp. Alpin.*, Plant. *Æg.* ix.; *Ehrenberg*, *Linnaea*, ii. 241, et seq.).

## CHAPTER XXII.

**SUMMARY.**—In order to prove the strength of Abraham's faith, God commanded him to sacrifice his son Isaac on Mount Moriah. He obeyed un murmuringly; but when he was about to perform the fatal act, God ordered him to desist from it, and repeated emphatically all the promises before made to him. The patriarch returned to Beer-sheba, and here learnt, not long afterwards, the increase of his brother Nahor's family; one of his sons was Bethuel, whose daughter was Rebekah.

1. And it was after these things that God tried Abraham, and said to him, Abraham: and he said, Behold,

**1—10.** The life of Abraham presents a gradation of difficulties, powerfully typifying the multifarious struggles of the human mind for piety and happiness. He

severed the ties which bound him to the land of his birth and childhood, to begin a new life in an unknown land. This was the first triumph of the spirit and of faith.

*here I am.* 2. And He said, Take now thy son, thy only one, whom thou lovest, Isaac, and go to the land of Moriah; and offer him there for a burnt-offering upon one of the mountains which I shall tell thee. 3. And Abraham rose early in the morning, and saddled his ass, and took two of his young men with him, and Isaac his son, and clove the wood for the burnt-offering, and rose, and went to the place which God had told him. 4. On the third day,

He had scarcely arrived in the distant country, destined as his inheritance, when a famine compelled him to seek refuge in another happier land; but he murmured not, and he returned to Canaan with joyful hopes. This was his second triumph. He saw, without jealousy, the wealth of his kinsman Lot increase; and he permitted him to choose for himself the most desirable districts of the land. He rescued the property of the cities of the Salt Sea from the hands of mighty conquerors by a perilous expedition, and prayed for their preservation with an almost vehement fervour. He believed in the promise of a son to be born to his old age; and by faith silenced the doubts raised by nature and experience. And when Sarah, at last, gave birth to a son, he considered himself as the progenitor of a great and happy nation; he looked through the wide vistas of time into the sunny future, when the whole earth would be blessed with truth through his seed; and a sublime joy uplifted his soul. While he was absorbed in these glorious thoughts, and saw that son, by whom they should be realised, growing up and blooming in youth, God commanded him to offer up that child of his love and his hope, that sun of his existence, as a burnt sacrifice on a mountain which He would show him. Who can describe the unspeakable pangs of the father? The whole history of Abraham had tended to this event, as the culminating point of his faith. God had shown preternatural love towards the patriarch; and the patriarch was required to make a superhuman effort to deserve it. He had more than

once proved that his spirit was stronger than his human affections; it remained now to show that he avowed himself to be an instrument in the hand of a higher power, whose glory alone he desired. The readiness of Abraham to sacrifice his son has always been considered as the greatest deed of faith on record, and as an act of self-control at which the mind stands amazed. It became the basis on which the Israelites founded their claims of election among the nations, and the later Jews their hopes of atonement; it served the Christians as a type of redemption and salvation through faith; and it is in the religion of Mohammed glorified as the highest example and model of piety. It has, indeed, exercised a powerful and ennobling influence upon almost all nations and all times.

God *tried* (נִסָּה) Abraham. He proved him whether he was worthy of being the hope of mankind. Man learns the disposition of his heart best by its manifestations; for though the will may be virtuous, it often lacks the energy to mature into deed. This effort is the merit of man, and constitutes a chief part of his earthly task. God, therefore, sends trials to those he loves: He tried the Israelites immediately after they left Egypt at the waters of Marah, that they might convince themselves whether they were worthy of the miraculous redemption (Exod. xv. 25); He tried them by the edict concerning the daily gathering of the manna (Exod. xvi. 4); by the proclamation of the Decalogue (Exod. xx. 17), and by not extirpating all the heathens in Canaan, that they might show the strength of their belief by



Abraham lifted up his eyes, and saw the place from afar. 5. And Abraham said to his young men, Remain here with the ass; and I and the youth will go thither, and we will worship, and return to you. 6. And Abraham took the wood of the burnt-offering, and laid it upon Isaac his son; and he took the fire in his hand, and the knife; and they went both of them together. 7. And Isaac said to

keeping aloof from contamination (Judg. ii. 22; iii. 1, 4, etc.); He sent even sometimes false prophets, performing miracles but preaching false gods and idolatrous doctrines, to try their fortitude in adhering to the Law (Deut. xiii. 4). But all such trials are sent only when weakness and sin preceded; although they may end in great reward, they imply the possibility of still greater sin; and, therefore, man justly prays "not to be led into temptation." We must understand the great trial of Abraham from the same point of view; he had, from fear of his own life, twice risked the honour of his wife; and he might naturally have felt for his son an excessive love. By the triumph which he gained in this trial he was purified from his weakness, and he atoned for it. Hence, also, the enormity of the crime is obvious if man tries God, as the Israelites did more than once, when they desired to know "whether God was among them or not" (Exod. xvii. 7), a sin always counted among the most heinous forms of blasphemy (Num. xiv. 22; Deut. vi. 16; Ps. xcv. 9, etc.).

Isaac, designedly described with all the terms of endearment by which Abraham could feel the vastness of the sacrifice, was to be offered openly on a mountain; but not in the country of the Philistines, where he then sojourned (xxi. 34), but in the "land of Moriah" (אֶרֶץ מֹרְיָה), nearly a three days' journey from his home. The choice of the place is, therefore, evidently significant for the future history of Israel; it can scarcely be doubted that the land of Moriah describes the locality of and around Jerusalem. Moriah was the hill where later the temple of Solomon was erected; and

where David had before built an altar at the command of God (2 Chron. iii. 1; 2 Sam. xxiv. 25); it is lower than Mount Zion, which lies south-west of it, and which contained the citadel and the upper city; both were separated by the valley of Tyropæon, and connected by a bridge (*Joseph.*, Bell. Jud., II. xvi. 3). In the north-west of Moriah is another hill, called Acra, which contained the lower city, and from which it was divided by a broad walk, filled up by the Asmonæans with earth, in order to join the temple with the city. The greater height of Zion gave, no doubt, rise to the almost constant usage of designating the mountain of the temple also by that name, which was even employed to describe the whole town; "daughter of Zion" is an ordinary poetical name for Jerusalem; Zion is frequently alluded to as the abode of God; and it may thus be accounted for that Zion also is called "the holy mountain," especially if we consider that it was the residence of the kings, the anointed of the Lord (comp. Ps. ii. 6; ix. 12; Isai. viii. 18, etc.). It is, therefore, as inadmissible to identify Zion and Moriah, as it is arbitrary to understand here by Moriah, with the Samaritans, the mount Gerizim, or, with several modern critics, the "hill of Moreh" near Shechem (xii. 6; Judg. vii. 1; see *infra*). Though the traveller, coming from Beer-sheba, may not see Mount Moriah "from afar" (comp. *Stanley*, Sin. and Pal. 248), he certainly can see the "place" or region at some distance (ver. 4), especially if he is acquainted with the locality (comp. xiv. 17, 18). The place of the future temple, where it was promised the glory of God should dwell, and whence

Abraham his father, and said, My father: and he said, Behold, here *am* I, my son. And he said, Behold the fire and the wood: but where is the lamb for a burnt-offering? 8. And Abraham said, My son, God will look out for Himself a lamb for a burnt-offering: and they went both of them together. 9. And they came to the place which God had told him; and Abraham built there an altar, and arranged

atonement and peace were to bless the hearts of the Hebrews, was hallowed by the most brilliant act of piety; and the deed of their ancestor was thus more prominently presented to the imitation of his descendants.

The affecting simplicity of the succeeding narrative will never fail to move and to elevate; its charm and truth are equally irresistible; it breathes innocence and purity; and is pervaded by a hidden pathos, flowing entirely from nobleness of sentiment and action. The greatest feat of heroism seems to be performed without an effort. Nor is the patriarch's calmness disturbed even when the harmless but soul-stirring question of the son reminds him of the approaching moment of horror and agony (vers. 7, 8). He had conquered all selfishness and self-will; the strife between duty and passion was in him completely reconciled; he had attained that state which is the end of religion. By actually sacrificing his son, he could scarcely have displayed a higher degree of obedience than his determined and unwavering intention manifested; and the text is careful, and even circumstantial, in showing that firmness of purpose. He made himself all the preparations for the journey (ver. 3); he travelled more than two days, full of torment and anguish, before he reached the place of his trial (ver. 4); he concealed from his servants the true end of his journey, since they would have been unable to understand it (ver. 5); he made the last part of the way alone with his son, who carried the wood, while he himself took the knife and the fire (ver. 6); in this terrible loneliness, with the region of Moriah visible at a distance, the youth in his simplicity put that question which might well make a father's heart shudder (ver. 8); but

Abraham remained unshaken; they arrived at Moriah—"and Abraham built there an altar, and arranged the wood, and bound Isaac his son, and laid him on the altar upon the wood. And Abraham stretched out his hand, and took the knife to kill his son." What more was necessary to prove the patriarch's faith and devotion? A thousand times had he felt the pangs which he was commanded to subdue; the end of the trial was obtained; it would have been cruelty and undue severity to require more. Abraham had conquered his weakness; and the action was considered as having been performed.

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—Abraham resided, no doubt, in Beer-sheba when God commanded him to sacrifice his son; for he went thither directly on his return from Moriah (ver. 19), obviously to his wife and household. We must, therefore, understand the term "the land of the Philistines," in xxi. 34, as comprising the whole territory which they had subjected, including Beer-sheba; while the same expression denotes, in xxi. 32, Philistia Proper, or the district on the coast of the Mediterranean; for in the latter passage, Abimelech is stated to have "returned from Beer-sheba into the land of the Philistines."—The etymology and meaning of מְרִיָּה (ver. 2) have been subjects for the most various conjectures. We believe, the simplest explanation is to consider מְרִיָּה to be a contraction from מְרִיָּה "God is my instructor" (from מְרִיָּה), certainly an appropriate name for the mountain of the temple, from which the Law (תּוֹרָה) should be spread, and knowledge be diffused over the earth (Isa. ii. 3; comp. Onkel. and Jonath. לְאַרְעָא פּוֹלְחָנָא). It is probable, that that hill bore originally another name; but whether it was in sound

the wood, and bound Isaac his son, and laid him on the altar upon the wood. 10. And Abraham stretched out his hand, and took the knife to kill his son.—11. And the angel of the Lord called to him from heaven, and said, Abraham, Abraham: and he said, Here *am* I. 12. And He said, Lay not thy hand upon the youth, nor do to him anything: for now I know that thou fearest God, and

similar to Moriah or not, it would be idle to enquire. Gesenius (*Theol.*, p. 819) takes כָּרִית to be the same as כָּרָאִית "elected by God" (the ' in כָּרָאִית being the "Jod compagialis," as in לְבָרִיאֵל, etc.); and Hengstenberg (*Authent.* i. p. 264) explains it as מְרָאִית "shown by God," both with reference to the later explanation of the text: "the Lord will see" (ver. 14); but that which God selected or showed, was not the *place*, but the *sacrifice* (ver. 8); and the passage in the second Book of Chronicles (iii. 1: כָּהֵן חֲמִישֵׁי אֶשֶׁר נִרְאָה לְדָוִד, in itself indistinct as an analogy, can as little be adduced as a support, as the conflicting ancient versions (*Symm.*, εἰς τὴν γῆν εἰς καταστάσις; *Aquil.*, εἰς τὴν γῆν εἰς καταστάσις; *Vulg.*, in *terram visionis*). But the opinion, that כָּרִית is identical with מִרְיָה (since the Sept. renders both words with ὑψηλή), and that the mountain here alluded to, is the הַמִּוֹרֶה of Judg. vii. 1, has derived no probability from the reasons which Bleek, Tuch, and others have advanced in its favour.—מִרְיָה הַמִּוֹרֶה is the *region* of Moriah (comp. Josh. viii. 1). — רָאָה (ver. 8), to look out, to *choose* (comp. 1 Sam. xvi. 1; Gen. xli. 33, etc.).

11—19. Isaac showed himself worthy of his father's virtue and mission. He appears not only as a model of filial obedience, of gentleness and meekness, but as capable of submitting to the inscrutable decrees of God. He was no more a child; for a long time had elapsed since the feast of his weaning (xxi. 34); he had, therefore, a consciousness of the impending death; but he yet patiently allowed himself to be bound on the altar. God interfered, and revoked the former command; and as a substitute for Isaac, a ram appearing in the background was burnt as a

holocaust. Several Greek myths have been compared with this narrative; but the similarity exists but remotely in some external circumstances. Iphigenia, Agamemnon's daughter, was to be sacrificed to Diana, and the priest Calchas was on the point of performing the fearful ceremony, when the virgin was carried away by Diana in a cloud, and an animal offering was presented in her stead. But the motive for the intended sacrifice was perverse and barbarous; Agamemnon had killed a stag sacred to Diana; and the incensed goddess would only be reconciled if the king's eldest and dearest daughter were offered to her. The future fate of Iphigenia was enveloped in mystery; it was only many years later, that her abode was accidentally discovered by her wandering brother Orestes: thus, the cruel command, devoid of purpose or moral end, was the result of divine wrath and caprice. But the trial of Abraham was as important as regards the doctrine which it involved, as it was pure in the motive from which it arose. For—this is a point of the greatest moment—the interference of God in this act teaches, that *not even the most enthusiastic and the most devoted piety requires or justifies human sacrifices*; that God, indeed, demands, that man should be prepared to renounce for duty and virtue what is dearest and most precious to him; but that He is satisfied with unhesitating readiness and obedience; that sacrifices of children are an abomination if designed to win God, or to appease Him; though occasions may occur when they are necessary to glorify His name; thus, the heroic mother, in the time of the Maccabees, gave an example later followed by Jews and Christians, who threw their children

hast not withheld thy son, thy only one, from Me. 13. And Abraham lifted up his eyes, and looked; and, behold, in the back-ground a ram was entangled in a thicket by his horns: and Abraham went and took the ram, and offered him up for a burnt-offering instead of his son. 14. And Abraham called the name of that place Jehovah-jireh [the Lord will look out]: as it is said this day, In

into the burning pile to save their souls, and to give honour to God. But He never commanded, nor approved of, the horrid rites of Moloch, to whom the first-born sons were mercilessly burnt (2 Ki. xxiii. 10). According to the Mosaic system, the first-born belonged indeed to God; but to be His priests, and to spread His Law. The trial of Abraham implies, therefore, no sanction, but the most emphatic and the most striking prohibition of human sacrifices. — As another parallel, the story of Athamas has been adduced. Though married to Nephele, who bore to him two children, Phrixus and Helle, he fixed his affections upon Ino, the daughter of Cadmus, by whom he became the father of Learchus and Melicerta. His wife, Nephele, who disappeared in mortification and anger, and returned to the gods, demanded as an atonement the sacrificing of Athamas. On the other hand, Ino hated the children of Nephele, and induced, by bribery the Oracle of Delphi to declare, that unless Phrixus were sacrificed to the gods, the famine which distressed the land would not cease. But Nephele rescued Phrixus and Helle upon the ram with the golden fleeces (comp. *Apollod.* i. 7; iii. 4; *Hygin.*, *Fab.* 2; *Müller*, *Orchom.*, p. 161). It is needless to contrast this story of treachery, faithlessness, base revenge, and sacrilegious impiety with the Hebrew narrative; and even if it should be admitted — which is, however, scarcely warranted — that there is some similarity in the materials, the spirit and the ideas of both cannot even remotely be compared.

The spot where the patriarch had seen his only son tied upon the altar, to expire under his own hand, was to himself and his descendants naturally a place of sacred

awe; and it was to be distinguished as such by the meaning attributed to its name; it was henceforth to signify, “the Lord sees, or selects” (יְהוָה יִרְאֶה), and to recall His unrestricted sovereignty over all creatures, of whom He might choose for Himself those He thinks proper (ver. 8); but it was also to express and to perpetuate the consoling truth, that He in reality does not desire or select human beings for offerings. On the other hand, the piety of Abraham was to serve as an example to later generations; the name of the place suggested, therefore, the ready and cheerful worship there to be carried on in future times (comp. ver. 5); it became a proverbial adage: “on the mount of the Lord, His people shall be seen or appear” (יְהוָה יִרְאֶה יִרְאֶה); the descendants were incited to bring their offerings with greater cheerfulness if they remembered the torments which the patriarch had here to subdue in fulfilling the same duty; three times in the year, every Israelite was to appear before God in the place which He selected (Deut. xvi. 16; Exod. xxiii. 17; xxxiv. 23); the pious “go from strength to strength, till they appear before God on Zion” (Ps. lxxxiv. 8); and the worship on the holy mountain manifested the true theocratic citizen. Thus, the name of Moriah had the double import of assuring the Hebrews of God’s mercy, and of encouraging them to pay to Him their tribute of devotion and gratitude. — And now, when Isaac was, as it were, a second time born to Abraham, and almost “revived from the dead,” when he was acquired by faith and merit, and had become Abraham’s spiritual son as well as the descendant of his flesh: it was natural, that God should repeat all the blessings which were

the mount of the Lord one shall be seen. 15. And the angel of the Lord called to Abraham from heaven a second time. 16. And said, By Myself I swear, is the announcement of the Lord; indeed, because thou hast done this thing, and hast not withheld thy son, thy only one: 17. Indeed, I shall bless thee abundantly, and shall multiply thy seed exceedingly, as the stars of the heaven, and as the sand which

through him to be accomplished; and this is done in terms undoubtedly emphatic, if not enthusiastic; God swears by His own majesty to fulfil the glorious promises (בִּי נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי); He predicts a numerous progeny, and complete conquest over the enemies; but the happiness of the Hebrews should be crowned by the bliss which they would spread among all the nations, and, in a great measure, would be the reward of the patriarch's boundless obedience. — Beatified by those bright prospects, he returned southward—without exultation, and without pride.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS. — אָחֵר (in ver. 13) is not to be changed into אַחֵר, a reading which is offered in the Samaritan codex and many manuscripts, and is expressed by most of the ancient versions; for the idea, that "one ram was caught in a thicket," in alleged opposition to the gregarious habits of that animal, is as futile (comp. Dan. viii. 3), as the rendering "some ram" (like the Greek *τις*; comp. 1 Sam. i. 1; xxiv. 15) is unnecessary. Nor is אַחֵר used instead of אַחֲרָיו "behind him" (Vulg., *post tergum*, etc.), since Abraham did not look back, but simply "lifted up his eyes"; nor is it the conjunction *after*; nor the adverb of time *afterwards*; but, as most of the modern interpreters agree, it is an adverb, signifying *behind*, or *in the back-ground*; so that Abraham, when raising his eyes, saw the ram at a distance. As parallels, the double use of תַּחַת and עַל both as prepositions and adverbs (xlix. 25), has been justly quoted (comp. *Gesen.*, *Thes.*, p. 71). — The mountain to which Abraham was commanded to repair, bore the name מֹרִיָּה, alluding to the enlightenment later to be propagated from that centre; but the place where the patriarch was

about to sacrifice Isaac, received from him the name יְהוָה יִרְאֶה, referring to the animals which alone should be offered to God; and since, after the building of the temple, sacrifices could be killed in that sacred edifice only, it naturally gave rise to the proverbial saying: בֹּהֶר יְיָ יִרְאֶה "on the mountain of the Lord, people appear" (comp. x. 9): only if sacrifices are offered as God selects and appoints them, the presence of the offerer at the temple is acceptable to Him. Thus, the name and the proverb stand in logical connection with each other and with the whole narrative (vers. 5, 8, see *supra*); the terms מֹרִיָּה and יְהוָה יִרְאֶה, though different in their etymology, nearly coincide in their meaning; for a part of the Divine instruction formed the precepts concerning the sacrifices permitted and lawful; and we cannot, therefore, accede to the various other explanations proposed; for instance: "the Lord sees or selects the mountain; as it is said to-day, on the mountain of the Lord will He appear"; which is, however, less objectionable than the following supposition: "the Lord provides the place, as it is said to-day, on the mountain of the Lord assistance will be provided for man" (*Gesen.*, *Thes.*, pp. 580, 1246), which exposition is analogous to a Rabbinical acceptance: the Lord will always see or be mindful of this ready obedience on the part of Abraham, and it will therefore be said, in all generations, that on the mountain of the Lord that deed will be remembered for pardoning the sins of the worshippers. The Chaldees interpreters even add a complete prayer of the patriarch, and render the concluding words of the sentence against the true context: "therefore it is still said to this day, On this mountain Abraham prayed before the

is upon the sea shore; and thy seed shall possess the gate of their enemies; 18. And in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed; since thou hast obeyed My voice.— 19. And Abraham returned to his young men, and they rose, and went together to Beer-sheba: and Abraham dwelt at Beer-sheba.

Lord" (comp. Sept., *ἐν τῷ ὄρει κύριος ὡφθῆναι*), which conception even Rashi seems to reject, explaining: "on this mountain the Lord will appear to His people." Some critics have felt the obvious want of logical connection implied by the usual explanation of this passage, and have, therefore, proposed to read *יְהוָה יִרְאֶה*, instead of *יִרְאֶה יְהוָה*; but such conjectures tend only to prove the improbability of that explanation.—God swears either by Himself (*נשבעתי*, *בִּי*, ver. 16; comp. Jer. xxii. 5; xlix. 13), or by His eternal attributes and His wonderful works (Deut. xxxii. 40, etc.), whereas man solemnly pledges his faith either by invoking God, or the imperishable soul which He has imparted to him (comp. xiv. 22; 2 Ki. ii. 2; Jer. xxxviii. 16, etc.; comp. Comment. on Exod., p. 354). These ideas are so natural, that the oath: "I swear by Myself," may date from the earliest times of a conscious knowledge of God, and in itself in no manner presupposes a later origin.—The phrase *כִּי אֵלֹהִים* (ver. 16) "this is the utterance of the Lord," is another instance of the poetical character of this passage; for the word *אֵלֹהִים* (from *אָלַם* = *אָלַם* to *whisper*) is, with but two exceptions (Jer. xxiii. 31, and Ps. xxxvi. 1), constantly used with reference to the mysterious but emphatic addresses of God, or the vaticinations of prophets and prophetic poets (Num. xxiv. 3, 28; 2 Sam. xxiii. 1, etc.; see *Geen.*, Thes., p. 836). However, the sublimity of these verses lies still more in the ideas than in the words.—*עַתָּה אֵלֹהִים*, used in the sense of *עַתָּה אֵלֹהִים* (since or as), is identical with *כִּי אֵלֹהִים* (Num. xi. 20; Isai. iii. 16, etc.); it occurs in other passages in the same meaning (Jer. xix. 4; xxv. 8); and is here, as Tuch correctly observes, preferred to *כִּי אֵלֹהִים*, from reasons of euphony, in order to avoid the

phrase *כִּי יֵעַן כִּי*. The conjunction *כִּי* is repeated in the beginning of the seventeenth verse, on account of the interruption caused by the structure of the preceding verse.—About the "gate of the enemies" (ver. 17), see p. 410; and about *וְחַתְּבָרְכּוֹ* (ver. 18, and xxvi. 4), as synonymous with *וְנָכְרְכּוֹ* (xii. 3), see p. 336.

It is undoubted, that the Jehovist found this narrative in the Elohist document; but it would be strange indeed, if he had, in so important and so interesting a portion, found no occasion for amplification. Accordingly, after the main story comprising the first thirteen verses, and in many respects complete in itself, he added an allusion to the name of Moriah and the repeated benedictions of Abraham's house, in vers. 14 to 18; while the 19th verse forms an appropriate conclusion, and finished, no doubt, the older narrative also. But the Jehovist did not affix inorganic additions; his thoughtful mind, always active, and fully mastering the materials, entered deeply into the exact progress of the text; and we cannot, therefore, be surprised to find, in the midst of the Elohist composition, the traces of his considerate supervision; as is especially obvious in the eleventh verse, which contains the name *יְהוָה*, and points forward to the fifteenth verse. It cannot be questioned, that the insertion of the eleventh verse adds materially to the emphasis and solemnity of the narrative; it breathes the same dramatic simplicity which pervades this entire section; and the double invocation, "Abraham, Abraham," happily expresses the anxious solicitude with which God hastened to prevent the death of Isaac.—It would, therefore, be unwarrantable to substitute, in ver. 11, *אֵלֹהִים* instead of *יְהוָה*.

20. And it was after these things, that Abraham was told, Behold, Milcah, she also hath born children to thy brother Nahor; 21. Uz his firstborn, and Buz his brother,

20—24. The patriarch's career had reached its culminating point, beyond which it could not rise; the text hastens, therefore, to bring the narrative regarding his later years to a conclusion, and it immediately prepares the transition to the history of his son Isaac. It betrays an anxiety to show the uninterrupted connection of Abraham's house with his family in Mesopotamia, from where Isaac was to take his wife, Rebekah; and hence it inserts the genealogy of Nahor, Abraham's brother, who was married to Milcah, the daughter of Haran, and sister of Lot (xi. 27, 29). But though this genealogy is in strict harmony with preceding notices of a similar kind (xi. 26—29), it is not without peculiar difficulties, if compared with the great catalogue of nations contained in the tenth chapter. That it is composed with circumspect attention is certain from the fact that it bears a remarkable resemblance to that of the children of Jacob. Like the latter, Nahor has twelve sons; and in both cases eight are born by the lawful, and four by subordinate wives (comp. xxix., xxx.); and Ishmael also had the same number of sons (xvii. 20; xxv. 13—15). Now, among the twelve names are some which have previously been introduced in a perfectly different genealogical connection; and which seem, therefore, to imply another ethnographic tradition, provided we start from the principle, no doubt, on the whole, justifiable, that the names of genealogical lists represent tribes or nations. Thus Uz, who is here stated to have been the eldest son of Nahor, is, in x. 23, mentioned as the son of Aram; Aram himself, who occurs here as the son of Kemuel, Nahor's third son, and living, therefore, in the eleventh generation after Shem, is there recorded to be the immediate offspring of Shem; and if Chesed (כֶּסֶד) stands, as is probable, in connection with the Chaldees (דִּיכְדִּי)

from whose country Abraham was asserted to have long since emigrated (xi. 28), an additional difficulty would arise. To explain these perplexing circumstances, it may be advanced: 1. If there is a discrepancy, it does not, at least, affect the great principle of the genealogical list; in both cases, Uz and Aram are represented as Shemites; and the tenour of the latter part of the eleventh chapter leads to the same conclusion with regard to the Chaldees; for Ur is, undoubtedly, a province of Mesopotamia, not of Media, or Armenia, as some have vainly laboured to prove (see p. 323). 2. The tribes of Uz may, from much earlier times, have occupied the districts above indicated as their abodes (p. 285); but the eldest son of Nahor may have successfully invaded the territory bearing their name, and was, therefore, in genealogical accounts, also called Uz, in accordance with a principle pointed out on a former occasion (see p. 287). 3. The Aramæans spread over tracts of Asia so vastly extensive that it was impossible for them not to come into contact, not always of a hostile nature, with other tribes (see pp. 284, 285). Now, the people of Arrhaphachitis, to whose descendants Nahor and his offspring belonged, almost bordered on some of the Aramæan districts; it is, therefore, not improbable that a coalition or gradual amalgamation between both took place; and it is thus intelligible why Nahor's third son, Kemuel, is called the father of Aram. This reason, combined with that just stated will account for the fact, that not only Bethuel and Laban, but even the Abrahamites are designated Aramæans (xxv. 20; xxxi. 24; Deut. xxvi. 5). 4. The Chaldees have not before been introduced in genealogies, but are only accidentally mentioned in the name "Ur of the Chaldees" (xi. 28). It may, therefore, be concluded that the Chaldees were regarded as a younger

and Kemuel the father of Aram, 22. And Chesed, and Hazo, and Pildash, and Jidlaph, and Bethuel. 23. And Bethuel begat Rebekah: these eight Milcah bore to Nahor,

nation, a view confirmed by historical notices (comp. Isai. xxiii. 13); and that they are in the one case referred to mentioned by anticipation.—We have thus two distinct branches of the great family of Arphaxad; the one represented by Abraham and his descendants, and including the Ishmaelites, Edomites, and Hebrews, together with the Ammonites and Moabites, and occupying the western districts of Canaan and the neighbouring tracts; and the other represented by Nahor and his descendants, and spread over many parts of the land between the Euphrates and Tigris, and beyond the former river.—It is unquestionable that the twelve names here introduced are intended as the progenitors of tribes; but we are able to ascertain but very few of them.—*Buz* (בּוּז) is (in Jer. xxv. 23) named in connection with the tribes Dedan and Teman, placing it in the northern parts of Arabia Deserta; and the visit paid by “Elihu the Busite” to Job (xxii. 2) proves that it was in the vicinity of Uz.—Although the name Kemuel (כְּמוֹאֵל) recurs in two other passages, as a prince of the tribe of Ephraim (Num. xxxiv. 24), and as an eminent descendant of Levi (1 Chron. xxvii. 17); it is impossible to fix the localities once inhabited by his descendants. But the name is certainly Shemitic, and gives so far proof of its genuineness.—The *Chaldeans* (כְּדִימִי) led long a roaming and predatory life (Job i. 17) in the parts of Arabia Deserta, bordering on the southern course of the Euphrates almost down to the Persian Gulf; and though distinct both from the Babylonians and the people of Shinar, they generally occupied a part of the territory of the former (comp. *Strab.*, xvi. 739, 767; *Ptol.*, v. 20; *Plin.*, vi. 30, 31). But as Terah, on his way from “Ur of the Chaldees” to Canaan, came to Carrhae, in the north-western part of Mesopotamia (xi. 31, see p. 422); it is obvious that the Chaldeans

occupied, at a very early time, districts in the north-east of the Euphrates; and it is probable that, at a later period, emigrating from the north and joining their kinsmen in the southern parts of the Euphrates, they caused those stirring commotions which resulted in the overthrow of the Assyrians, and the foundation of the Chaldean empire under Nabopolassar (a.c. 625; comp. Isai. xxiii. 13; Ezek. xxiii. 15); from which time the Babylonians are constantly called Chaldeans (2 Kings xxiv. 2; xxv. 4, 5; Isai. xlvi. 14, 20; Jer. xxi. 4, 9, etc.; comp. Ezra v. 12); and Babylon “the land of the Chaldees” (Isai. xxiii. 13; Jer. xxiv. 5; Ezek. xii. 13). Classical accounts record their diffusion to still more northern provinces, to the mountains of Armenia and the land of the Carduchi (*Xenoph.* Cyr. III. i. 34; *Anab.* IV. iii. 4; VII. viii. 25, etc.), and even near the Black Sea (*Strab.* xii. 545, 549). Their nomadic habits may, indeed, even in the Biblical times, have brought them to those distant regions; but it is equally probable, that some of the tribes, preserving their hereditary love of liberty and their valour, after the conquest of Babylon by the Persians, sought refuge in the mountainous tracts of the north, where they found sufficient opportunities for indulging in their warlike tastes (comp. pp. 288, *et seq.*).

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—It needs scarcely to be observed, that this genealogy belongs, like the corresponding notices in xi. 26—31, to the Elohist, who drew, with a firm hand, the grand picture of the origin and progress of theocracy.—“Milcah also has born children” (מִלְכָּה נָסַד בָּנִים), referring to Sarah, her sister-in-law.—The word מִלְכָּה, which occurs in Greek and Latin also (*πᾶλλαξ*, *πάλλαξ*, *peller*; comp. *Gesen.*, Thes. p. 1104), designates a woman, occupying an intermediate rank between servant and wife (comp. notes on Exod. xxi. 7—11). Far from being des-



Abraham's brother. 24. And his concubine, whose name *was* Reumah, she also bore Tebah, and Gaham, and Thahash, and Maachah.

pised, she enjoyed many privileges, was well treated, but stood under the authority of the legal wife (comp. xvi. 6), to whom she was inferior chiefly in that her children did not share the inheritance with those of the former, but were generally

dismissed with presents (xxi. 10; xxv. 6); although, at the division of Canaan, the sons of Bilhah and Zilpah were in every respect treated as equals with the sons of Leah and Rachel (compare notes on xvi. 1, 2).

## CHAPTER XXIII.

**SUMMARY.**—Sarah died at Hebron, in the 127th year of her life; and Abraham bought from Ephron, the son of Zohar, as a burial-place for her, and as an hereditary possession for his family, the cave of Machpelah, together with the field on which it was situated. After the purchase was concluded and duly ratified in the presence of the people of the Hittites, Abraham buried his wife in the cave.

1. And Sarah was a hundred and seven and twenty years old: *these were* the years of the life of Sarah. 2. And Sarah died in Kirjath-Arba, that *is* Hebron, in the land of Canaan: and Abraham came to mourn for Sarah, and to weep for her. 3. And Abraham rose from before his

1, 2. During the succeeding period of tranquil enjoyment, Abraham migrated from Beer-sheba, the southern extremity of the country, northward, and settled again in Hebron (see p. 427). Here he was afflicted by the death of his wife, who had faithfully shared his pilgrimages. "He went to mourn for Sarah and to weep for her." She had seen Isaac grow into manhood, for she survived his birth by thirty-seven years. If the fact that Sarah is the only woman whose age is mentioned in the Scriptures, is at all significant, it proves that with her a new epoch in the progress of the human race is supposed to commence (compare 1 Peter iii. 6). The chronology of her life, like that of Abraham, is stated in all its more prominent phases.—Sarah died in the *land of Canaan*; thus two facts, full of interest, are recalled to the reader's mind: she departed this life, not in the territory of the Philistines (xxi. 34), or at any other place without the promised land; but yet this land belonged still to the Canaanites; no part of it was in the possession of the He-

brews. About Hebron and its primitive name Kirjath-Arba, which was, however employed even in much later times, we refer to the notes on xiii. 18 (pp. 346 347).

3, 4. In securing a grave for his wife, Abraham directed his mind to the distant epoch of national greatness vouchsafed to his descendants. Though openly confessing that he was a stranger among the idolatrous children of Heth, he knew that Canaan alone could offer him a desirable resting-place; and he wished to be buried in the land to be hallowed by its future history. This sentiment was the result of the most exalted faith. For it is well known with what extreme degree of sacredness the graves of relatives were regarded; it is unnecessary to refer to the extraordinary precautions taken in this respect by the Egyptians, who, in order to secure to their dead undisturbed rest, erected gigantic edifices intended to defy the destruction of endless ages; who abhorred the idea of invading the abodes of the departed, and who scarcely knew a more disastrous mis-

dead, and spoke to the sons of Heth, saying, 4. *I am a stranger and a sojourner with you: give me the possession of a burying-place with you, that I may bury my dead out of my sight.* 5. And the children of Heth answered Abraham, saying to him, 6. Hear us, my lord: thou *art* a prince of God among us: in the choicest of our

fortune than an interruption of the eternal rest of the dead. And though the Hebrews were far from sharing the superstition, that the existence of the soul is dependent on the preservation of the body; though, on the contrary, they were clearly conscious, that the former returns to God, while the latter is dissolved: they attached a sacred importance to the place of interment; they wished to be entombed in their native soil and among their own race; Jacob's corpse was, with pomp and solemnity, brought to the Holy Land; and Joseph enjoined on his brothers the same request; it was a part of the punishment which Moses suffered for his disobedience, that he was not buried in the land of his ancestors; and it was Joshua's reward to find his last repose among the children of his tribe (comp. 2 Sam. xix. 37; Isai. xiv. 18—20; 2 Macc. v. 10). Regarded from this point of view, the earnestness with which Abraham sought a tomb for his family in the territory of Canaan, assumes a new significance. He had during his life severed every link which connected him with father, friends, or country; and he intended to make this separation eternal by being interred far from his birth-place and his countrymen. Though deeply anxious to see his son allied to no wife but one of his own family, which resided in Mesopotamia, he was as firmly resolved to be buried in no other country but that where he sojourned; for though he might hope that his kinsmen would adopt his religious convictions, he was certain that Canaan alone was selected as the land of salvation.—These remarks will, at the same time, show the fallacy of the opinion, that the purchase of the tomb was intended to establish a claim of the Israelites to the Land of Canaan. The transaction here recorded has a civil, not a political cha-

racter; and the tendency of the narrative is religious, not temporal (see pp. 369—371). The purchase is, indeed, based on the very fact, that Abraham had no legal right whatever to the soil of Canaan; he asked for an inconsiderable piece of ground, and paid for it a more than adequate sum. How could his descendants claim, upon such fact, the possession of the whole land from Dan to Beer-sheba!

5, 6. So little did the Hittites expect that Abraham, the stranger and pilgrim, should wish for an hereditary landed property, that they not even gave a direct answer to his request; instead of granting "the possession of a burying-place," they permitted him to inter Sarah in any of their own family tombs; they even gave him unrestricted liberty to select the most convenient, the most desirable grave; there was not one among them who would not consider it an honour rather than an intrusion or burthen to be in death associated with his house. For Abraham had long since found in Hebron faithful friends; he was there allied with Eshcol and Mamre (xiv. 13); and had from there marched out on his expedition against the victorious eastern kings; but the respect which the Hebronites entertained for him, must have more and more deepened into awe when his later history was spread. Abimelech had publicly acknowledged, that the patriarch's every step was attended with manifest and supernatural blessing (xxi. 22); and God Himself had called him *a prophet*, and proclaimed the efficiency of his prayers to avert the sufferings of others (xx. 7). The Hittites designated him, therefore, "a prince of God" (עֲלֵי אֱלֹהִים); and it is not impossible, that they regarded his residing amongst them as a protection and safeguard against Divine inflictions; that

sepulchres bury thy dead; none of us will withhold from thee his sepulchre, that thou mayest bury thy dead. 7. And Abraham rose, and prostrated himself to the people of the land, to the children of Heth. 8. And he spoke with them, saying, If it be your mind that I should bury my dead out of my sight, hear me, and entreat for me Ephron, the

they were, therefore, eager to retain him in their town; and that the ready permission offered to him with regard to the burial, was not dictated by motives quite unselfish. Abraham's declaration: "I am a stranger and a sojourner with you," is distinctly opposed by them with the assertion: "Thou art a prince of God among us." Hence, they add with an emphatical force: "none of us will withhold from thee his sepulchre, there to bury thy dead"; for, in general, the ancient nations watched with extreme jealousy, that no stranger should be received in the tombs of their families; on the chiefs of the houses devolved the duty of watching over this sacred custom, though the spirit of hospitality characteristic of primitive tribes, generally prompted an exception in favour of guests, who possessed no ancestral graves in the country.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—The construction לְאָמֹר לוֹ (in vers. 5 and 14) is indeed unusual, but by no means against the genius of the language; and, hence, the Chaldee translators render it literally in both passages (לְמִימֵר לֵיהּ). But the Septuagint reads ἡ, as in ver. 11, and translates: "No, my Lord" (Μή, κύριε, and Οὐχί, κύριε); modern critics, therefore, instead of לוֹ pronounced לוֹ, which they supposed might have been written לוֹ or לוֹ (as in 1 Sam. xiv. 30; 2 Sam. xviii. 11), and connected it with the following verb שָׁמַעְנוּ לוֹ "Oh, if thou wouldst hear us," as in ver. 13. But we see no reason to abandon the received text, and to read either לוֹ or לוֹ, although the former conjecture would deserve the greater degree of consideration. The Septuagint can, in this instance, be of less authority, as it has, in ver. 11, the reading לוֹ instead of לוֹ, translating: *καὶ ἡμοὶ γενοῦ* (comp. xix. 2; 2 Sam. xxiv. 24); and Hitzig, not

satisfied with the conjecture לוֹ, ventures another one, certainly still less called for, of substituting, in ver. 13, אָמֵן instead of אָמֵן "if you please" (xxxiv. 15), whereas the phrase אָמֵן לוֹ שָׁמַעְנוּ לוֹ is peculiarly emphatical on account of the double particle of wish (אָמֵן and לוֹ), and אָמֵן אָמֵן is designedly elliptical: "if thou only, oh, if thou wouldst hear me" (Sept., inaccurately: *ἐὰν μὲν πρὸς ἡμῶν εἴ, reading לוֹ, and so, perhaps, Onkelos: כִּי אָמֵן אָמֵן* (עֲבִיר לִי). The suffix of the singular in אָמֵן, after that of the plural in שָׁמַעְנוּ ("hear us, my Lord"), offers no difficulty, since אָמֵן passed into an ordinary address, in which the suffix was entirely subordinate; as in My Lord, Monsieur, etc.—שֵׁי אֱלֹהִים—is not "mighty prince," after the analogy of לוֹ אֱלֹהִים אֵל, הָרִי אֵל (see p. 62), but literally "a prince of God," no doubt nearly synonymous with נָבִיא in xx. 7.—יְכָלָה (ver. 6), instead of יְכָלָה, which occurs in Ps. xl. 10, 12; Isai. xliii. 6.

§—§. But Abraham abhorred the thought of allowing Sarah or himself to be buried in the vault of a heathen family. He, therefore, repeated his request, that he desired to have the hereditary and exclusive "possession of a burial-place"; his mind had evidently long since been occupied with this important matter; he had silently selected the spot where he wished to repose; he pointed out the place, and named its proprietor; he argued, that if they consented to suffer the bodies of his family in their own sepulchres, they might have the less objection to their being interred in a cave, consecrated by no association, situated in a retired part "at the end of a field," and, to whatever use it might be turned, not likely in any way to interfere with their general rights of property. But Abraham, in order to show in every possible manner

son of Zohar; 9. That he may give me the cave of Machpelah, which he hath, which *is* in the end of his field; for full money he may give it me for a possession of a burying-place among you.—10. And Ephron dwelt among the children of Heth: and Ephron the Hittite answered Abraham in the presence of the children of Heth, of all

that he wished to regard the burial-place as his absolute possession, and to avoid the least appearance of an obligation, insisted upon acquiring it by legal and public purchase, and upon buying it for a sum fully equivalent to its utmost value. Whenever Abraham refused presents, he was induced to do so by a great principle of right or religion: such was the case with the booty of the Sodomites (xiv. 22, 23); and such was the case with the burial-place desired for his family (see p. 361).—It is well known, that caves were, in ancient times, with predilection adopted for graves. The massive rocks in which they were either naturally found, or into which they were worked by art, guaranteed in an eminent degree that durability which was a principal requirement. Syria, Palestine, and Egypt abound in caverns peculiarly suitable for the purpose referred to. The mysterious darkness is but partially dispelled by the light admitted either by an opening at the top or on one side; for the vaults were hewn out either vertically or horizontally; they were generally, when capacious, divided along the sides into compartments, each of them large enough to receive one sarcophagus, of about six or seven feet in length; and some deeper than the rest, and subdivided into other chambers, or extended into passages. In some cases, the coffins rested merely on stone slabs arranged along the sides. Not unfrequently stairs were necessary to lead down into the caverns, and this was always the case when they were vertically excavated. In order to protect the graves, especially against the inroads of beasts of prey, a huge stone closed the entrance, which frequently, in the course of time, became perfectly indiscoverable. Graves, except those of distinguished persons, as kings and prophets,

were never suffered within the precincts of the town; they were generally in open fields, as in the instance of our text, or in shady groves and gardens, and sometimes on hills and mountains (Isai. xxii. 16; see the copious references in *Winer's Bibl. Wörterb.* i. 443—445; and the representations of Hebrew and modern eastern graves in *Kitto's Cyclopæd.* i. 357—362).

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—It is generally acknowledged, that the translations of *מַעְרַת הַמַּכְפֶּלֶה* by “double cave,” as most of the ancient versions and commentators render, are erroneous (for instance, Sept., τὸ σπήλαιον τὸ διπλοῦν; Vulg., *spelunca duplex*; Onkel., *מַעְרַת כְּפִלְתָּא*; Rashi: *בית ועליה אל נביו*; Ebn Ezra: “a cave in a cave,” etc.). The grammatical construction of those words shows, that Machpelah is a proper noun, and that this is the locality in which the cave was situated. This conception is confirmed by all subsequent passages, especially by ver. 19: *מַעְרַת שְׂדֵה הַמַּכְפֶּלֶה* (comp. ver. 17; xxv. 9; xlix. 30).—*כֶּסֶף*, Sept., ἀργυρίου τοῦ ἀξίου. —In Acts vii. 16, Abraham is stated, by mistake, to have bought the sepulchre of Emmor, the father of Sychem; confounding this purchase with that of Jacob after his return from Mesopotamia (xxxiii. 19).

10—16. Ephron shared the respect universally entertained by his tribe for Abraham. He eagerly offered him, not only the cave, but the whole field of which it formed a part; he declined every compensation, and called on his countrymen to be witnesses of his sincerity. Abraham, however, though acting throughout with extreme courtesy, the result of his meekness, unconditionally refused the proposal. His mind was filled with one great idea; and as the perma-

who went in at the gate of his city, saying, 11. No, my lord, hear me: I give thee the field, and the cave that is therein, I give it thee; before the eyes of the sons of my people I give it thee: bury thy dead. 12. And Abraham prostrated himself before the people of the land. 13. And he spoke to Ephron in the presence of the people of the land, saying, If thou only, Oh if thou wouldst hear me: I shall give *thee* money for the field; take *it* of me, and I will bury my dead there. 14. And Ephron answered Abraham, saying to him, 15. My lord, listen to me: a land *worth* four hundred shekels of silver, what *is* that between

nent possession of a burial-place aptly served to advance its realisation, he repeated that he was determined to acquire it by a legal and binding purchase, and he again offered the full equivalent in silver for the cave and the field. Ephron, unable longer to withstand the temptation, but reluctant openly to exhibit his avarice, with adroit cunning preserved the appearance of disinterestedness, whilst he was exacting a considerable sum from the rich emir: "What is," said he, "a piece of land worth four hundred shekels of silver between me and thee?" He seemed even impatiently to solicit the honour of furnishing the desired ground. But Abraham understood well his stratagem and its motives; and he at once paid the amount hinted at in current silver, such as merchants give and receive. "He *weighed* to Ephron the silver"; for coined money was unknown to the Hebrews before the captivity, when first Persian, and then Greek or Syriac currency was employed, till Simon Maccabæus (about B.C. 143) struck Jewish coins, especially shekels and half-shekels, specimens of which have been preserved to us (1 Macc. xv. 6; see note on Exod. xxi. 32). It is natural that almost all the ancient nations, which did not barter, or had ceased to barter, in corn, cattle, or other natural productions, animal or vegetable (*pecus* and *pecunia*; compare *Hom.*, Il. vi. 235)—a custom which seems never to have obtained among the Hebrews—but which used the metals as money,

should for a long period have circulated them in solid pieces, till they arrived at the skill of working them into coins; an art which the Hindoos and Phœnicians, or, according to Herodotus (i. 94), the Lydians, seem to have practised among the first; but even then the metal was estimated by its real, not a conventional value. For daily commerce rendered it, in very early times, necessary to provide pieces of a certain weight, as ready means of exchange; thus the Hebrews had whole, half, and quarter-shekels, *kesitahs* (xxxiii. 19), and other coins, probably not controlled or sanctioned by the government; these pieces were perhaps provided with a mark to stamp them as genuine and as being the full weight, or to note them as "current money among the merchants" (עָבָר לְמַכָּר; comp. 2 Ki. xii. 5); nevertheless, they were constantly weighed when employed in commerce, for which purpose the Israelites had scales attached to their girdles; and that custom was preserved even after the introduction of regular coinage, and is, in fact, extensively exercised by eastern merchants of the present day; whereas, on the other hand, in many parts of China and Abyssinia, the gold and silver circulates still in bars and ingots, the value of which is fixed by first estimating the quality, and then ascertaining the weight (comp. xliii. 21; Exod. xxii. 17; xxx. 13; Josh. xxiv. 32; 1 Sam. ix. 8; Isai. lv. 2; *Plin.* xxxiii. 3, 13; *Strab.* iii. 155; *Æt.*, Var. H. xii.

me and thee? bury therefore thy dead. 16. And Abraham listened to Ephron; and Abraham weighed to Ephron the silver which he had named, in the presence of the sons of Heth, four hundred shekels of silver, current *money* with the merchant.—17. And the field of Ephron, which is in Machpelah, which is before Mamre, the field, and the cave which is therein, and all the trees that were in the field, that were in all its borders around, passed over 18. To Abraham for a property before the eyes of the children of Heth, before all that went in at the gate of his city. 19. And after this, Abraham buried Sarah his wife

10). If we consider that in the patriarchal ages the value of money was at least fifteen or twenty times greater than at present; that, for instance, it was not considered derogatory to the dignity of Samuel, or any "man of God," to accept a quarter of a shekel (or about 8d.) as a present (1 Sam. ix. 8); that, in the time of the Judges, the services of a household-priest were secured for the yearly salary of ten shekels, besides his food and garments (Judg. xvii. 10); that the price of a slave was thirty shekels (Exod. xxi. 32); that, even in the time of Nehemiah, a yearly tax of forty shekels was considered a heavy and tyrannical impost (Neh. v. 15); that David bought from Araunah a threshing-floor and an ox for fifty shekels (2 Sam. xxiv. 24); and that Solomon paid 150 shekels for an Egyptian horse (1 Kings x. 29): we shall understand that Ephron scarcely brought a sacrifice in fixing the price of his field at four hundred shekels (or nearly fifty guineas), although the estimation would naturally depend on the extent and quality of the property; and although, in Solomon's time, Egyptian chariots were sold for 600, and vineyards yielded a produce of at least 1,000 shekels' worth (1 Kings x. 29; Cant. viii. 11; comp. Isai. vii. 23; 2 Kings vii. 1; Jer. xxxii. 9, 10).

17—20. A certain breadth and copiousness are manifest in the narrative; the chief points are repeatedly stated without any addition, either qualifying the sense, or rendering it more forcible. Abraham

wishes "the possession of a burying-place (ver. 4); he reiterates the same words in his first reply to the Hittites (ver. 9); it occurs a third time when the purchase is concluded (ver. 20); and a synonym is introduced (חֶפְזָה) when the whole transaction is once more comprehensively stated (ver. 18). Further, it appears as if the text cannot, with sufficient emphasis, enjoin the fact, that all the Hittites were witnesses of the sale; Ephron is in their midst when Abraham publicly made the request (ver. 10); he negotiates with the patriarch "before the ears of the children of Heth, in the presence of all the citizens"; and he grants the field "before the eyes of his countrymen" (ver. 11); Abraham takes care to give his reply in the same explicit manner (ver. 13); and to pay the money in the presence of the people (ver. 16), that every doubt and uncertainty may be removed (ver. 18). Lastly, the historian exhibits an extreme anxiety to enforce the fact that the field was *bought* by Abraham; it was acquired by full payment (ver. 9) and current silver (ver. 16); and it was purchased for the amount demanded by the owner, without the least deduction. All this careful detail shows, on the one hand, the high importance which was attached to the transaction; and which was, on the other hand, almost necessary in a verbal purchase without a written contract. It is interesting to compare herewith the simple but expressive mode of transfer in the

in the cave of the field of Machpelah before Mamre, that is Hebron, in the land of Canaan. 20. And the field, and the cave that is therein, passed over to Abraham for a possession of a burying-place from the sons of Heth.

period of the Judges, when the proprietor, in the presence of ten elders of the people, took off his shoe and gave it as a symbol to the purchaser (Ruth iv. 1—9); or, in the times of Jeremiah, when the contract was written and the money weighed before witnesses, and the former was deposited in an earthen vessel "that it may last many days" (Jer. xxxii. 7—14). But it was always regarded as a want of true piety to offer to God what had been obtained without cost or sacrifice; and hence not only Jacob, though fugitive and wandering, bought the place in Shechem where he intended to erect an altar to God (xxxiii. 19), but even the mighty King David, for a similar purpose, purchased the spot from Araunah, the Jebusite, disdaining to "offer burnt offerings to the Lord his God of that which

cost him nothing" (2 Sam. xxiv. 24; comp. 1 Chron. xxi. 24).

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—The verb  $\text{נָּסַח}$  (in vers. 17 and 20) signifies, "to stand by some one," or to pass into his hands (comp. Lev. xxvii. 19).—Those who assemble at the gate of the town (vers. 10, 18) are its citizens; like those who "go out of the gate" (xxxiv. 24).—That this chapter is taken from the narrative of the Elohist, is evident, not so much from the introduction of  $\text{אֱלֹהִים}$  (ver. 6), but from the archaic spirit which pervades it, and bespeaks a higher antiquity. As far as we can see, it contains no insertion of the Jehovist; although it is not impossible, that some of the emphatic repetitions (for instance, vers. 17, 18) were added by him in perfect accordance with the whole tenour of the section.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

SUMMARY.—Abraham, desirous that his son Isaac should marry a member of his own family, sent his steward to Mesopotamia, with the solemn injunction that, even if he did not succeed in his errand, he should on no account take for Isaac a wife from the Canaanites, nor return with him to the land of the Chaldees. The servant, arriving before Haran, saw Rebekah, the daughter of Bethuel, who showed him ready and hearty civilities, and related to her family the arrival of the stranger. Her brother Laban hastened, therefore, to conduct him into the house, where he at once disclosed the end of his journey, and asked Rebekah for his master's son to wife, since he had proofs that she was destined for him by God. The parents, the brother, and the virgin consented; and having given presents to all, he returned to Canaan with Rebekah, who was accompanied by her nurse Deborah and her maids. Isaac brought his wife into the tent before inhabited by his mother; and the love of the former consoled him for the death of the latter.

1. And Abraham was old, *and* advanced in years: and the Lord had blessed Abraham in all *things*. 2. And

1. Bereaved of the wife of his youth, Abraham felt that his life was hastening to its goal; he had attained the 140th year (xxv. 20); and his strength showed symptoms of decline; he had "become old and laden with years"; he had reached double the age later allotted to man, and at the approach of which the most glo-

rious of his descendants experienced the same infirmities (1 Kings i. 1). But the patriarch had not struggled in vain. He could look back upon a career, obstructed indeed, and complicated, but marked out by the wisdom of God, and performed with the aid of His love. "He was blessed with all things."

Abraham said to his eldest servant of his house, who ruled over all that he had, Put, I pray thee, thy hand under my thigh: 3. And I will make thee swear by the Lord, the God of heaven and the God of the earth, that thou wilt not take a wife to my son of the daughters of the Canaanites, among whom I dwell: 4. But thou shalt go to my country, and to the land of my birth, and take a wife to my son, to Isaac. 5. And the servant said to him, Perhaps the woman may not be willing to follow me to this land: shall I then indeed bring thy son again to the land from where thou camest? 6. And Abraham said to him, Beware that thou dost not bring my son thither again.

2—9. But the most precious treasure he possessed was his son. He loved him not only with the affection of a father, but with the purity of a prophet; the human feelings were heightened by a spiritual interest; he saw in Isaac not only *his* son, but the son of Divine promise; not only the propagator of *his* name, but the medium by which the name of God should become the light of mankind. When, therefore, Isaac had reached his fortieth year, and had been declared the heir of the house (ver. 36), he wished to secure for him a wife worthy of being connected with his great destination. He pledged his faithful steward by the holiest oath which at that time could bind the conscience of man, by the sign of covenant between God and the chosen family (xvii. 10, 11), and made him swear by the name of "the Lord, the God of heaven and the God of earth," that he would not take for his son a wife from the daughters of the Canaanites. Though he had lived in their land for half a century, he still regarded himself as a stranger; he abominated their vices; and would never endanger the future of his race by associating with tribes doomed to perdition by their own perverseness (xv. 16; comp. Exod. xxxiv. 16; Deut. vii. 1—3). He could hope that the members of his own family would be more accessible to the truths of his new faith, or would at least not impede its progress; they seemed, indeed, to have sponta-

neously shown a tendency towards it by their emigration from Ur of the Chaldees and their settlement in Haran, where they were less exposed to the contagious influences of idolatry, where Terah had lived and died, and where Abraham himself had for some time sojourned. Though the family of Nahor had not renounced the false gods, they were ready to acknowledge the true one when they saw His working and His miracles. Bethuel and Laban did not deny that God had guided the steps of the steward (ver. 51); far from opposing His will, they submitted to it with reverence and cheerfulness (ver. 52). The descendants of Terah belonged to the blessed branch of the Shemites; the germ of truth slumbered in them; and it required but the genial influence of example and instruction to bring it into blossom.—Abraham was decided and absolute in his command; but this firmness was not the result of fear but of faith. When, therefore, the steward objected the possibility that no virgin might be found willing to leave her native country, and asked whether, in such emergency, he might go back with Isaac to Mesopotamia: the patriarch replied with a power and a fervour which indicated his earnestness, and he interdicted any such step in the most emphatic manner (ver. 6). But though moved, he was not agitated; he preserved his usual composure; he had inclosed his



7. The Lord God of heaven, who took me from my father's house, and from the land of my birth, and who spoke to me, and who swore to me, saying, To thy seed I shall give this land, He will send His angel before thee, and thou shalt take a wife to my son from there. 8. And if the woman is not willing to follow thee, then thou shalt be clear from this my oath: only bring not my son thither again.—9. And the servant put his hand under the thigh of Abraham his master, and swore to him con-

hopes in his innermost heart; his reliance in the Divine promises was unshaken; he was certain that the servant's journey would be successful; and that the same power which had turned his own heart to forsake his country and his friends, would work the same effect on another mind also. God had not only promised, but sworn to him, that his posterity should inherit the land of Canaan; the "God of heaven" would send "His angel" to assist the messenger in his design (see p. 399); and He had not rescued his son from death on Mount Moriah to let him perish without progeny. The patriarch commanded, therefore, his servant to return to Canaan without a wife for Isaac, if none should consent to follow him; he released him, in such case, from his oath and from every obligation; for he was certain, that God, who had blessed him with a son in his old age against all precedent and probability, would fulfil His decrees, even if he himself saw no natural ways. The life of Abraham was so extraordinary that he almost constantly required the wings of faith; but faith had become his element, and the very sphere in which he moved and lived.

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—To the present day, the custom has been preserved among several eastern tribes, that men make solemn declarations, or swear by touching the membrum virile, representing strength and life, the children and posterity. But if a man made solemn promises to another person, it appears that he touched, not his own membrum, but that of the other party: the symbolical

meaning of which act is equally clear (comp. xlvii. 29, 31). The words תַּחַת הָרֶגֶל "beneath the thigh," are, therefore, a euphemism, analogous to תַּיִל יָלֵד, child (xlv. 26; Exod. i. 5), an acceptation hinted at by several ancient translators. Some of the other explanations proposed are very strange; for instance, that that phrase signifies: "if I deceive thee I may perish by thy sword," since the sword is worn at the side (*Grotius*); or that it alludes to an alleged custom that blood was pressed from the hand by putting it under the thigh (! *Michaelis*); or that it symbolises the submission of the servant under the master, who demands unconditional obedience (*Ebn Esra*; *Rosenmüller*, and others).—וְעַל (ver. 4), after the negative אֵל (ver. 3) signifies *but*; the reading דָּמָא is, therefore, spurious.

10. The steward having, in the solemn form demanded by Abraham, sworn the most scrupulous adherence to his wishes, entered at once upon his distant journey (comp. xxxi. 23). The fullest confidence was placed in him by his master; for he was the "eldest servant of his house"; he had unlimited disposal over all domestic affairs; he was initiated in every property, and was responsible for its safety (ver. 2). Such stewards were appointed in all greater households, and especially in the royal palaces (*Isai.* xxii. 15; *1 Kings* iv. 6); they frequently represented, and sometimes succeeded, their masters (xv. 3, 4); they enjoyed a degree of freedom and authority which almost raised them above the rank of subordinates; and they generally repaid this generous confidence by an ex-

cerning that matter.—10. And the servant took ten camels of the camels of his master, and departed; and every precious property of his master was in his hand: and he rose, and went to Mesopotamia, to the city of Nahor. 11. And he made his camels kneel down without the city by a well of water at the time of the evening, at the time when the women come out to draw *water*. 12. And he said, Oh Lord God of my master Abraham, I pray Thee, send me good speed this day, and show kindness to my master

emplary faithfulness (comp. xxxix. 4, 6; xlv. 1, 4, etc.).—Whether the steward here charged by Abraham with the important commission, was the same Eliezer whom he had mentioned before as the probable heir of his house (xv. 3, 4), has been questioned; it is true, an interval of more than half a century had passed between that time and the journey to Mesopotamia; for at the former period Ishmael was not yet born, which event took place in the 86th year of Abraham's life (xvi. 16), whereas at this time he had reached at least his 140th year (compare xxi. 5 and xxv. 20); but neither this circumstance, nor the fact that no name is mentioned in the whole chapter, can decide a question which, in itself, is of no importance whatever.—He certainly travelled with a respectable caravan; ten camels were required for himself, his companions, and the numerous presents which he took with him for the future bride and her relations; thus furnished with every good and precious (נָחֵם) object that might appear worthy the representative of a wealthy emir, he journeyed eastward to that part of "Aramæa which lies between the two rivers," Euphrates and Tigris (נָחֵם הַנְּהָרִים); see p. 284); nor did he tarry or rest till he arrived in sight of the town which he had selected as the first place to execute his commission (comp. ver. 49). It appears, that Nahor, Abraham's brother, had later followed his father Terah from Ur of the Chaldees to Haran or Carrhæ (see p. 322), perhaps at the time when Abraham left Mesopotamia, and the aged father desired to have near him at least one of his chil-

dren; for Haran, his third son, had died before him (xi. 27—31). Abraham had, after his arrival in Canaan, remained in communication with his relatives (xxii. 20—24); therefore, the steward directed his steps at once to the "town of Nahor," or to Carrhæ, as Jacob did a considerable time later (xxviii. 10).

11—14. The servant had, in Abraham's house, passed his years in a school of piety. He had seen, that every action of life was coloured by faith; that every event was regarded as the result of Divine wisdom; that blind chance or necessity were nowhere acknowledged. He felt, therefore, that but one line of conduct was possible to him. Considering himself as a mere instrument of Providence, he committed the success of his undertaking entirely to the will of God, convinced that prudence may indeed devise, and perseverance pursue plans; but that human exertion is in vain without the blessing and protection of God. He, therefore, certainly acted with a premeditated design; he halted before the town, at the principal well belonging to it (comp. Exod. ii. 15), a place where the daughters of the inhabitants generally assembled, and whither their duties called them at certain times of the day. Even the daughters of the chiefs seldom fail to appear there with their vessels; the well or cistern is for the females what the gate is for the men; here they indulge in friendly conversation and exchange their news; here they are, for a short interval, released from much of their usual oriental restraint; and since shepherds also repair hither to water their flocks and herds, it

Abraham. 13. Behold, I stand *here* by the well of water; and the daughters of the men of the city come out to draw water: 14. And let it be, that the maiden to whom I shall say, Let down thy pitcher, I pray thee, that I may drink; and who will then say, Drink, and I shall give water to thy camels also: *let her be* she whom Thou hast appointed for Thy servant, for Isaac; and thereby I shall know that Thou hast shown kindness to my master.—15. And it happened, before he had finished speaking, that, behold, Rebekah came out, who was born to Bethuel, the

serves, in many cases, as a convenient place for meetings and appointments, and may, in others, be the scene of strife, where old feuds and enmities are brought to an issue (Exod. ii. 16, 17). Cisterns were generally closed with a large, heavy stone, which was removed by the united strength of the shepherds (xxix. 8); while excavated wells were made more easily accessible by steps leading down to them. The place where the following event happened; seems to have belonged to the latter description (ver. 16; comp. *Hom.*, *Odyss.* vii. 18—21; x. 105—108; *Il.* vi. 457).

But how could the messenger know the maidens who belonged to the family of Terah? And how could he learn their character and disposition, the qualities of their hearts and minds? Except by the assistance of God, he felt, it was impossible for him to ascertain in one interview what ordinarily requires a long and searching examination, and to be sure to bring home to his master a wife able to bestow and to enjoy happiness. He, therefore, turned his thoughts to the God of his master Abraham, and prayed that "He might send him good speed" (וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה אֲבְרָהָם; comp. xxvii. 20), or that "He might let him find" a wife worthy of Isaac; he asked this as another mark of Divine mercy, and another miracle. He determined to be guided by a kind of oracle, and asked the interposition of God, that He might put into the mouth of the chosen virgin a certain answer to a certain question. More than this the heathen servant could not expect. When Samuel was sent into the house of

Jesse to select a successor to Saul, God Himself directed his choice; He spoke to him distinctly and unmistakeably; He assisted him by the direct manifestation of His will; and when David appeared, He said: "Arise, anoint him: for this is he" (1 Sam. xvii. 6—12). But such clear and open inspiration is, according to the Biblical views, vouchsafed to favoured prophets only; though a sign was granted to the steward, either for his own sake, or on account of his master, it was only of an indirect character; and though miraculous in its result, it was perfectly natural in its mode and form; it might appear extraordinary, but it was not ordinarily impossible. This will be the better understood when the remarkable signs given to Gideon and to Hezekiah are compared with that here adopted (Judg. vi. 36—40; *Isai.* xxxviii. 7, 8; comp. 1 Sam. xiv. 9, 10; see p. 224).—The criterion by which the servant was resolved to recognize the destined bride of Isaac, was her excelling in a virtue possessing indeed a wide scope, and regarded, by the Orientals, as one of the chief characteristics of a noble mind. Ready civility towards strangers is generally the result of a generous feeling. It is a service done to a helpless fellow-man, both without an obligation as the motive, and without hope of compensation as the end. But in countries where hospitality belongs to the ordinary duties, and where it is invested with the character of a religious observance, it easily becomes a mere matter of form; it is converted into cold politeness, preserving much of the busy officious-

son of Milcah, the wife of Nahor, Abraham's brother, with her pitcher upon her shoulder. 16. And the maiden *was* very beautiful in appearance, a virgin, and a man had not known her : and she descended to the well, and filled her pitcher, and came up. 17. And the servant ran to meet her, and said, Let me, I pray thee, taste a little water of thy pitcher. 18. And she said, Drink, my lord : and she hastened and let down her pitcher upon her hand, and gave him to drink. 19. And when she had finished giving him to drink, she said, I shall draw *water* for thy camels

ness, without the genuine warmth, of the original virtue. The prudent messenger determined, therefore, to try the depth and spontaneous kindness of the maiden's heart: if she not merely complied with the request made to her, but, from her own accord, volunteered another and still greater service, he could safely draw the conclusion, that the feeling of love was with her, not simply the reflex of national customs, but the invisible sun beaming through her mind, and freely bringing forward the blossoms of sterling goodness. Whether the servant was not provided with a vessel, and whether his companions could not fetch the water, instead of burthening the girl with that onerous task, these are questions which the spirit of our narrative forbids us to ask.

15—27. Scarcely had the scheme been formed in the steward's mind, when it began to progress towards realization. A maiden approached unveiled, strikingly beautiful, with the bloom of innocence in her countenance. Quickly and actively she performed her task; "she went down to the well, filled her pitcher, and ascended." The watchful servant's attention was at once riveted upon her; and he hastened to address to her the decisive request. Her answer was more than barely satisfactory. She expressed herself with an emphasis proving the genial glow of her mind. "I will draw water for thy camels also," she said, "till they have finished drinking." She felt a delight in the performance of the task. Round the margin of the eastern wells are

watering troughs (שִׁטְחוֹת), or gutters (רִיבּוֹיִם), generally of stone, which are filled with water when animals are led thither to drink. The virgin emptied the pitcher without delay into the gutters, hastened again down to the well to fetch more water, and rested not before all the camels had drunk to satisfaction (comp. xxx. 38, 41; Exod. ii. 16). If it is remembered that camels, though endowed in an almost marvellous degree with the power of enduring thirst, drink, when an opportunity offers, an enormous quantity of water, it will be acknowledged that the trouble to which the maiden cheerfully submitted required more than ordinary patience. The steward was deeply affected; he saw his scheme advance with unexpected rapidity; the girl was not only beautiful in appearance, but active, kind-hearted, and obliging; she had completely fulfilled the oracle which he had proposed to himself: but he had forgotten one important consideration. It could not, so it occurred to him, be his master's wish to have a wife from the *land*, but from the *family* of his father (vers. 38, 40); Mesopotamia was inhabited by many tribes, which descended, like the Canaanites themselves, from Ham (x. 8—12); and which, like the latter, showed no disposition to adopt a purer religion; and Terah and his family lived in Haran only as strangers and immigrants. The messenger was, therefore, still "wondering at her in silence, to know whether the Lord had made his journey successful or not" (ver. 21). His

also, until they have finished drinking. 20. And she hastened, and emptied her pitcher into the trough, and ran again to the well to draw *water*, and drew for all his camels. 21. And the man *was* wondering at her in silence, to know whether the Lord had made his journey successful or not. 22. And when the camels had finished drinking, the man took a golden nose-ring a beka in weight, and two bracelets for her hands of ten *shekels'* weight of gold: 23. And said, Whose daughter *art* thou? tell me, I pray thee: is there room *in* thy father's house for us to stay in? 24. And she said to him, I *am* the daughter of

heart was, indeed, filled with hope; and he took, therefore, from his treasures rich golden trinkets intended for presents; but only when he heard from her own lips that she was Rebekah, the daughter of Bethuel, and the grand-child of Abraham's brother, Nahor (xxii. 23); he was certain that he had obtained the end of his mission; he gave to her the presents; and broke forth into a fervent expression of gratitude towards the God of Abraham, who had shown him "His mercy and His truth," and had so manifestly guided his steps (comp. vers. 47, 48).

Who will not dwell, with unmingled delight, upon the pleasing picture which our text draws of the faithful messenger's character? Meek and humble, he had imbibed many of the virtues which distinguished the patriarch himself; we admire the beautiful harmony of his mind and his heart; the placid dignity of his conduct; the manly energy tempered by prudence; and the confiding faith strengthened by reflection. The independent position which he enjoyed in Abraham's house, rendered this remarkable development of his character possible; and the Mosaic laws concerning servitude, were designed to preserve the servants fit to return into society as useful citizens. But "the God of heaven and of earth," on whom the patriarch relied (vers. 3, 7) was, to the steward, only the "God of his master Abraham"; the one felt and understood God, the other ac-

knowledged merely His power; the one was convinced by revelations and visions, the other was awed by miracles and signs.

Golden trinkets were abundantly used among most of the Asiatic nations from early times; and those which Abraham's servant offered to Rebekah (ver. 22) belong to the most common ornaments. The nose-ring (נִסְּרִי) chiefly, though not exclusively, worn by men, and applied by American tribes also, is inserted in the cartilage of the nose, either in the middle or in one side; it is often of considerable size, reaches generally beneath the mouth, and not always contributes to enhance the beauty of the face. It is here stated as having the weight of a *beka* (בֶּכָה) which is half a shekel, or a Greek drachm (comp. Exod. xxxviii. 26). The nose-rings worn at present by the Oriental women are often of ivory, or of gold; they are hollow to render them less inconveniently heavy, and sometimes set with jewels, mostly a ruby between two pearls (comp. Isai. iii. 21; Ezek. xvi. 12; Prov. xi. 22; *Hartmann*, *Die Hebräer*, etc., ii. 166, 292; *Winer*, *Bibl. Wört.*, ii. p. 137). — Bracelets (רִמְמָצִי) are such favourite ornaments with Oriental ladies that they are not only worn by them in an unusual quantity, but are promised by Mohammed among the rewards of piety (Kor. xviii. 30; xxxv. 30, etc.); sometimes the whole arm from the wrist of the hand to the elbow is covered with them; sometimes

Bethuel, the son of Milcah, whom she bore to Nahor. 25. And she said to him, We have both straw and provender enough, and room to stay in. 26. And the man bowed down, and prostrated himself to the Lord. 27. And he said, Blessed *be* the Lord God of my master Abraham, who hath not left destitute my master of His mercy and His truth: the Lord hath led me in the way to the house of my master's kinsmen.—28. And the maiden ran, and told these things in her mother's house. 29. And Rebekah had a brother, and his name *was* Laban: and Laban ran out to the man, to the well. 30. And when

two or more are worn one above the other; and they are not unfrequently so heavy that they almost appear to be a burden to the fair owners; two of them are here stated to have weighed ten shekels of gold; certainly a liberal present. Men also liked to adorn their wrist or upper arm with bracelets (אֲזַנְיָוָה). On the Assyrian sculptures scarcely any person of wealth or station, or even any deity, appears without them (comp. 2 Sam. i. 10). They were generally worn on one arm, and sometimes on both. Those who were unable to purchase gold or silver bracelets, contented themselves with procuring them of copper, ivory, horn, or glass. They were not always made with great skill or taste; they had not, in all cases, a lock; and often consisted merely of a large broad ring, through which the wearer forced the hand. The Egyptian bracelets, however, are in many instances, not without elegance; and those represented on the Assyrian monuments, or found in the excavations of Mesopotamia, are scarcely inferior to them either in taste or in costliness (comp. Isai. iii. 19; Ezek. xvi. 11; *Xenoph. Cyrop.*, l. iii. 2; *Plin.* xxxiii. 10; *Liv.* x. 44; *Hartmann*, Die Hebräerin, ii. 178; *Wilkinson*, Manners and Customs, iii. 374; *Bonomi*, Nin. and its Pal. p. 335).

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—אֲזַנְיָוָה (ver. 22) is here neither an ear-ring (as in xxxv. 4), for the servant put it on the nose (ver. 47); nor an ornament for the forehead, which, generally consisting of a hook or

other small object, never reaches down to the nose.—The personal pronoun אֲנִי (in ver. 27) is emphatically premised, and then repeated in the accusative as a suffix in the verb אֲנִי־נִי; comp. xlix. 8; Dent. xviii. 7; Ezek. xxxiii. 17, etc.

28—31. When Abraham's steward intimated his wish to stay in the house of Rebekah's father, the maiden, evidently rejoiced, readily replied, that their house was abundantly provided with every necessary commodity (ver. 25), and hastened home to announce the stranger. She naturally communicated her interview first to her mother Milcah, who was not slow in making the preparations for the reception of the guests. In countries where the firstborn son enjoys predominant influence in all domestic affairs, it is not surprising that he should often, on important occasions, represent his father; he is regarded with respect, and his advice is listened to with deference. He possesses already, during his father's lifetime, a part of the authority which later devolves upon him by right. Instead of Bethuel, therefore, his son Laban went out to welcome the strangers. It has, from early times, been asserted that the character of this man is, in the Biblical narrative, represented as mean and base in every respect. But an impartial examination of the text leads to a result entirely different. We cannot, indeed, have any antecedent reason to expect a monster of moral depravity in Laban. If the brother

he saw the nose-ring and the bracelets upon his sister's hands, and when he heard the words of Rebekah his sister, saying, Thus spoke the man to me; he came to the man, and, behold, he stood by the camels at the well. 31. And he said, Come, thou blessed of the Lord; wherefore dost thou stand without? and I have cleared the house, and room is for the camels.—32. And the man came into the house: and he (Laban) ungirded his camels, and gave straw and provender for the camels, and water to wash his feet, and the feet of the men who *were* with him. 33. And food was set before him: but he said, I shall not eat, until I have spoken my words. And he said, Speak. 34. And he said, I *am* Abraham's servant. 35. And the Lord hath blessed my master very much; and he is become great: and He hath given him flocks, and herds, and silver, and gold, and men-servants, and maid-servants, and camels, and asses. 36. And Sarah, my master's wife, bore a son to my master after her old age: and he hath given to him all that he hath. 37. And my master made me swear, saying, Thou shalt not take a wife to my son of the daughters of the Canaanites, in whose land I dwell: 38.

of Rebekah, the future wife of Isaac, in all relations of life were actuated by sordid motives and selfish ends, we can scarcely see a reason why Abraham should have so eagerly desired to form a matrimonial alliance with his family, and how Jacob was justified in choosing for his wife the daughter of that very man. Passing, however, to the narrative itself, we find that as soon as he heard that a stranger had arrived, he hastened towards the well (ver. 29) from a generous impulse, and without awaiting further details. Rebekah, who accompanied him on the way, only found time to inform him again that the stranger had asked the hospitality of her father's house (ver. 23); these were the only words which she had to repeat to him; for the prayer which the steward uttered to God, and in which he mentioned his master Abraham, and "the house of his master's brother" was, no

doubt, pronounced by the servant to himself beyond the hearing of Rebekah; but Laban had gone to invite the stranger even before he had been made acquainted with his request; he was, therefore, impelled by no other feeling but duty; nor is it any derogation to his character if the liberal presents which he then saw prepossessed him in favour of the guest; they were to him a proof both of his distinguished social position and of his generous mind; they were, indeed, to him a convincing sign that he was "blessed of the Lord," from whom comes every property and worldly happiness; and he addressed him with a gentle reproach for not having thought better of his hospitality, and for not having at once accompanied his sister to the house, which was open and ready to receive him and his companions (ver. 31).

32—49. When the preliminary duties of an Oriental reception were performed,

But thou shalt go to my father's house, and to my family, and take a wife to my son. 39. And I said to my master, Perhaps the woman will not follow me. 40. And he said to me, The Lord, before whom I walk, will send His angel with thee, and will make successful thy way; and thou shalt take a wife for my son of my family, and of my father's house: 41. Then shalt thou be clear from my adjuration, when thou comest to my family; and if they do not give thee *one*, thou shalt be clear from my adjuration. 42. And I came this day to the well, and said, Oh Lord God of my master Abraham, if, I pray Thee, Thou wilt make successful my way which I go: 43. Behold, I stand by the well of water, and let it be, that the virgin who cometh forth to draw *water*, and to whom I say, Give me, I pray thee, a little water of thy pitcher to drink, 44. And who will say to me, Both drink thou, and I will also draw for thy camels: *let her be* the woman whom the Lord hath appointed for my master's son. 45. And before I had finished speaking in my heart, behold, Rebekah came forth with her pitcher on her shoulder; and she descended to the well, and drew *water*: and I

and Laban invited his guests to partake of the meal speedily prepared for them, the steward, unwilling to delay the execution of his charge unnecessarily for a single moment, refused to touch food before he had stated the purpose of his journey. When Laban, yielding to his wish, consented to deviate from the usual rule of cordial hospitality, the messenger delivered himself of his commission in a narrative graced by every charm of simplicity, rivaling the most beautiful episodes of the Homeric writings, and pervaded by a healthful spirit of sustained calmness: the repetitions which it contains, are like the echo of truth; and the measured step with which it advances, carries it to its aim with enhanced dignity. Two points especially are impressed with evident force. First, the steward appears deeply moved by a sense of responsibility. He not only dwells on the promise he has made to his

master, but describes the oath with which he has confirmed it, as belonging to the awful class connected with an imprecation and curse (אָלָה; ver. 41). Abraham had merely enjoined a שְׁבִינָה; but the messenger feels it with the force of אָלָה (comp. xxvi. 28; see on Exod., pp. 352, 353). He is so agitated at this solemn thought, that he impatiently urges an immediate reply, so as to be able to turn, if necessary, without delay to some other branch of Terah's family (ver. 49). The second feature, equally prominent, is the steward's entire submission under the Divine guidance. The whole narrative bears a religious character; it is based on the principle of the direct interposition of God, from the beginning, the wealth of Abraham, down to the last reply of Rebekah (vers. 35, 47, 48); it shows emphatically the "mercy and truth" which God had manifested to him in every regard (ver. 27); and, therefore,



said to her, Let me drink, I pray thee. 46. And she hastened, and let down her pitcher from her *shoulder*, and said, Drink, and I shall give thy camels also to drink. 47. And I asked her, and said, Whose daughter *art* thou? And she said, The daughter of Bethuel, Nahor's son, whom Milcah bore to him: and I put the nose-ring in her nose, and the bracelets upon her hands. 48. And I bowed down, and prostrated myself to the Lord, and blessed the Lord God of my master Abraham, who had led me in the right way to take the daughter of my master's kinsman to his son. 49. And now, if you will do kindness and truth to my master, tell me: and if not, tell me; that I may turn to the right *hand*, or to the left.—50. And Laban and Bethuel answered and said, The thing proceedeth

in concluding his address to the parents and the brother of the maiden, he appropriately entreats them to exercise the same "mercy and truth" (ver. 49).

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—The first Hebrew word of the 33rd verse is, in the Ketib, בְּעֵינַי, as in l. 26 (comp. Judg. xii. 3); this would be the future Kal of בִּעַן, equivalent to בָּנִי, *to put, to place*, with a transitive meaning, not inappropriate in l. 26 either. If the Keri is preferred, it would be בְּעֵינַי (not בְּעֵינַי, as the masoretic reading is), the Hophal of בִּעַן, and would signify: "and there was placed before him," etc.—אֲנִי־דָן (ver. 38) is evidently parallel with יָ in ver. 4, and clearly synonymous with דָּן־יָ (Isai. lv. 10; lxx. 6; Am. iii. 7, etc.); its general meaning is, therefore, undoubted; it is the Latin *nisi*, and the phrase may be explained: thou shalt not take a wife to my son, unless thou goest to my father's house.

50—52. Bethuel and Laban enter completely into the spirit of the steward's narrative; they acknowledge in his journey the finger of God; and, submitting without hesitation to His unmistakable will, they refrain from every reflection which prudence might suggest. The expectation of Abraham was fully realized. The spark of piety which slumbered in the family of Terah was roused and kindled

by the recital of the obvious miracles, which they could not but recognise. Among those who yielded to the Divine signs, Laban is mentioned as the first. His soul cannot, therefore, have been either hardened or depraved. Easily accessible to the highest truths, he was ready to express them in words and deeds. He, further, in this domestic matter, exhibits a zeal, disclosing another laudable quality of his character. Brothers are always represented as particularly anxious to watch over the honour, and to secure the happiness, of their sisters. The brothers of Dinah resented the wrong done to her with sanguinary vehemence (Gen. xxxiv. 11, 25). Absalom could not extirpate from his heart the burning hatred against Amnon who had disgraced his sister Tamar (2 Sam. xiii.; comp. Judg. xxi. 22). In questions of marriage especially, the active interest of the brother was regarded as a duty; and indifference on such occasions was branded as a moral offence. Nor is this feeling restricted to the times and countries of polygamy, which divides the attention of the father between many diverging obligations, and leaves to the sons the care for their sisters. It is, therefore, a proof of Laban's well-regulated mind, that he took a prominent part in the arrangements regarding his sister Rebekah; and

from the Lord: we cannot speak to thee bad or good. 51. Behold, Rebekah *is* before thee, take *her*, and go, and let her be the wife of thy master's son, as the Lord hath spoken. 52. And when Abraham's servant heard their words, he prostrated himself before the Lord to the earth.— 53. And the servant took out trinkets of silver, and trinkets of gold, and garments, and gave *them* to Rebekah: and valuable *presents* he gave to her brother and to her mother. 54. And they ate and drank, he and the men who *were* with him, and they stayed over night: and they rose in the morning, and he said, Send me away to my master. 55. And her brother and her mother said, Let the maiden abide with us *a few days* or *a week of ten days*; after which she may go. 56. And he said to them, Do not delay me,

from this reason, no doubt, the text mentions his name even before that of his father Bethuel (ver. 50), and his mother Milcah (ver. 55).

53—61. When the relatives of Rebekah had consented to her alliance with Isaac, and had said to the messenger: "Behold, Rebekah is before thee, take her, and go, and let her be the wife of thy master's son"; the matter was considered as fully settled. The maiden herself was not consulted at all; the question later addressed to her was not put with a view to elicit her decision regarding the marriage, but regarding the time of her departure. We shall not attempt to distort the meaning of the text in order to deny this fact. Rebekah as well as Laban and Milcah accepted the presents of Abraham's servant; the former submitted thereby implicitly to the arrangement of the latter, and she followed the stranger into the distant land, without having ever seen her future husband. But in order to explain such remarkable conduct, we need not be satisfied with reminding the reader of the general Oriental customs, of which this narrative offers a faithful picture; we need not merely insist upon the fact, that daughters are, in the East, regarded as the property and chief wealth of the father, who disposes of them as he likes; and that they submit

to his will and authority without murmuring. These premises may deceive the historian into inferences perfectly antagonistic to the position which the Old Testament assigns to the women. It may mislead to the belief, that the Hebrew women were regarded as mere objects; and that the Hebrew wives occupied an undignified place in the household—than which nothing could be more erroneous, as we have attempted to prove on more than one occasion (see pp. 90, 115; Exod., p. 370). The very narrative of this chapter proves more than any other argument the high and even sacred importance, which was attached to the conscientious choice of a wife. It is unnecessary to prove that which every part of the text clearly proclaims. Therefore, the obvious explanation of the fact above referred to is, that Rebekah was, as much as her parents and her brother, struck with the manifest interference of God; that she likewise saw in the request of Abraham's messenger the ruling of a higher will, and that her heart was equally accessible to the truths of a purer religion. The answer: "From the Lord proceedeth the matter; we cannot speak to thee bad or good" (ver. 50), was offered in the name of Rebekah also. It was, therefore, superfluous to ask her formal consent; Bethuel and Laban, who knew her disposition and

for the Lord hath made successful my way; send me away that I may go to my master. 57. And they said, We shall call the maiden, and enquire at her mouth. 58. And they called Rebekah, and said to her, Wilt thou go with this man? And she said, I will go. 59. And they sent away Rebekah their sister, and her nurse, and Abraham's servant, and his men. 60. And they blessed Rebekah,

character, were convinced, that she would not disregard signs which they felt compelled to respect; and in other matters, not decided by the Divine interposition, they left her unrestricted freedom (ver. 57). And lest there should remain the least uncertainty, it is later expressly added, that Isaac loved Rebekah, and that he was through her consoled for the grief caused by the death of his mother (ver. 67). Thus, our tale may, at the same time, be intended to teach the lesson, that a special providence of God watches over the holy bond of matrimony, and that He always unites those destined by Him to form "one flesh," however separated they may be from one another, and however accidental the ways may appear by which they are brought into connection.

It is customary, that before the conclusion of a marriage-contract, a price (מָהָר) should be stipulated, which the young man is required to pay to the father of the bride. But as the whole transaction of the servant's mission has a perfectly spiritual character, such stipulation would have been inappropriate; for it would have made the success dependent on an external agreement, while it was to be decided by the Divine will alone. The marriage-price, therefore, is, in this case, very aptly represented by the voluntary gifts which the messenger offers to the bride and her parents, and which, though no doubt valuable and generous, were a present rather than an exacted price. Whether this circumstance also has a practical tendency; whether it hints at the propriety of abandoning the frigid and undignified custom of a marriage-price; and whether it intends to divest it at least of the mercenary sordidness into which it is apt to degenerate:

this we can rather feel than prove from the words, although it is in full harmony both with the pure spirit of this narrative, and with the enthusiastic admiration with which elsewhere a virtuous wife is praised as *priceless* (Prov. xxxi. 10; see on xxix. 13—20).

Incited to a speedy return by the rapidity with which God had made him succeed in his mission (ver. 56), the faithful steward, unwilling to indulge in inactive enjoyment, longed to announce his triumph to his master. But as it was usual to allow a certain period to elapse between the betrothal and the marriage (comp. Judg. xiv. 8), as a matter of propriety as well as of prudence, the bride was consulted, and her decision was regarded as final: and when Rebekah, revering the Divine oracle, declared her readiness to follow the messenger without delay, she was dismissed by her relations with a fervent blessing, implying a numerous, powerful, and ever-victorious progeny (comp. xxii. 17); and she departed, as it behoves the daughter of a wealthy house, accompanied by her nurse and her maids (comp. *Hom.*, *Odyss.* iv. 735).

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS. — The most plausible interpretation of the words מִיָּמִים אֵל עֶשְׂרִים (ver. 55) has been proposed by Ewald, who, mindful of the fact that some ancient tribes had a longer week of *ten days*, as others had a shorter one of *five*, explains: let the girl remain with us "a few days (יָמִים), or a week" (that is, ten days, עֶשְׂרִים; see notes on Exod., p. 190). Among the Egyptians, the months were, during some periods of their history at least, divided into three cycles, or weeks of ten days; both on hieroglyphic monuments, and in demotic writings occurs the phrase: "the first day of all the ten days,"

and said to her, Thou *art* our sister, be thou *the mother* of thousands of myriads, and let thy seed possess the gate of their enemies.—61. And Rebekah rose, and her maids; and they rode upon the camels, and followed the man: and the servant took Rebekah, and departed.—62. And Isaac came from the way of the well Lahai-roi; for he dwelt in the country of the south. 63. And Isaac went

which was celebrated with sacrifices (comp. *Uhlemann*, *Thot*, p. 224).—The form *לעשר* *decas* (analogous to *שבוע* *week*) occurs also in *Exod. xii. 3*; *Lev. xvi. 29*.—Thus, several indistinct or uncertain explanations receive a greater precision; for instance, "About ten days" (*ἡμέρας ὡς ἐπὶ δέκα*; *Sept., Gesenius*); or, "at least ten days" (*saltem decem dies*, *Vulg.*; *Tuch*). But the explanation of some ancient authorities: "a year or ten months" (*Onkel., Saad., Rashi*, etc.), is against the Hebrew usage; while others have either disregarded or altered the Hebrew text (*Cod. Sam., שְׁמִים אֶחָדִים*, etc.).

62—67. Isaac was the worthy offspring of the chosen patriarch. He ever displayed imperturbable harmony of the soul, unmoved by the greatest and dearest sacrifices; his mind was, by nature, calm and placid; modest and reserved; he was susceptible of that happiness which flows from sentiment; his heart was warm and sensitive; his piety internal and unostentatious; he inclined to reflection and prayer; his affections were strong without impetuosity; his impressions profound without exuberance. His destinies corresponded with his character. They form the exact medium between the history of Abraham and that of Jacob. He spent his life without the deeds of the one and the sufferings of the other; he was not, like either, compelled to distant wanderings; after the grand trial of his youth, the course of his life was, on the whole, calm and even. Without labour or care, he inherited a large fortune, while both his father and his son acquired property but gradually, and the latter not without laborious exertion; he obtained a pious and beautiful wife without the least per-

sonal effort, by the care of a provident father and a faithful servant, whereas, Jacob had, for the same purpose, not only to undertake a perilous journey, but to submit to a long and toilsome servitude; and though we shall soon have occasion to show many parallels in the destinies of Isaac and Abraham, the history of the former exhibits a certain pause in the progress of the narrative; it contains few new elements, and advances but little the Hebrew theocracy; its tendency is rather to secure the old ideas, than to introduce new ones; and its chief interest consists in proving how the enlightenment of Abraham had, by habit and temperament, become with Isaac an impulsive feeling; and how the acquirements of the mind had become the property of the heart.

With this character of Isaac alone the last part of this section harmonises. His thoughts were, no doubt, engaged with the messenger's journey; after the death of his mother, his heart felt a void which he longed to fill up by a sentiment equally holy and absorbing; his pensive nature indulged in meditation on this momentous point; but his happy disposition shielded him against agitating anxiety, and his piety taught him to hope. It is not impossible, that Isaac, like the messenger, had proposed to himself a certain oracle; that this is expressed in the rather obscure phrase: "he went out to meditate in the field" (*לְשׂוֹחַ בַּשָּׂדֶה*); and that the arrival of the caravan just at that moment was to him the fulfilment of the sign. It is evidently necessary to include Isaac in the same circle of religious resignation which embraces all the other persons connected with this mission, from Abraham to Laban; Isaac was personally

out to meditate in the field towards the evening : and he lifted up his eyes, and saw, and behold, camels *were* coming. 64. And Rebekah lifted up her eyes, and when she saw Isaac, she alighted from the camel. 65. And she said to the servant, Who is this man who walketh in the field to meet us? And the servant said, It is my master : and

more deeply concerned in it than all the others; he had before all to *believe* that the bride brought to him from a foreign land would really sympathise with his own feelings; and that she was selected for him by the immediate interposition of God: a *sign* was, therefore, naturally expected by him with, at least, the same justice as by the servant of his father.

It is an eastern custom, prevalent in many parts to this day, that women, when riding on the road, and meeting strange men, descend from their animals, as a mark of respect offered to the stronger sex. European travellers have frequently been the objects of such salutations. The conduct of Rebekah is, therefore, in no way extraordinary, if we but translate correctly: "she alighted from the camel" (וַתֵּרֶד; see *infra*). When Rebekah heard from the servant that her future husband was approaching towards them, "she took the veil and covered herself." It is evident, from this context, that her application of the veil stands in some necessary connection with the presence of Isaac; and we find this connection easily in the well-known eastern custom, that the bride is, on the day of marriage, brought veiled to her bridegroom, a custom which alone explains the possibility of Laban's deception practised on Jacob (xxix. 25). Nor must we forget that the class of eastern out-door veils here mentioned (מַעֲלָה) does not, like others in common use, merely cover the face, but, like a kind of large wrapper, nearly the whole form, rendering it impossible to recognise the person (xxxviii. 14, 15); while the veils worn in the house, resemble much those of our age and country, forming a part of the head-dress, and usually thrown back. Another sort of veil, common in Egypt

and Syria, and represented even on very ancient Asiatic monuments, commences beneath the eyes and falls down over the greater part of the body; but it is uncertain whether the Hebrews applied it, and still more, whether it is expressed by the word מַעֲלָה, since the exact interpretation of the Hebrew words regarding this part of the female dress is very precarious (מַעֲלָה, מַעֲלָה, etc.; comp. Isai. iii. 19, 23; Cant. iv. 1, 3; vi. 7; see *Schrader*, *Vestit. mul.* p. 368; *Hartmann*, *Die Hebräerin*, etc., ii. 316, 334, 428; *Jahn*, *Archæol.* I. ii. 130). The material of the veils varied from the coarsest to the finest and most exquisite texture; and a suitable veil was among the costliest articles with which brides were necessarily furnished by their parents. It is clear, from our passage, and from many others, that among the Hebrews unmarried ladies appeared publicly without a veil (ver. 16, comp. xii. 14, 15); even married women did not veil themselves before strangers in their own houses; but, out of doors, the latter probably took the veil as conscientiously as it is at present deemed indispensable by all Eastern ladies of honour and virtue (comp. 1 Corinth. xi. 5, 6; Koran, xxxiii. 56). It may, however, be inferred from our text (ver. 65), that even married ladies, when travelling, were not always scrupulous in the application of the veil; for it is certain that Rebekah regarded herself as the lawful wife of Isaac from the moment that her parents had expressed their consent. — It appears that Abraham had, in the mean time, changed his abode; he had left Hebron, and pitched his tents more southward, near that celebrated well which had become sacred to him by the Divine appearance here granted to Hagar (xvi. 14;

she took the veil, and covered herself. 66. And the servant told Isaac all things that he had done. 67. And Isaac brought her into his mother Sarah's tent, and took Rebekah, and she became his wife; and he loved her: and Isaac was comforted after his mother's *death*.

comp. xxv. 11); this change must have taken place before the departure of the messenger, who, otherwise, would not have come so far southward on his return from Mesopotamia. — When Isaac heard the wonderful history of that journey, his heart, spontaneously inclining to the softer feelings, considered Rebekah as the wife assigned to him by the manifest will of God; he loved her with a double affection; and for the first time, after the death of his mother, after three mournful and solitary years, joy re-entered his bosom.

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—Isaac went out לָשׁוּחַ בַּשָּׂדֶה (ver. 63). It is adapted both to the character of Isaac, and to the context, to render these latter words: "to meditate in the field." Nor is the usage of the word שָׁוֹחַ unfavourable to this acceptance. It occurs not unfrequently in exactly the same or a nearly synonymous meaning; compare Psalm lxxvii. 7 (עָם לִבִּי אֲשִׁיחַ); cv. 2; cxix. 27, 48; Prov. vi. 22; Job xii. 8, etc. The ancient versions render it, with great unanimity, in the same sense. Sept. ἀδελεισχῆσαι; Vulg. *ad meditandum*; Onk., Samarit., Saad., Kimchi, *to pray* (comp. Tanchuma, ad שָׁוֹחַ, p. 28; Ps. cxlii. 3). Only let it not be thought, that the "medi-

tations" of Isaac referred to his agricultural affairs, or to the improvement of his nomadic property; but, in greater harmony with the spirit of our chapter, let it be understood of Isaac's pious reflection and expectation regarding the issue of the servant's mission. — Thus the explanations "to converse" or "to deliberate with others" (ὁμιλῆσαι, λαλῆσαι, Aq., Sym.) are not appropriate; though they are certainly more acceptable than the opinion that שָׁוֹחַ means here *to walk about* (Syr., *Ebn Ezra*), or the hazardous conjecture of Gesenius, who, in order to obtain this latter sense, proposes to read לָשׁוּחַ בַּשָּׂדֶה (comp. Job i. 7) against all authority of the manuscripts (see Thesaur. p. 1322). — Rebekah *alighted* from her camel (ver. 64); for נָצַל is used in this sense; comp. 2 Kings v. 21; see 1 Sam. xxv. 23; Sept. κατεπήδησεν; Vulgate, *descendit*. — The ה locale is in הָאָרֶץ (ver. 67) affixed to the *status constructus*, as in יָמָה עֵינִי (Exod. x. 19); and the article is placed before the first substantive as in הָאֵל בְּיָתָאֵל (xxx. 13, see note there). — That this beautiful narrative is the exclusive composition of the Jehovist, needs scarcely to be remarked.

## CHAPTER XXV.

**SUMMARY.**—Abraham, after having become the father of six sons from Keturah, and having sent them away with presents eastward, died in the 175th year of his life, and was buried by Isaac and Ishmael in the cave of Machpelah (vers. 1—11). — Ishmael begat twelve sons, who became the progenitors of as many tribes of the mixed Arabs, and died at the age of 137 years (vers. 12—18). — After a barrenness of twenty years, Rebekah gave birth to twins, Esau and Jacob, of whom a Divine oracle predicted that the younger would rule over the elder; and, in fact, Esau, who became a wild huntsman, sold to Jacob, a nomadic shepherd, his birth-right for the trifling compensation of a pottage of lentiles (vers. 19—34).

1. And Abraham took again a wife, and her name was

1—4. There existed among the Hebrews the tradition that certain tribes of Arabia were connected with them by descent and close relationship. This po-

**Keturah.** 2. And she bore him Zimran, and Jokshan, and Medan, and Midian, and Ishbak, and Shuah. 3. And Jokshan begat Sheba, and Dedan. And the sons of Dedan

pular belief, no doubt based on a genuine historical reminiscence, is embodied in the offspring here attributed to Abraham, and born to him by a subordinate wife, Keturah. Accustomed as we are to the Biblical mode of representing ethnographic relations by means of genealogies, we can find no difficulty in the insertion itself of this list. But a great perplexity arises from the circumstance, that it contains names elsewhere introduced in perfectly different connections. For Sheba and Dedan, here traced to Abraham, and mentioned as the sons of Jokshan, are in the great catalogue of nations (x. 7) enumerated among the Cushites and described as the sons of Raamah. We have on former occasions noticed, and attempted to account for, this seeming discrepancy; nor do we believe this matter hopelessly involved in confusion. The following remarks may assist in arriving at a conclusion:—1. The universal list of nations itself acknowledges that a part of the Sabæans were Shemites; for it includes them among the thirteen tribes descended from Joktan, who is likewise a son of Eber, and is regarded as the ancestor of the chief stock of the population inhabiting the Arabian peninsula (x. 28). How they could be introduced both as Cushites and as Joktanites has been explained in its proper place (see p. 251). 2. These earlier Sabæans, connected with Shem by only four intermediate links, namely, Arphaxad, Salah, Eber, and Joktan (x. 24, 25), were believed to have later received a considerable increase from descendants of Abraham, who, settling in the districts of Sabæa, were gradually also called Sabæans, although their later origin was not forgotten, and is here strikingly represented by the circumstance that Sheba was not the son of Abraham, but connected with him only through Jokshan. In the lists of Genesis, the tribes are sometimes desig-

nated according to their local rather than their genealogical relations (see p. 237). 3. In a similar manner we may understand the introduction of Dedan among the Abrahamites, though he had before been mentioned as the grandson of Cask (x. 7). The abodes of the Dedanites were, moreover, so comprehensive, and centred round two districts so different in many respects that the supposition of a double population of different descent is both natural and plausible (see p. 252).—Thus we may uphold the agreement between the various genealogical notices; it is unnecessary to regard Jokshan and Joktan as identical, by which assumption the difficulties would not be materially lessened; and we must admit, that the theory on which these lists are based is historically not improbable. This conclusion is confirmed by a remarkable circumstance to which we shall presently have occasion to refer (see p. 477).—We are enabled to ascertain the identity of but very few of the descendants of Keturah.

*Zimran* (זִמְרָן) has been regarded to coincide with *Zimri* (זִמְרִי, Jerem. xxv. 25); and the latter to be identical with *Zabram* of Ptolemy, a town between Mecca and Medinah. But in that passage of Jeremiah, *Zimri* is mentioned in connection with *Elam* and *Media*; and it is clearly distinguished from Arabia (ver. 24), where our *Zimran* must necessarily be sought. It is, therefore, certainly not the Ethiopian district of *Zimiris* (*Plin.* xxxvi. 21; *Hitzig, Lengerke*), but it may refer to the *Zamereni*, a tribe in the interior of Arabia (*Plin.* vi. 32; *Grotius*).

The tribes of *Jokshan* (יֶזְעָן) seem to have received the name from the predatory habits in which they prominently indulged (from זָעַן to lay snares, to waylay; *Pa.* cxli. 9; *Isai.* xxix. 21). However, a portion of them seems to have engaged in the more honest and less adventurous pursuits of commerce, joining

were Asshurim, and Letushim, and Leummim. 4. And the sons of Midian, Ephah, and Epher, and Enoch, and Abidah, and Eldaah. All these *were* the children of

the older nations of Sheba and Dedan, settling within their territories and adopting their mode of life; and hence Sheba and Dedan are represented as the sons of Jokshan. The descendants of Dedan, the Asshurim, Letushim, and Leummim, are unknown; unless we identify the latter with the Allumeoti (Ἀλλουμαῖοι) in the central part of Yemen (*Ptol.* vi. 7).

Although the form *Medanim* is used instead of *Midianim* (Gen. xxxvii. 28, 36), it does not follow that both nations are everywhere identical; it is certain that, in our passage, Medan (מִדְּאָן) and Midian (מִדְּיָן) are regarded as the ancestors of two different tribes, which may, indeed, have been allied with each other so closely, both by descent and abodes, that it is impossible for us exactly to define the habitations of the less important of the two, the Medanim. But the territory and character of the Midianites are sufficiently known; they were both commercial and warlike, nomadic and agricultural; lived partly in the peninsula of Mount Sinai and partly in the East of the Jordan, near the land of the Moabites; and as they were early engaged in a very extensive caravan trade between Syria, Arabia, and Egypt, they are sometimes called Ishmaelites, who, being the chief masters of the commerce of the desert gave the name to the Arabian merchants generally (xxxvii. 26, 28, 36; Judg. vii. 12; viii. 24, 28; comp. Comm. on Exod. p. 33).—Among the descendants of Midian is *Ephah* (עִפְּהָ) elsewhere also mentioned as carrying on a flourishing trade, and particularly rich in camels which enabled them to entertain their commercial relations with Sabæa (Isai. lx. 6).—The other names, Epher, Enoch, Abidah, and Eldaah, can as little be ascertained as—

*Ishbak* (יִשְׁבָּק), except, perhaps, that the etymology seems to allude to a wan-

dering, unsettled people (from פָּשַׁע to abandon, to leave; comp. Matt. xxvii. 46, and Ps. xxli. 2; Dan. iv. 12).

*Skuah* (שְׁכֻא) is the tribe to which Bildad, one of the three friends of Job, belonged, and which must, therefore, have resided near the territory of Uz (Job ii. 11; viii. 1, etc.; see p. 285). Hence the district may be identical with Sakkæa (Σακκαία) in the east of Batanæa (*Ptol.* v. 15). Other, less probable, opinions are enumerated by Roediger (*Gesenius*, Thesaur. p. 1377).

The great age of Abraham has long before been emphatically urged (xxiv. 1); about forty years previous to the period to which this portion seems to refer, he had felt the debility of advancing years approach (xvii. 17), and the birth of Isaac was considered a miracle, beyond the natural order of events (xviii. 11), since Abraham, exhausted in strength, seemed to verge to the grave (Hebr. xi. 12). It has, therefore, been deemed incredible, that the patriarch should, after Sarah's death, have become the father of six other children, as it is certainly not the intention of the Hebrew historian to represent the ancestors of the Arabic tribes as born by a Divine miracle. The usual manner of explaining this difficulty is by supposing that, in reality, those children, though born long before, are now only mentioned, because, if inserted in an earlier place, they would have interrupted the continuity of the narrative. This conjecture is in itself not objectionable, though the Ishmaelites might have been appropriately enumerated after xxi. 21. But it would be at variance with the principle of monogamy everywhere rigidly adhered to in the history of the patriarchs (see on Exod., p. 480); and though Keturah, like Hagar, was only a secondary wife (שְׁנִיָּה, ver. 5; 1 Chron. i. 32; see p. 451), Abraham took her (ver. 1); she was not, like the latter, given to him by his lawful wife (xvi. 2, 3). It may, therefore, be supposed



Keturah.—5. And Abraham gave all that he had to Isaac. 6. And to the sons of the concubines whom Abraham had, Abraham gave gifts, and sent them away from Isaac his son while he yet lived, eastward, to the land in the east.— 7. And these *are* the days of the years of Abraham's life which he lived, a hundred and seventy-five years. 8. And Abraham expired, and died in a good old age, and full of *years*; and he was gathered to his people. 9. And his sons Isaac and Ishmael buried him in the cave of Machpelah, in the field of Ephron, the son of Zohar, the Hittite, which *is* before Mamre; 10. The field which Abraham had purchased of the sons of Heth: there was Abraham buried, and Sarah his wife. 11. And after the death of Abraham, God blessed his son Isaac; and Isaac dwelt by the well Lahai-roi.

that, according to the author, it was only the patriarch's matrimony with Sarah which was not blessed with offspring, and required the direct intervention of God, while he was generally not destitute of the power of generation, as was proved by the birth of Ishmael from Hagar. As God predestines the couples (p. 470), and as children are a gift of His favour (Ps. cxxvii. 3): the want of progeny does not affect the indissolubility of the matrimonial bond (comp. 1 Sam. i. 8).

5, 6. But though Abraham begot more children after Sarah's death, he did not forget the superior rights of her son Isaac, born by the love and grace of God, his only lawful heir, because intended to propagate truth and faith. And as a mark of the higher dignity of his posterity, and as a symbol that to them belonged the promised land, he received all the wealth of his father, while the other brothers were dismissed with presents into the eastern regions, to seek new abodes, and to found separate communities.

7—11. Though Abraham lived to see the birth of twin grand-children (ver. 26), the text relates his death in this place, in order to prepare the way for the connected narrative of Isaac's life.—Filial affection united once more the two eldest sons of Abraham; the wild and ungovernable Ishmael left for a short time the solitude of his deserts, and joined the gentler Isaac in paying the last debt of love to their father; the duty of conveying the relative safely and solemnly to his eternal resting-place is, especially among eastern nations, regarded as imperative and most sacred; and one generation later, we shall again see two brothers, scarcely less different in character, harmoniously unite in fulfilling the same mournful obligation (xxxv. 29).—The blessing of God descended, by right of inheritance, upon Isaac; and immediately after his father's death, he felt the gloriousness of his mission by the abundance of his privileges.—About the phrase, "He was gathered to his people" (ver. 8), see p. 369.

## II.—THE HISTORY OF ISHMAEL AND ISAAC.

### CHAPTERS XXV. 12 TO XXVIII. 9.

12. And these *are* the generations of Ishmael, Abraham's son, whom Hagar the Egyptian, Sarah's handmaid, bore

**12—18.** The traditions of the Arabians invariably insist upon the distinction of three successive elements of their population. They hand down the memory of a primeval race, which comprised many heroic and powerful tribes (as those of Ad, Thamud, Jadis, and others); which was long extolled in song for its marvellous feats, commanding wealth, and daring designs; but which became extinct at a very early period, partly by the wrath of the gods, and partly by the invasion of other warlike nations. The new immigrants were the direct descendants of Kachtan (who corresponds with the Joktan of Scripture), and called themselves "the Arabs of the Arabs," a certain proud denomination, describing the nobility and purity of their origin (comp. Phil. iii. 5). Through Yarab and Jorham, the sons of Kachtan, they became the founders of the principal and most powerful kingdoms of the peninsula, especially those of Yemen and Hejaz. But later, twelve other tribes, the descendants of Ishmael and a daughter of Modad, king of Hejaz, are asserted to have partly joined the pure Arabs, and partly occupied the vast deserted tracts of Arabia and of the northern districts. These Ishmaelites, both on account of their later origin, and of their descent from a foreign father, were tolerated rather than acknowledged, and were called the *mixed Arabs* (Mostarabi; see p. 381). Now, it appears, that the Biblical statements regarding the population of Arabia, entirely coincide with those national traditions. The first and oldest tribes may correspond with those enumerated among the Cushites (in x. 7); the pure Arabs are the Shemitic descendants of Joktan (x. 26—29); and the mixed tribes are both the Ishmaelites here mentioned, and the other Abrahamites, traced to Keturah as their mother (v. 1—4). So much is certain, that the

Ishmaelites are, in our chapter also, carefully separated from the other inhabitants of Arabia, and none of their tribes is connected with another ancestry. This significant fact adds considerably to the historical value of the Biblical genealogies.—In the province of Hadramaut, ruins have been discovered, called Nakab-al-Hajar (excavation in the rock), with inscriptions in characters supposed to be those of the Himyaritic dialect, which has a greater resemblance to Hebrew and Syriac than to Arabic, offers many analogies with both Ethiopic dialects (the Ghyz and the Amharik), and is said to be still spoken by some mountain tribes, the *Ehkili* (freemen), in the south-eastern part of the peninsula (compare Pococke, Specim. Hist. Arab.; Hottinger, Histor. Orient., p. 210; D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient., p. 501; Cousin de Perceval, Essai sur l'Histoire des Arabes; Prichard, Phys. Hist. of Mankind, iv. 588; Forster, Historic. Geogr. of Arabia; Wellsted, Journ. of the Geogr. Soc. vii. 20; Narrative of a Journey to the Ruins of Nakab-al-Hajar).

Among the Ishmaelites, the first and by far the most powerful, are the **NABATÆANS**, who are represented by Ishmael's eldest son NEBAJOTH (נֶבְאִיֹּת: Ναβαϊοι). They belong to the few remarkable tribes of Arabia which have passed through a historical development, and offer epochs of progress and decline. It appears, that they originally applied themselves chiefly to breeding of cattle; "the rams of Nebajoth" are mentioned as offerings acceptable in the temple (Isai. lx. 7); they preserved long this simplicity of life; they are described, by Diodorus Siculus, as inhabiting tents in a vast desert tract without streams or fountains; they then had no houses, neither did they cultivate the soil; they watched with anxious jealousy over the preservation of their traditional customs; their

to Abraham: 13. And these *are* the names of the sons of Ishmael, by their names, according to their generations:

chief wealth consisted in an abundance of horses, camels, and sheep; the principal articles of their food were flesh and milk, besides the free vegetable and other produce of the country, of which they esteemed especially pepper and wild honey; their districts brought forth most of the southern fruits, except the olive; they worshipped the sun, to which they offered daily sacrifices; they were famous for prudence in the arrangement of their domestic affairs; prodigality and carelessness were punished by the state, while economical and circumspect individuals who increased their property were rewarded; habits of industry were, therefore, eminently fostered; indolence existed in so limited a degree that they had among them very few slaves; even wealthy families served themselves, or offered their services to each other; a love of liberty was thus naturally engendered. Although they had a monarchical government, the king was responsible for his conduct, and might at any time be called to account by the people; their sovereigns bore usually the names of Aretas or Obodas; they were assisted by a vizier or chief minister (*ἐπίτροπος*), who was called "the king's brother"; to obey a foreign power was regarded by them as more disastrous than annihilation; and they exerted their intelligence efficiently to defy the attacks of conquerors. For this purpose, they built an almost impregnable town, *Petra* (*Πέτρα*), in one of the rockiest parts of the chain of Mount Seir; this is probably the Biblical *Selah* (2 Kings xiv. 7; Isai. xvi. 1), also called *Arke* or *Arkem* (*Joseph.*, *Antiq.* IV. iv. 7), or *Rakem* (*Euseb.*; comp. *Numb.* xxxi. 8); in the present Wady Musa, 300 stadia south of the Dead Sea, and 98 Roman miles north of the Elanitic Gulf, overtopped by the memorable double-peaked Mount Hor, on which Aaron died, but which is only seen from the eastern side of the town. It lies between rugged cliffs of red sandstone, and rocky ravines of 50 to 250 feet in height, surrounded by barren and streamless deserts, but less

obstructed by the rocks in the north and south. The plain in which it is situated, and which seems wrung from the mountain, is only about one mile square, but is sufficiently watered; the breadth of the valley of Wady Musa varies from 150 to 12 feet, and is in some parts so overhung by cliffs that the rays of the sun cannot penetrate. Through this ravine, about a mile in length, was formerly the only avenue to the town; and that access was the work of human hands. It contains piles of mounds, with columns and pyramids in various styles of architecture. Behind this necropolis, a bold arch connects the two sides of the ravine. Along the valley flows the little river Wady Musa; its bed was formerly paved; several bridges were constructed over it; its sides were enclosed with stone quays; in the rainy season, it is augmented by two smaller streams coming from the gorges of the northern mountain; and it supplied the town with water through many small canals. Into this fortress of Petra, the Nabataeans brought their wives, children, aged people, and their cattle, whenever a hostile invasion threatened; and for their own defence and safety they planned a device which always proved successful. In the most sterile part of the dreary desert, they dug vast subterranean water-reservoirs, with very narrow mouths, which could easily be stopped and concealed, while the interior gradually widened to the dimensions of a hundred feet square. Into these regions they marched at the approach of the enemies, who, exasperated by thirst, either suffered immense losses, or hastened to return. But gradually the Nabataeans applied themselves to commerce also; they imported especially incense and spices from Arabia Felix, and disposed of them lucratively in the marts of the Mediterranean, for instance, at Rhinocolura (El Arish); and the port Leuke Kome (*Λευκή Κόμη*), which belonged to Petra, and was situated near Elath, on the Elanitic Gulf, facilitated their speculations and transactions.—It appears

the firstborn of Ishmael, Nebajoth; and Kedar, and Ad-beel, and Mibsam, 14. And Mishma, and Dumah, and

from the Assyrian monuments, that Sen-nacherib attacked the nomadic portion of them, and carried off an enormous amount of horses and camels, oxen and sheep (see p. 291; comp. *Layard*, *Nin. and Bab.* p. 141). But the first serious danger, more fully recorded by profane writers, threatened them at the end of the fourth century before the present era. Antigonus, king of Syria (in *B.C.* 312), sent his general Athenæus against them with 4,000 light-armed troops, and 600 cavalry. When this commander approached, the greater part of the Nabatæans were assembled at a fair, annually held for commercial purposes in the interior of the land. Athenæus, therefore, suddenly attacked Petra at night, killed a great number of the people, and carried away very considerable booty in frankincense, myrrh, and silver. The Nabatæans, speedily informed of the disaster, met the hostile army, and routed it almost completely. A second expedition of the Syrians, under Demetrius, was unsuccessful in consequence of the prudent preparations made by the Nabatæans when informed of the contemplated invasion. — But the ancestral habits imperceptibly changed; commerce produced wealth, and wealth engendered luxury and immoderate ambition; sumptuousness succeeded the primitive simplicity; at last, in the time of Alexander's successors, no longer content with the slow gains of trading, and tempted by their indomitable courage, they attacked, as pirates, the merchant vessels which passed through the Elanitic Gulf. Thus, the peaceful shepherd tribes had degenerated into lawless robbers, whose audacity it was necessary to curb and to punish by repeated expeditions. It appears, however, that those checks had the salutary effect of leading them back to more honest pursuits; and though the new channels of trade opened through Egypt increased the competition and imposed the necessity of greater exertions, they regained wealth and respect by their commercial industry. They showed friendship and lent assist-

ance to Judas and Jonathan Maccabæus, whose full confidence they enjoyed (*B.C.* 163, 161). About the beginning of the present era the Greek philosopher, Athenodorus, who stayed some time in Petra, spoke with admiration of the harmony and unity in which they lived, of their excellent laws, and the readiness with which they are obeyed. They long maintained their independence, in spite of many struggles; though Pompey sent from Syria an army against them and defeated them, they were not materially weakened (*Joseph. Antiq.* XIV. iii. 3; vi. 4); an expedition, in the time of Augustus, under Ælius Gallus, governor of Egypt, was without decided effect; but they were subdued, in the reign of the emperor Trajan (105 after Christ), by Cornelius Palma, the governor of Syria. But Petra remained one of the chief centres of Arabian trade. Trajan's successor, Hadrian, seems to have bestowed material benefits upon the town, which in grateful acknowledgement, was called by his name (*Ἀδριάνη*), on coins, some of which have been preserved (*Eckhel*, *Doctr. Num.* ii. 503). More caravans than ever before traversed the vast desert. Under the protection of Roman garrisons unwonted security was afforded to commercial enterprise; the roads became more accessible and invited foreign traders; regular routes of caravans were formed; from Elath, or Leuke Kome, the harbour at the Elanitic Gulf, one road ran to Petra; another from this metropolis to Jerusalem, Gaza, and along the coast of the Mediterranean; and a third from the same point more directly northward to Damascus. On all these lines, especially along the eastern frontier of Arabia Petræa, towns sprang up, embellished by the increasing wealth of the inhabitants, and still exciting admiration in their colossal ruins. It was, no doubt, during this period that Petra was adorned with those magnificent architectural works which render that town one of

Massa, 15. Hadad, and Tema, Jetur, Naphish, and Kedemah: 16. These *are* the sons of Ishmael, and these *are*

singular interest for the antiquarian and the traveller. The tombs in the ravine leading to the city to which we have above alluded, then received their comparatively modern additions of Ionic columns and other Roman-Greek ornaments; in another ravine-like but broader valley is that astounding structure *El-Khuzneh*, probably used as a temple, one of the wonders of the east, the façade of which consists of "two rows of six columns over one another, with statues between, with capitals and sculptured pediments, the upper one of which is divided by a little round temple crowned with an urn." This edifice shines still in all the freshness of colour, and attracts notice by the elaborate detail of sculptural ornament; but its interior is merely a lofty hall, with a chamber on each of its three sides. Behind the *El-Khuzneh* the eye is struck by many beautiful and varied façades, leading to apartments excavated in the cliffs, used either as tombs, or as temples, and later, as churches; but in a wider part of the valley, on its left side, is the splendid Greek theatre, entirely hewn out of the rock, 120 feet in diameter at the base, with more than thirty rows of seats, in the native rock red and purple alternately, and holding upwards of 3,000 spectators, surrounded with tombs, and overgrown, on the sides, with the wild fig-tree and the tamarisk. In the ancient site of Petra itself, every variety of ruins, of streets, houses, temples, and palaces, bespeaks the vanished glory of a town once splendid and wealthy; "the palace of Pharaoh" (*Kasr Faron*); the isolated column likewise bearing the name of the Egyptian monarch (*Zub Faron*), and indicating the former site of a large pillared temple; the remains of triumphal arches; the colossal columns of a depraved Corinthian or Doric order, hewn out of the solid rock, and still forming part of the native mass; and majestic colonnades, giving the whole base of the mountain the appearance of a vast pile of grand archi-

itecture. Astounding and almost numberless excavations are everywhere wrought in the front of the mountain, in its ravines and recesses, and even in the precipitous rocks around it, in many cases one rising over the other, and sometimes several hundred feet above the level of the valley, with steps cut in the solid rocks; some widely conspicuous, others hidden in the most inaccessible cliffs. These excavations shine in all the magic of variegated, though not uniformly bright, colours, equalling in softness those of flowers, or of the plumage of birds, and exhibiting a gorgeous crimson, streaked with purple, and often intermixed, ribbon-like, with yellow and blue; they are of the most various dimensions, and serve the most manifold purposes. Some are small niches, perhaps intended for votive offerings; others are designed for tombs and exhibit an endless variety in size, workmanship, and style: they consist of spacious chambers with recesses, sometimes near the ceiling, at the height of eight or ten feet, and often adorned, in the front, with architectural embellishments of astonishing richness and striking beauty. The cloister (*deir*) at the north-western extremity of the cliffs, also hewn out of the rock, with a most splendid façade, and a vast urn on the summit, is accessible through a long and tortuous ravine, by a path, five or six feet broad, and steps cut in the stone with immense exertion; is surrounded by ruins; covered with inscriptions in the Sinaitic character, crosses, and figures of the wild goat or ibex, indicating its sacred character; but rather modern in effect. All this engages and deserves the research of the historian. — That Petra is identical with Kadesh is not probable. — Long was the Roman power prevalent in these districts, which, in the fourth century, were included under the general name of Palestine, or separately known as *Palestina Tertia*, or *Salutaris*; but when, in consequence of confusion and anarchy, the

their names by their villages and by their tents; twelve princes according to their nations. 17. And these *are* the

dominion of the Romans declined, the safety and regularity of Arabian commerce were again endangered; plunder and vexation were rife; the Bedouins obtained unrestrained sway; for many centuries the name of the Nabateans disappears from the annals of history; a bishop of Petra, Theodorus, is indeed mentioned so late as the year 536, when he attended the council of Jerusalem; but the town was destroyed in the time of Mohammed; and was re-visited, for the first time, by some crusaders, and a few single adventurous travellers; till recent explorers, Seetzen and Burckhardt, Robinson and Laborde, and others, made us again familiar with a tribe, not only distinguished by commerce and agriculture, but long excelling in poetry and music.—The northern part of the valley contained, no doubt, the greater number of the houses which, however, formed a striking contrast with the public edifices; for they were for the most part mean and frail; hence but few traces at present indicate their former existence; of some, indeed, a kind of substruction has remained; while the site of others is discernible only by the broken pottery which covers the surface; the houses themselves having crumbled away; the very rubbish having been washed down by the mountain torrents which often ravage the plain; and even the rocks themselves constantly mouldering away.

The extent of the territory inhabited by the Nabateans is very differently stated by various ancient writers; but the following reconciliation may be attempted. As long as they applied themselves simply to pastoral pursuits, they seem to have lived chiefly in the south and south-east of Palestine, in or near the districts of the Edomites. Their close and early connection with the latter is recognised in the book of Genesis itself; for Esau is represented as marrying the sister of Nebajoth, Mahalath or Bashemath (xxviii. 9; xxxvii. 3); and hence we may explain the fact that Pe-

tra, or Sela (שֵׁלָא), during a certain period, either belonged or was considered as belonging to Idumæa; for Amaziah, king of Judah, "slew of Edom, in the valley of Salt, ten thousand, and took Sela by war" (2 Kings xiv. 7; comp. Isai. xvi. 1; xlii. 11). As their herds and flocks increased, they wandered more and more southward, till they joined very near the abodes of the Kedrei (קֶדְרִי), with whom they are, indeed, mentioned together not only by Isaiah (lx. 7) but by Pliny (v. 12). The attacks to which their increasing wealth exposed them, rendered the building of the fortified town, Petra, necessary, where, in time of danger, the defenceless part of their population could be kept in safety. This town received a still greater importance when they began to engage in trade and to accumulate vast property. It is but natural that their commercial activity should have led them still more southward to the coast of the Red Sea, to the centres of the transit trade from India, Arabia, and Egypt; and thus they gradually obtained power at the head of the Elanitic Gulf, with Leuke Kome as their harbour, from where the goods were brought northward to Petra. Hence Diodorus Siculus places them on the Lainites Sinus, a bay of the Elanitic Gulf; and assigns to them many villages, both on the coast and in the interior; and Strabo mentions them in the same southern districts; but adds, that they spread northward into Arabia Petraea, where Petra was recognised as their capital (xvi. 779). Since their caravans traversed many districts beyond their immediate habitations, they were imperceptibly induced either to settle, or to wander with their cattle, more northward; and thus we find, that a three days' journey south of the Jordan, brought Judas Maccabæus into their territory (*Joseph. Antiq. XII. viii. 3; 1 Macc. v. 24, et seq.*); they had then spread to the provinces of Gilead, and some of them lived near Bozrah and Karnaim. But their

years of the life of Ishmael, a hundred and thirty-seven

progress seems, at that time, to have been retarded by the Idumæans, their kinsmen, against whom Judas Maccabæus found it necessary to undertake a most sanguinary war (*Joseph.*, *Antiq.*, XII. viii. 1; 1 *Macc.* v. 3). This appears to have had the effect of causing a conciliation between the Idumæans and Nabatæans; for it is testified not only by Josephus (*Antiq.* XIV. ii. 3; viii. 3, 4), but by Strabo (*xvi.* 760), that those Idumæans from whom Herod sprang were called Nabatæana. Now they extended their abodes more and more to the north and the east; and hence Pliny (*vi.* 32) mentions them as contiguous to the Scenite Arabs, of whom they formed a very important part. As they increased in influence, no doubt other, less powerful, tribes joined them to enjoy their protection, and all were of course known under the common name of Nabatæans; and thus it is explicable that both Josephus (*Antiq.* I. xiii. 4) and Jerome (on our passage) relate, that they lived from the Euphrates to the Red Sea. Nabat is, in fact, on the one hand, still the name of a swampy district, forming a part of the "marshes of the Chaldæans" (*palustria Chaldææ*), between Wasith and Basra; and, on the other hand, a town Nabat occurs two days south of El-Haura, near the Red Sea. But the former circumstance cannot induce us to adopt the theory (first proposed by Quatremère), that the Nabatæans were by origin not Ishmaelites, but Aramæans, and that they are identical with the Chaldæans; which opinion, though arrived at by ingenious deductions and inferences, is based on doubtful Arabic authorities of a later date, and cannot be accepted in preference to the very ancient genealogies of Genesis, the remarkable correctness of which is more and more proved by every advance of ethnographic science. But after their subjugation by the Romans under Trajan, the Nabatæans were gradually repelled from the more northern and eastern territories; and therefore Ptolemy describes

the kingdom of Arabia Petrea as bounded on the east by the desert, on the west by Egypt, on the north by Palestine and part of the Roman province of Syria, and extending southward to the Elanitic Gulf—which seem, indeed, for the greater part of their history, to have been the boundaries within which they lived (comp. *Died. Sic.* ii. 48; iii. 43; *xix.* 94 *et seq.*; *Strabo* *xvi.* 760, 767, 777 *et seq.*; *xvii.* 803; *Plin.* v. 12; vi. 32; *xii.* 27; *Dion Cass.* *lxxviii.* 14; *lxxv.* 1, 2; *Eutrop.* *viii.* 18; *Rehnd.* *Palæst.* 926; *Burckhardt*, *Travels in Syria*, p. 432, with *Leake's* Preface, vii—ix; *Robinson*, *Bibl. Res.* i. 211, 430; ii. 512 *et seq.*; *Irby and Mangley*, *Travels*, ch. viii.; *Laborde*, *Voyage en Arab. Petr.*; *Forster*, *Geogr. of Arab.* i. 214; *Quatremère*, *Mémoire sur les Nabatéens*; *Stanley*, *Sin. and Pal.*, pp. 88—99; *Ritter*, *Erdkunde* *xii.* 111—140; *Winer*, *Bibl. Wörterb.*, ii. 129, 446; *Kitto*, *Cyclop.* ii. pp. 403, 512, 723; *Smith*, *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Geogr.* ii. 392, 563).

The second tribe of the Ishmaelites is KEDAR (קֶדָר). It is described as a distant people (*Jer.* ii. 10), in the remote south, in opposition to the Moechi (מֹעֲכִי), one of the most northern nations (*Ps.* *cxv.* 5; *Is.* *xlvi.* 11; see pp. 245, 246). But they roamed to the Red Sea, the confines of Arabia Petrea, and, like the Nabatæans, in connection with whom they are mentioned both by Biblical and profane writers, they extended in the east and north partly to Arabia Felix, and partly to the territory of Chaldæa (comp. *Euseb.*, sub *Μαβάρ*; *Steph. Ryz.*, sub *Κεδάρων*; *Theodor.*, ad *Ps.* *cxv.*). For this reason, no doubt, Kedar was later used for the whole of Arabia; Ezekiel speaks of "Arabia and all the princes of Kedar" (*xxvii.* 21); Jonathan renders Kedar in our passage, and the Targum in the 120th Psalm, by Arabia and the Arabians (אֲרָבִיָּה וְאַרְבִּיָּי); and the Rabbins call the Arabian language the "tongue of Kedar" (לְשׁוֹן קֶדָר). The Kedarites are characterized as a nation inhabiting dark-coloured tents (*Ps.* *cxv.* 5; *Cant.* i. 5); famous for their cattle, and

years; and he expired and died; and was gathered to his

providing the market of Tyre with sheep and goats (Ezek. xxvii. 21); as traversing the desert with their camels, and reputed for great wealth and prosperity (Isai. xxi. 16); as a nation long unmolested by invaders, dwelling in security, "without gates and bars," in solitary tracts, safe by their undaunted valour and their far-famed skill in archery (Isai. xxi. 17): but at last, attacked by the armies of Nebuchadnezzar, and suffering fearful devastation (Jer. xlix. 28—33). — The Kedarites, no doubt the Kedrei of Pliny (v. 19), have, by modern writers, been identified with the nation of Harb, in the northern part of the district of Hadjra, where a town *Kedeyre* is still found (*Forster*, Arab. i. 75, 234, *et seq.*).

The etymology of the name *MISSAM* (מִסָּם) seems to point to a district abounding in the balsam-tree and spices in general (מִסָּם), either in Arabia Felix, or other parts of the peninsula (comp. *Prosp. Alpin.*, *Rer. Eg.* iii. 15), and that of *MISHMA* (מִשְׁמָה) to some minor or dependent tribe (comp. Isai. xi. 3).

It is at present agreed, that *DUMAH* (דּוּמָה) is represented by the fortified place still called "the rocky or Syrian Dumah" (in contradistinction to Dumah in Irak), between the Syrian Desert and Arabia Proper (according to Abulfeda, sub 65° long., 31° latit.; and in D'Anville's map, sub 58° long., 29½° lat.), in the province of Nedshed, about six days journey from Damascus, and about double that distance from Medinah, and mentioned by Ptolemy (v. 19) as *Dumaiitha* (Δουμαίθα; see *Gesen.*, *Thes.*, p. 327). Whether that Dumah again which the prophecy in Isai. xxi. 11 is directed, is the same as that here intended, or whether it is not rather an Idumean district, must be left doubtful.

*MASSA* (מַסָּה) may be identical with the *Masani* (Μασαίνοι) of Ptolemy (v. 19) in Arabia Deserta. The conjectures of Hitzig regarding Dumah and Massah, appear to me based on deductions too problematical to be convincing (comp. *Wiener, Bibl. Wört.* ii. 742).

The district of *TEMA* (תֵּמָה) lay in the

south of the Idumæans, and was the natural refuge of the latter in times of danger (Isai. xxi. 14). It is sometimes coupled with Dedan (Isai., *loc. cit.*; Jer. xxv. 23), and sometimes with Sheba (Job vi. 19), and, like the latter, described as carrying on lively commerce through the caravans of the desert. A trace of the ancient abodes of this tribe may perhaps be found in the little castellum *Thaima* (Θαίμα), mentioned by Ptolemy (v. 19), near the border of the Syrian desert (long. 71°, lat. 27°); and, according to Seetzen, a few miles east of the town Heddidshe, which lies on the caravan-road between Damascus and Mecca, a three days' journey distant from Medinah. *Tema* (תֵּמָה) is, no doubt, different from *Teman* (תִּמָּן), which belonged to the territory of the Edomites (see on xxxvi. 11, 15), although the Hebrew words תִּמָּן and תֵּמָה may etymologically be identical, as Gesenius has endeavoured to prove in a very plausible manner (*Thes.*, p. 600), so that both would point to "a land of the south," or an arid, deserted

region (comp. the Arabic تيماء *desert*).

*JETUR* (יֶטוּר) is undoubtedly the province in the east of the Jordan, later called *Ituræa* (Luke iii. 1), and still traceable in the present *Jedur*, containing about twenty inhabited villages; for the two tribes and a half of the Hebrews there domiciled, were under the necessity of carrying on war against them (1 Chron. v. 19). The *Ituræans* were indeed formidable, not only by their skilful use of the bow, but by their audacious rapacity, as robbers and way-layers lurking in wait for the pilgrim and the merchant, while they themselves generally eluded the pursuit of their enemies in their innumerable native caverns and ravines. But a great portion of them, defeated by king Aristobulus (B.C. 100), were compelled to submit to the rite of circumcision (*Joseph.*, *Antiq.* XIII. xi. 3); and though temporarily regaining their independence, they suffered repeated defeats from the Roman legions, and were, under the emperor Claudius, incorporated



people. 18. And they dwelt from Havilah to Shur, which is in the east of Egypt, towards Assyria: *his lot* was cast in the presence of all his brethren.

19. And these are the generations of Isaac, Abraham's

in the province of Syria (compare *Tacit.*, *Annal.* xii. 23; *Dion Cass.*, liz. 12). Ituræa was bounded, in the west, by the heights of Mount Hermon; in the east, by the province of Auranitis; in the north, by the territory of Damascus; and in the south, by Gaulonitis and Bashan. But, like the names of many of the more powerful tribes, Ituræa was, by later writers, used to designate other and much wider districts, not only including Gaulonitis and Auranitis, but comprising the whole region in the north-east of Palestine; whence it is sometimes designated as lying in Cœlesyria, or on the Lebanon, or as adjoining the tracts of Arabia Deserta. It is, of course, impossible to decide whether the province Ituræa was, during the whole period to which we have alluded, inhabited by the original descendants of Jetur, who gave the name to the district, or whether it was, in the course of time, occupied by different tribes, while the Ituræans, expelled or emigrating, sought new abodes in other regions equally congenial to their tastes and pursuits (comp. *Strabo* xvi. 753, *et seq.*; *Plin.* v. 19; *Appian*, *Mithr.* 106; *Cicer.*, *Phil.* ii. 24; *Virg.*, *Georg.* ii. 448; *Mannert*, *Geogr.* VI. i. 313; *Münter*, *De Rebus Ituræorum*; *Ritter*, *Erdk.* XV. ii. 354—357, 899).

The other tribes descended from Ishmael, the HADAD (הַדָּד, not הָדָד), NAPHISH (נָפִישׁ), and KEDMAH (קֶדְמָה), have as yet not been identified.

It is generally known, that the Arabs are, according to their mode of life, divided into two chief classes: those of towns or villages, and those of the deserts, or the "dwellers in the tents"; the latter, of course nomadic in their habits, are the Bedouins and *Scenitæ*. It is not improbable, that these two different classes are alluded to in the words: "by their villages and by their tents" (ver. 16, בְּחֵצְרֵיהֶם, ובִּטְרֵיהֶם). The roaming Bedouins regard

the agricultural population with a certain contempt as slaves of toil and drudgery; they seldom cultivate the land which they may have inherited or won by their valour; but rent it out for a fixed annual sum to peasants subordinated to them in a kind of vassalage. Their tents, of goats' or camels' hair, or coarse woollen stuff, and seldom or never of linen, of a brown or black colour, supported by poles from three to nine in number, and fastened to the ground by ropes and pegs, are sometimes circular, but more frequently of an oblong shape, about 6 to 10 feet high in the middle, 20 to 30 long, and 10 broad. The interior is, by curtains, divided into two parts, the inner one of which is allotted to the women, though wealthy persons provide separate tents for their wives (xxiv. 67); and not unfrequently a third division is added for the reception of the young and tender cattle, or, in greater households, for the servants. If the Bedouins encamp, they arrange their tents in an irregular circle, within which the cattle are kept during the night, and in the centre of which stand the tents of the emir or sheikh (comp. *Plin.* ii. 56; vi. 32; *Cant.* i. 5; *Exod.* xxxv. 18).—Each tribe is presided over by a chief or prince (נָשִׂיא, ver. 16; Sept., ἀρχων). The dignity, though in most cases hereditary in certain families, is elective with regard to individuals. It does not confer very great or distinguished privileges, and the only means by which the emir can maintain his authority, are superior valour, generosity, and justice. If he shows himself deficient in these virtues, he is abandoned, and replaced by a successor.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—חֵצֵר (ver. 16, from חָצַר to hedge in, to enclose) is here the village or town of the Arabs who live in settled abodes, and are agriculturists; Sept. *ἑκαυλις* (comp. *Lev.* xxv. 31; *Josh.* xiii. 23; *Isai.* xlii. 11).—Though טִיבָה

son: Abraham begat Isaac: 20. And Isaac was forty years old when he took Rebekah to wife, the daughter of Bethuel the Aramæan, of Padan-Aram, the sister of Laban the Aramæan.—21. And Isaac entreated the Lord for his

(from *חָסַר* to surround) is sometimes used for habitation in general (1 Chron. vi. 39), it is employed in contradistinction to *לָרַח* (Numb. xxxi. 10), or with reference to the nomadic camps of the Arabs (Ezek. xxv. 4), or in parallelism with *אֹהֶל* tent (Ps. lxix. 26).—The two lists of the descendants of Keturah (vers. 1—4) and of Ishmael (vers. 12—18), are the natural continuation of the former genealogies of the *Elohist*, especially of xxii. 20—24; xi. 10—32, etc.—The abodes of the Bedouins are described to have extended “from Havilah to Shur, which is in the east of Egypt” (ver. 18); this seems to have been the ordinary phrase for denoting the vast territories from the Euphrates and the Persian Gulf to the borders of Egypt; for it is also used with reference to the Amalekites, whom Saul is reported to have defeated “from Havilah to Shur” (1 Sam. xv. 7; comp. xxvii. 8). About Havilah, see p. 93; about Shur, on Exod., p. 280; and about the wide tracts traversed by the Bedouins in general, pp. 379, 380. — The verb *נָפַל*, in ver. 18 (*עַל פְּנֵי כָל אֶחָיו נָפַל*), does not signify, “to occupy with force,” or to “invade” (the passage, Judg. vii. 12, is not parallel with ours); but it is evidently synonymous with *שָׁכַן* “to dwell, to cast one’s lot,” in xvi. 12 (*עַל פְּנֵי כָל אֶחָיו יִשְׁכֹּן*), and corresponding with the first word of the verse (*וַיִּשְׁכֶּן*); comp. Ps. xvi. 6; Sept. *κατῴκησε*.

19, 20. The history of the first founder of the Hebrew nation has been brought to a close; though his life reaches considerably beyond the events immediately succeeding, his demise has been recorded; he left the scene, in order to allow his son, the heir of the Divine promises, greater prominence, and a fuller scope: with Isaac, therefore, the narrative assumes another phase, rises to a new and higher interest; and in order to indicate this epoch in the history of patriarchal development, the text commences with the characteristic

heading: “These are the generations (*תּוֹלְדוֹת*) of Isaac, Abraham’s son.” As genealogies were the primitive form of historical tradition, it is natural that the word signifying genealogy or generation (*תּוֹלְדָה*), should have assumed the meaning of history; the former was originally the substance, and remained always the groundwork, of the latter (see p. 235). Less educated minds will always be more interested by persons than by events; all beginnings of history are epical, till imperceptibly, by a greater culture of mental powers, the abstract facts themselves are viewed as active agencies, endowed with life and individuality, and acknowledged to represent the working of the Universal Mind.—The commencement of a perfectly new section is, further, marked by the comprehensiveness with which some anterior facts are repeated: that Isaac took to wife Rebekah; that the latter was the daughter of Bethuel; that she was born in “the plain of Aramæa” (*פְּדִן אַרְם*; see p. 285); and that she was Laban’s sister. These reiterations, natural in themselves, far from causing difficulty, are in harmony not only with the style of the Bible, but of ancient historiography in general; and are, in this instance, not without a positive gain; for they add the valuable chronological fact, that Isaac was forty years old when he married Rebekah; a statement of decided importance for the exact understanding of several circumstances connected with Isaac’s history.

21—26. For his matrimony remained long without an offspring; during nearly twenty years, he had in vain hoped for the realisation of his wishes (ver. 26); he saw in his own life a repetition of the trials to which his father had been submitted; and he was required, like him, to display unwavering faith and confidence that he would increase into a mighty nation. After the lapse of that protracted period only he

wife, because she *was* barren : and the Lord was prevailed upon by his entreaties, and Rebekah his wife conceived. 22. And the children struggled together within her; and she said, If *it is* so, wherefore do I live? And she went to enquire of the Lord. 23. And the Lord said to her,

addressed a fervent prayer to God: then only he urged his own wish against the will of God; he had not ceased to believe; his supplication was the natural impulse of an afflicted heart; and as he expected his progeny from God alone, he thereby acknowledged the great fundamental truth, which had been embodied in the sacred covenant concluded with Abraham, and which implies so many virtues of a modest and pious mind. Significantly, therefore, our text adds after: "Isaac entreated the Lord" (וַיִּתְפַּלֵּל); with the same phrase, "the Lord was prevailed upon by his entreaties" (וַיִּשְׁמָע לְוִי); the sons of Isaac were a gift of God; and they were, by the father, acknowledged as such. To make these two important and necessary facts the more strikingly obvious, the interval of twenty years and the prayer of Isaac were necessary.

The hostility of the Edomites and Hebrews dates from the very beginning of their national existence. When the Israelites, on their wanderings from Egypt to Canaan, had reached the territory of the Edomites, they asked in vain for permission to pass through their territory; though they promised to abstain from every act of violence, to pay for all the wants they might require, and to perform their journey on the ordinary public roads (Numb. xx. 14—21). Not only was their request haughtily rejected, but a strong army of the Edomites marched out to oppose them. Their enmity grew with the advancing generations; wars were almost continually carried on between both nations; the Edomites were alternately subjected and free; till, in the time of the destruction of the first temple, they displayed the most inveterate hatred and the most ungenerous jealousy (see

*infra*). And yet the near ethnological affinity of both nations could not be denied; it was acknowledged by the Hebrew people, and was ratified by the Hebrew lawgiver; the former addressed the Edomites always in the most brotherly terms (Numb. xx. 14; Deut. xxiii. 9); and the latter facilitated their admission into the sacred community of Israel by express injunctions (Deut. xxiii. 10). The unnatural animosity between two tribes so nearly akin is represented in the history of the birth of their respective founders. Their enmity commences even before they are fully developed and capable of seeing the light of the day. Their blind antagonism threatens destruction to each other. The tormented mother, in the agony of her grief and pain, breaks forth in a passionate exclamation; with a vehemence characteristic to her nature, she utters an imprecation against her life, and against the conception for which so fervent prayers had been offered up. Seeing no human issue in this dangerous position, she again turns to God to learn His will and His design. But a prayer was this time not sufficient; she desired not merely a release from her pains, but she wished to know their end and meaning; she was convinced that the extraordinary symptoms felt by her prophetically pointed to important future events. By her long sojourn in Isaac's house, she was still more strengthened in her firm reliance in a universal rule of Providence; and she was, above all, certain of God's especial care for the seed of Abraham; she went, therefore, "to enquire of the Lord" (לְדַרְשׁ אֶת־יְיָ). The meaning of this phrase can scarcely be doubtful in this place. In most passages in which it occurs, it is clearly explained to imply an appeal to the prophet: "when

Two nations *are* in thy womb,  
 And two peoples will be separated from thy bowels;  
 And people shall be stronger than people,  
 And the elder shall serve the younger.  
 24. And when her days to be delivered were fulfilled,

a man went to enquire of God, he spoke thus, Come and let us go to the seer (חֹזֵן), for a Prophet (נָבִי) was originally called a Seer (1 Sam. ix. 9; see 2 Kings iii. 11; viii. 8). Now, Abraham had before been designated a prophet (נָבִי, xx. 7), and had formed the intermediate link between God and man (xx. 17); and nothing is, therefore, more natural, than that the Hebrew author intended to intimate that Rebekah enquired of God through Abraham, the prophet, her father-in-law, who still survived, and was, no doubt, awaiting with intense anxiety the birth of a grandson from Isaac. It is, therefore, unnecessary to suppose that she addressed herself to the Teraphim (xxx. 19); and it would be unwarrantable to assume, that an oracle through the Urim and Thummin is here, by a strange anachronism, heedlessly introduced.—The answer of God, communicated to Rebekah in a solemn form, and possessing all the beautiful characteristics of poetical prophecy, fully explained the remarkable state which caused her uneasiness and apprehension; for it informed her that she was about to give birth to the founders of two mighty nations, who, unequal in power, would be divided in rivalry and antagonism from their youth; and that the descendants of the older son would be subjected to those of the younger.—This prediction, fully satisfying Rebekah, sank deep into her heart; nor was it long before it began to realise itself. She became the mother of twins. The first son might have been repulsive to her by his external appearance, for he was "red, all over like a hairy garment." This strange circumstance was to her, no doubt, a foreboding of the animal violence of his character; it implied at once a proof that he would pos-

sess superior strength, but that he would deserve to obey rather than to govern; and he received, accordingly, the name Esau (עֵשָׂו), the hairy man. The second son "took hold of Esau's heel" (כָּפַז), and his name was hence called Jacob" (יַעֲקֹב). This is certainly the sense of the words, which we are not permitted to modify by an explanation designed to remove a supposed impropriety, or suggested by the physical difficulties which it involves. This is the less permitted as there exists a striking parallel in the case of Acrisius and Priestus, who, according to Apollodorus, "contended against each other when still in the mother's womb" (Bibl. ii. 2; κατὰ γαστρός μὲν ἔτι ὄντες ἰσχυρίζοντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους). It is impossible, to the historical critic, to deny facts or to distort conceptions plainly expressed in the text; and we have, in this instance, the additional testimony of the prophet Hosea, who adverts to this tradition in nearly the same terms (xii. 4, יָחִי אֶת אֶבְרָם בְּבֶטֶן). But it is a perfectly different thing to question the truth of a legend, and to search after its origin; the latter task is as legitimate as it is important; and, in this case, it leads to a very satisfactory result. The name of the father of the twelve tribes was, undoubtedly known to have been Jacob (יַעֲקֹב); but this appellation, if taken in its obvious etymological meaning, implies a deep ignominy; for the root from which it is derived (כָּפַז) signifies *to deceive, to defraud*; and in such despicable meaning the same form of the word is indeed used elsewhere (Jer. ix. 3). Jacob would, therefore, be nothing else but the crafty impostor; in this sense, Esau, in the heat of his animosity, in fact, clearly explains the word: "justly is his name called Jacob (cheat) because he has cheated me twice" (xxvii.

then, behold, *there were* twins in her womb. 25. And the first came out red, all over like a hairy cloak, and they

36); which exclamation, moreover, proves that the name Jacob was not given to him by Esau in his anger, nor was derived from his later cunning conduct in the house of Laban; but that it belonged to him from his birth. Now, if we reflect on the reason why he could then have been called Jacob (יַעֲקֹב), we are, indeed, led to the root יָכַב, heel; the verb יָכַב would naturally mean, "to be on the heel of somebody," that is, to follow him; so that יַעֲקֹב would simply signify, "he who follows," or the *second* son; just as in Latin *secundus* is derived from *sequor*. Thus understood, a clearer light is thrown on another passage, connected with the same appellation; the angel of God said to Jacob: "thy name shall no more be called *Jacob* (the second), but *Israel*, for thou hast obtained the mastery (יָשַׁבְתָּ) with God and man, and hast prevailed"; that is, thou art now the *first* or the highest in rank (xxxii. 29). But though this appears to have been the original meaning of Jacob, the name was later understood, on the one hand, more literally, as in our text, and in Hosea; and, on the other hand, more figuratively, as in the words of Esau (xxvii. 36); while the narrative of this chapter, no doubt, originated in the desire of graphically representing the fact concerning the early contentions between the two kindred nations; and whatever the modern reader may think of the form in which this fact has been embodied, he will at least not fail to perceive and to appreciate the manifold historical allusions which it implies. For, as we have observed, the conflict began even before the Israelites reached Palestine (Numb. xx., xxi.; Judg. xi. 17); from this time, the Edomites were regarded with suspicion; and when Saul undertook an expedition around the boundaries of the Holy Land, to check the doubtful nations, he included the land of Edom in his operations (1 Sam. xiv. 47); but this seems to have excited rather than pacified the nation; for David, during six months, carried on a most sanguinary war

against them with the whole army of Israel; and in order to keep them in submission, he was compelled to place garrisons in every part of the territory (2 Sam. viii. 14; 1 Kings xi. 15, 16; Ps. lx. 2, 10; comp. Numb. xxiv. 18). But in Solomon's time already, Hadad, from the royal house of Edom, appears to have caused a revolution, or at least endangered the possession of the land (1 Kings xi. 14—22, 25); and the harbour which that king opened at Ezion-geber, near Elath, at the Red Sea, seems to have served at once a political and military purpose (1 Kings ix. 26). After the division of the empire, Edom remained subject to Judah; though a stadtholder, even then bearing the name of king of Edom, was the chief of the country; he was the general in war; and was, no doubt, selected from the principal families of the Edomites (1 Kings xxii. 48; 2 Kings iii. 9, 12; viii. 20; Am. ii. 1, etc.). But the memory of their former independence lived among them; they waited for an opportunity to break their fetters; in the times of Joram (a.c. 890), they accomplished their design; they proclaimed their own king; the campaign which the king of Judah undertook against them, was unsuccessful; and they maintained their independence during a long period (2 Ki. viii. 20—22). They were, indeed, attacked and defeated by king Amaziah (a.c. 838; 2 Kings xiv. 7); his successor Uzziah (a.c. 809) gained Elath (2 Kings xiv. 22); but this town was shortly afterwards taken from the Hebrews by the Syrians (2 Kings xvi. 6); the Edomites invaded Judæa, under Ahas (a.c. 741); enjoyed, no doubt, complete liberty; till, like most of their neighbours, they fell a prey to the marvellous progress of the Chaldean despots (Jer. xxvii. 3, 6). The indelible enmity of the Idumæans against the Hebrews outlived, however, their own subjection, and the destruction of Jerusalem; it raged in unabated violence in the time of the Maccabees, and the period of the Roman invasion; even at that period, they are still

called his name Esau. 26. And after that his brother came out, and his hand took hold of Esau's heel; and his

described as a turbulent and rude nation, always meditating commotions, rejoicing in convulsions and changes, ever ready to seize arms, and hastening into battles as to feasts (*Josephus*, Bell. Jud. IV. iv. 1). These facts suffice to show the truth of the statement contained in our text, that "the one people was stronger than the other people; and that the elder served the younger"; but they prove also the correctness of the remark, later made with regard to Esau, that "when he had the power, he broke the yoke from his neck" (xxvii. 40): which, no doubt, refers to the permanent deliverance in the time of Joram.

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—לָנֶכַח (ver. 21), originally *before* (xxx. 38), signifies here obviously *for*; both notions are kindred, and are, therefore, in several languages expressed by the same or similar words (German *vor* and *für*; Greek *ἀντί*). The same metaphor seems to have been employed with the synonymous term לָנֶגֶד (see Neh. xi. 22); and still more clearly with לְפָנָי (about or near, and *for*; Exod. viii. 24). The various attempts to explain here literally the *local* meaning of לָנֶכַח are futile (for instance, that Isaac prayed opposite Rebekah; or placing himself before her; or "cum eam cognoscebat"!.)—The elliptical phrase: אָמַן כֵּן לִמָּה זֶה אֲנִי (ver. 22), can have no other sense but: "If so (that is, if I am to suffer such excruciating and almost fatal pain), why do I exist?" (or, what is the end and advantage of my life?). This exclamation is, therefore, very similar to the impatient and vehement remark later uttered by Rebekah: "I am weary of my life (קָצַיִת בְּחַיִּי) on account of the daughters of Heth ...; of what avail is life to me?" (לְמָה לִּי חַיִּים) (xxvii. 46). זֶה is added to לִמָּה, to enhance the emphasis of the question (comp. xviii. 13); as in כֹּה זֶה (xxvii. 20), זֶה אֵל (Esth. vii. 5); comp. עֲתָה זֶה, Ruth ii. 7.—The other explanations proposed seem less appropriate; for instance, "if so, why am I *with child*?" (Sept.; Vulg.; *Rashi*; which could not be

expressed in Hebrew by זֶה אֲנִי); or, "if so (that is, if I am indeed to be blessed with children), why do I suffer this?" (what signifies the strange trial to which I am exposed? *Ebn Ezra*; *Schumann*; *Mauv-rer*).—Although וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה sometimes signifies to *pray* (Ps. xxxiv. 5; 2 Chron. xvi. 12, etc.), it has, in this passage (ver. 22), evidently the meaning of *consulting* God (see *supra*); and so Sept., *ἐπορεύθη δὲ πρὸς θεοῦ παρὰ Κυρίου*; Vulg., *per-rexitque ut consularet Dominum*, etc. But Jonathan renders, לְמַעַן רַחֲמִין בְּנִי קֶדֶם. —The parallelism in the prophecy given to Rebekah (ver. 23) is not synonymous, but synthetic or progressive (see on Exod. p. 261); the four members do not contain *two* ideas, each of them expressed in a double form, but four different ideas or historical facts; namely: 1. The Edomites and Hebrews descend from the same race (שְׁנֵי גֵוִים בְּבִטְנִי); 2. But their hostility begins at the very earliest stage of their existence; they separate themselves from the mother's womb (שְׁנֵי לֵאמִים מִטֶּעֶן); 3. For some time, they struggle about the superiority; the Edomites will temporarily be stronger than the Israelites, which is historically undeniable from the obstacles which the former successfully opposed to the latter on their march to Canaan (וְלֹא אֶמְלֹא יֹאמֵן); 4. But at last, the Israelites prevail over the Edomites, and force upon them the yoke of their sovereignty (וְיִרְבַּע יַעֲקֹב צִעִיר). Thus understood, the oracle has greater power, and a more emphatical meaning.—צִעִיר is the younger (xliii. 33; Job xxxii. 6), רַב the older one (Job xxxii. 9).—חֲלָמִים (ver. 24) instead of תְּלֻמִּים; as שְׁלֵחָה instead of שְׁאֵלְהָה (1 Sam. i. 17; comp. Ps. cvi. 15).—מִדְּרַת שֶׁשֶּׁר is the "fur-cloak," which, in later times, belonged to the distinguishing garments of the prophets (Zechar. xiii. 4; *Rashi* from מִדְּרַת *to be great*, Exod. xv. 11: "an ample robe"). The Sept. (*ὡς ἐν δορὰ δασύς*), Vulg. (*totus in morem pellis hispidus*), *Ebn Ezra*, and others, connect less probably כָּלּוּ with שֶׁשֶּׁר, whereas undoubt-

name was called Jacob: and Isaac *was* sixty years old when he begat them.—27. And the boys grew: and Esau understood the chase, a man of the field; and Jacob *was* a righteous man, dwelling in tents. 28. And Isaac loved

edly אֶדְרָת שֶׁר forms one notion (*Onkel.*: כְּלִיחַ כְּנָלִים וְשֶׁר). Mountain forests and rugged steppes overgrown with irregular vegetation, are compared with a hairy (שֶׁר) surface; hence, the district chiefly inhabited by the Edomites, is called "the mountain-land of Seir" (הָר שֶׁר, see p. 352); and, hence, the founder of that people is represented as having the "appearance of a hairy garment" (xxvii. 11). A synonym for שֶׁר is עָשָׂו; for in Arabic

عشو means hairy, rugged; and عشو

long hair; and הָר עָשָׂו is used instead of הָר שֶׁר (Obad. 8, 9, 19, 21). As יֵלֶד (in Kal) is employed with reference to the father also (iv. 18), the construction אִתָּם בְּלִדְתָם has no difficulty; and it is unnecessary to render: "Isaac was sixty years old when *she* bare them (*Onkel.*; Engl. Vers.); or, "when they were born" (*Ewald, Gram.*, § 558).

27—34. The more Esau and Jacob advanced towards manhood, the more striking became the difference of their characters. The former liked a life of excitement, adventure, and danger, as a huntsman, in the wilds and on the mountains; the other inclined to a calm, retired existence, as a harmless shepherd, in nomadic tents. But the text, obviously in opposition to the character of Esau, adds, that Jacob was an "upright man" (אִישׁ יָשָׁר). Though it is thereby not intimated that the bold feats of the chase are in themselves objectionable or immoral; yet the pensive tranquillity favoured by a pastoral life was, in every respect, more congenial to the Hebrew character; it was to this side that its sympathies verged; such pursuits were deemed more favourable for the development of the inner man; and hence, if Jacob embraced them with deliberate choice, they were to the Hebrew historian a certain guarantee of a serious and well-directed mind (see p.

355). However, Isaac was very strongly attached to Esau; he loved him as his firstborn son, on whom the blessing of Abraham would naturally descend, and through whom the great future would be realised. He could scarcely imagine that the preference was intended for the younger brother. Although he himself was a second son, he was the only one born by Abraham's lawful wife; no such difference existed in the case of Esau and Jacob; and as the former seemed to be an obedient and dutiful son, there was the less cause to suspect that he was to be deprived of his due rights. But Rebekah entertained a predilection for the youngest son, whose gentler disposition gained her sympathy, and to whom the prophecy, more faithfully remembered by her, had assigned the superior dignity. But then an incident happened, almost indifferent in itself, but eminently calculated to disclose the nature and character of the two brothers. It is significant by its very insignificance. Jacob had cooked a dish of lentiles, when Esau, just returned from the field, hungry and exhausted, asked for some of the pottage. Jacob, desirous to profit by Esau's greediness, requested him to cede to himself the birthright, as the eldest son. Esau, careless and unreflecting, intent merely upon the gratification of the momentary appetite, ennobled by no lofty prospects into the future, living only for himself, and seeking no glory or immortal fame; not perceiving the holy thread which connects time and eternity; feeling himself a fragment, a mystery, a perishable object; Esau exclaimed: "Behold, I shall soon die, and what profit is this birthright to me?" (comp. Is. xxii. 13). Jacob, wishing to secure for ever the advantage which might later be reclaimed by his brother, urged him to confirm the cession by an oath. Esau consented; and by the solemn ratification acknowledged, that

Esau, because he ate of *his* venison: and Rebekah loved Jacob. 29. And Jacob cooked lentiles: and Esau came from the field, and he *was* tired: 30. And Esau said to Jacob, Let me devour, I pray thee, of that red, red *pot-*

it was not merely in an unguarded moment of weakness that he gave up his birthright; but because — he despised it. Every part of the transaction is important. The picture, though of small compass, is executed with precision, and with touches distinctly and strongly marked. It is clear beyond a doubt, that Esau's character is designedly described not only with disdain and reproof, but even with a certain irony and ridicule; it is, indeed, a humorous and jovial trait, to compare his hairy body to a "fur-cloak"; he returns from the chase breathless, sees a dish of lentiles, and in his voracity demands "to devour of that red, red thing"; the predominance of his animal nature is portrayed with a conscious emphasis; insensible to all higher aspirations, he deems it scarcely worth his while to think about the birthright; and when he has satisfied his wild appetite, he is, in conclusion, introduced with an obvious accumulation of verbs certain to produce a jocular effect: "and so he ate, and drank, and rose, and went away, and despised the birthright." It would be idle to contend, that all this merely describes the simplicity, straightforwardness, or *naïveté* of Esau's mind; qualities as amiable and heartwinning, as Esau's grossness and rusticity are odious and repulsive. These latter traits, clearly intended in the text, fully agree with the national character of the Edomites: a people mostly living in rocky, mountainous tracts; obtaining a scanty subsistence from the gain of their bow; at every moment exposed to risk their lives for nothing more than a meal to satisfy their hunger; during long periods insocial and uncivilized; dreaded but not respected; betraying in their very appearance the savage recklessness of their character; wild, indomitable, and dangerous like the Bedouins, without their generous qualities; despising the ties of relationship, and disregarding the bonds

of nature; such a people could not, as regards their origin, be described with more masterly skill than is done in our text.

But, on the other hand, Jacob's character is represented with no less propriety and accuracy. We cannot but acknowledge, that the insidious cunning with which he acquired the birthright, is a feature which the Hebrew writer intended to condemn and to denounce; it was the consciousness of guilt and injustice which induced Jacob to require a path from Esau; and a remembrance of this fraudulent act urged the latter, when in a more sober disposition, to explain his name as meaning deceiver and defrauder (xxvii. 36). This latter circumstance removes every doubt; the manner in which Jacob here acted, was branded by the author as immoral and despicable. But though the means were base, the feeling which actuated him, was as praiseworthy and pious, as his aim was pure and sublime. There lived in Jacob a longing to become the propagator of that truth, which Isaac had received from his father; and to spread those blessings which were promised through him to all the nations in the fulness of time. This desire was either engendered or enhanced by the oracle which his mother had received before his birth. So far, he was the worthy descendant of Abraham. But his mind lacked the grand resignation of the latter; he possessed not that abundance of faith which teaches to wait and to be resigned; he intended to work by human prudence into the hands of Providence; forgetting, that, though born the second son, he might, by the mercy of God, be *elected* to be the first (Mal. i. 2, 3; Rom. ix. 10—14). His thoughts were still impetuous and worldly; and a long and severe school of sorrows was required to educate and to purify him.

Lentiles (לְחֵמֶיךָ; *Ervum lens*) were and are extensively and carefully grown in



*tage*: for I *am* tired: therefore his name was called Edom [the Red]. 31. And Jacob said, Sell me to-day thy birthright. 32. And Esau said, Behold, I *am* going to

Egypt, Palestine, and Syria (2 Sam. xvii. 28; xxiii. 11); those of Egypt were, at a later period, particularly famous; and the manner of cooking them is even immortalised on monuments (*Virg.* Georg. i. 228; *Déscrip. de l'Egypt.* xvii. 73; xix. 65; *Wilkinson*, Anc. Egypt. ii. 387). They are not only used as a pottage, but in times of scarcity, and more generally by the poor, they are baked into bread, either alone or mixed with barley (*ἀπὸς φάκιος*; *Ezek.* iv. 9; *Athen.* iv. 158; *Sonnini*, Trav. ii. 390). Lentiles and rice, boiled in equal quantities, form still one of the favourite dishes in many parts of the East. When cooked, they are of a yellowish brown colour, approaching to red; some species, growing on a red soil, have this colour naturally (*Plin.*, Hist. Nat. xviii. 12): and hence Esau, in his haste, calls the dish simply the *red one* (*φαινεύδιον*; *Diog. Laert.* vii. 3; *Celsius*, Hierob. ii. 103). The fact, that lentiles were among the cheapest and most common articles of vegetable food, enhances the force and point of our narrative. The privileges which the birthright legally confers; the double portion of the father's property; the higher authority in the family; the greater social influence; all these advantages, in this instance enhanced by spiritual blessings as their most precious accompaniment, could have no value for one who regarded his existence merely as the transitory play of an hour; and who was indifferent to the esteem of others, because he had not risen to understand the dignity of mankind. If we were to expect a historical allusion in this fact also, the probable supposition offers itself, that indeed the Edomites, who were masters of the wide tracts from the Red Sea along the whole mountain of Seir, up to the very frontiers of Palestine, might, with a little exertion, have extended their dominion over the land of Canaan; that, with a limited degree of ambition and self-control,

they might have become a respected and mighty nation; but that their thoughtless and ferocious habits kept them in the dreary solitudes, far from the chief scenes of history and civilisation. — It is known, that the Mohammedans long kept the memory of this transaction alive by distributing daily to poor people and to strangers lentiles prepared in a kitchen near the grave at Hebron, where they believed the cession of the birthright took place. About the extent of the land of Edom, see p. 352, and on Exod., pp. 273, 274; about the privileges of the firstborn, on Exod., p. 176.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—עֵשָׂא בְּכֹרֶת is, literally, "for the chase (of Esau, that is, its produce) was in his (Isaac's) mouth," was his (favourite) food; Sept. *ἐν ἡ θήρα αὐτοῦ βρώσας αὐτῷ*. The suffix is omitted in עֵשָׂא, as is frequently done; comp. xxiv. 30, etc.—The verb טָמַל implies the notion of greediness and voracity (comp. *Talm.*, Sabb., 153, *b*), and the request הֲלֵטֵנִי נָא "let me devour of that red, red thing" is, therefore, by far more characteristic and impressive than the translation: "let me taste" would be (Sept. *γεύσασθε με*; *Onk.* נִטְמַלְנִי).—Esau was, according to our text, called Edom (עֲדוֹם, the red one), because he had desired the red pottage of lentiles (ver. 30). The preceding allusion that Esau was born red (עֲדוֹם, ver. 25) may, perhaps, also be intended to explain the name of Edom (comp. 1 Sam. xvi. 12; xvii. 42); for it certainly does not indicate the sanguinary character of Esau. But these statements do not supersede the necessity of enquiring how the name of the country Edom originated. It is generally asserted, that it was derived from the Red Sea, near which the Edomites had their abodes. But this sea is nowhere in the Old Testament designated by that appellation; it is so introduced in no earlier book than the apocryphal

die: and what profit is the birthright to me? 33. And Jacob said, Swear to me this day; and he swore to him: and he sold his birthright to Jacob. 34. And Jacob gave

writings (1 Macc. iv. 9; Wisd. x. 18, etc.); the only name employed in connection with it is the "Sea of reeds" (סִי חָמַד, see on Exodus, p. 169); and the adjoining country cannot, therefore, have been called so from that reason. It appears more probable that Edom owes its origin to the *Red Sandstone* which constitutes the principal geological formation of that tract (see *supra*, p. 480); it is the *red country*, because this is the appearance which it strikingly offers at first sight; so we have *Greenland* (Irak); the *blue mountains*; a yellow, blue, and black river (נִיְלוֹ, Nile, etc.). The name Seir is also derived from the external nature of the districts inhabited by Esau's descendants. Nor would it be inappropriate to explain the Red Sea as that which washes the shores of the Red Country (comp. the *Arabic Gulf*, the *Indian Ocean*, etc.); this reason is, at least, more natural than those usually assigned, namely, because once a king *Erythra* reigned here; or because it is covered with the red-spotted leaves of the sea-reed; or because it is the sea of the *south*, which region the ancients represented as glowing and *red* (rubens), etc. (comp. *Winer*, *Bibl. Wört.* ii. 70). The name Red Sea, originally limited to the Arabic Gulf, may gradually have extended to the whole Sea between Egypt and India.—בְּיָמָיו (ver. 33) is simply *to-day* (as in 1 Sam. ix. 13, 27; Sept. *σήμερον*); not "as clear as the day"; nor "immediately."—The words אֲנִי לַחַיִּים לְשׁוֹן have been explained above; *Esau* points to the brief period which is allotted to the life of man, and, in his eyes, scarcely renders it worth the while to strive for honour or dignity. The meaning is not: "I am almost dead of hunger," nor "I am, by my pursuits as huntsman, constantly exposed to the risk of life"; for this would not exactly imply contempt of the birthright; nor make Esau deserve the epithet of βίβλος (Hebr. xii. 16). But

that he expressed contempt for the worship of God, or that he denied the doctrines of immortality and resurrection, is in no way contained in his words.—It remains only to be observed that the Jehovist inserted this section (vers. 19—34) with a clear consciousness of its importance; it is intended as a preparation for the eventful and absorbing history of Jacob; and is not insignificantly interwoven with the religious elements of prayer, oracle, and prophecy. But it would be presuming indeed, to decide how far that author is indebted to the older source of the Elohist. The latter contained, no doubt, the principal features of Jacob's life; but, as we have pointed out on former occasions, the Jehovist used those materials with such thoughtful care, he connected them with his original information and with his own comprehensive ideas so organically that there scarcely remains any other decisive criterion of what belongs to the one and what to the other, except the name of God, unless a differing tradition or modified view should be discoverable. Now, no critic will deny the admirable consistency existing between this section and the whole plan of the book of Genesis. The detailed repetition of Isaac's marriage (ver. 20) proves as little a different author as the exact description of the cave of Machpelah (in (vers. 9, 10) implies a later interpolation (comp. xxiii.). The insertion of the name יְהוָה in vers. 21 and 22, certainly shows that these parts belong to the Jehovist; but it does not follow that they are the only portions attributable to him; and nothing can be more objectionably bold than the assertion that he is the author of just the following words, לֹא יֵעָבֵר צַעִיר וַיְתַרְצֵצוּ (ver. 21); יַעֲבֹר צַעִיר וַיְתַרְצֵצוּ (vers. 22, 23); while all the remaining verses are the composition of the Elohist. We must admit that we cannot always point out the Elohist and the Jehovist elg-

to Esau bread and pottage of lentiles; and he ate, and drank, and rose, and went away: thus Esau despised the birthright.

ments. The attempts to decide in this matter must always be extremely precarious; while some (as *Astruc*) attribute the whole chapter to the Jehovist; others (for instance, *Tuch*) ascribe it, with the

exception of the above-mentioned words, unhesitatingly to the Elohist: we shall return to this subject, which implies an interesting principle, in the concluding remarks on xxviii. 6—9.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

**SUMMARY.**—A famine induced Isaac to journey to Gerar, with the view to proceed to Egypt; but on the command of God, who repeated to him all the blessings before granted to Abraham, he stayed in the Philistine town. Here he repeated the device with regard to Rebekah, which his father had twice practised with regard to Sarah, and which this time also was attended with a result equally favourable. He cultivated the soil, and obtained most plentiful harvests. Jealousy prompted the Philistines to stop the wells dug by Abraham; but Isaac re-opened them, and dug new ones, till he at last triumphed over the animosity of his enemies, and even the king, Abimelech, in due form renewed the political treaty before concluded with Abraham.—Esau, forty years old, took two wives from the Hittites, to the deep distress of his parents.

1. And there was a famine in the land, beside the first famine which was in the days of Abraham. And Isaac went to Abimelech, the king of the Philistines, to Gerar.
2. And the Lord appeared to him, and said, Go not down into Egypt; dwell in the land of which I shall tell thee:
3. Sojourn in this land, and I shall be with thee, and I

1.—6. The few incidents related of Isaac's life, are mostly repetitions from that of Abraham. This circumstance, far from being attributable to accident or neglect, is based on the plan and economy of the composition. The history of the Bible is spiritual, representing the rule of the Deity, and embodying either a religious idea or a moral lesson. Now, as Isaac was, in the widest sense, the heir of Abraham, the child of Divine grace, blessed because Abraham was obedient to the Divine commands (ver. 5), the recipient and guardian of treasures acquired before; his history is but the reflex of that of his father; it is like the echo of some sublime and solemn harmony (see p. 471).—A famine compelled Isaac, as it had compelled his father, to wander from the place of his abode (ver. 1; xx. 10); he left Beer-Lahai-Roi

(xxv. 11), to proceed, like Abraham, to Egypt (ver. 2). But the time for the immigration of Abraham's seed into the land of the Pharaohs had not yet arrived (xv. 13). On the other hand, the territory of the Philistines, though not properly forming a part of the promised land, was exempted from the curse of extirpation; Abraham had sworn to the king to be ever faithful and friendly to his progeny (xxi. 22—24); and the monarchs of Philistia seemed indeed to deserve this regard by their probity and faith (see p. 428).—Isaac went, therefore, to Gerar (see p. 275). The king of the Philistines, in Abraham's time, was Abimelech, and the general of his army was Phichol (xxi. 22): the same names are mentioned in our chapter (vers. 1, 26). But the two events are separated by a period of sixty to seventy years; for Isaac

shall bless thee; for to thee, and to thy seed, I shall give all these countries; and I shall perform the oath which I swore to Abraham thy father; 4. And I shall multiply thy seed as the stars of heaven, and shall give to thy seed all these countries; and in thy seed all the nations of the earth will be blessed; 5. Because Abraham obeyed My voice, and observed My observances, My commandments, My statutes, and My doctrines. 6. And Isaac dwelt in Gerar. — 7. And the men of the place asked *him* concerning his wife; and he said, She is my sister: for he feared

was then about ten years old, while, at the time of the famine, he was about eighty years (xxv. 26; xxvi. 34). Whether Abimelech and Pichol are not proper nouns, but the common appellative titles for the Philistine kings and chiefs (compare Ps. xxxiv. 1), or whether the same individuals were supposed to have still lived after the lapse of so great an interval, must remain undecided; but it is apparent, that the introduction of the same names is also intended to express the parallel course of the history of the father and the son.—Nor will it, from this point of view, appear in any way surprising, that the blessings of Isaac are almost literally identical with those before given to Abraham; they consist of the three great promises of a numerous progeny, their conquest of Canaan, and their blissful influence on the salvation of mankind; but God speaks of their realisation as of a duty which He is bound to fulfil; for Abraham had acted according to the conditions of the covenant; he had listened to the voice of God; and had “kept His observances, His commandments, His statutes, and His doctrines.” The words here used with regard to the patriarch’s obedience (מִשְׁמֶרֶתִי מִצְוֹתַי חֻקֹּתַי (וְתוֹרֹתַי)), almost exhausting the various classes of ordinances, are indeed those later employed when the whole legislation was completed: but here, no doubt, that Law is referred to which is written on the heart of man, and which, though manifold and complicated, is obvious to the well-trained intellect; or, if even not understood, is practised in unconscious virtue.

And, since Abraham is the type of the pious Israelite, the terms here introduced do not obscurely intimate, that the Law is only the embodiment and clearer expression of the sentiments innate in every uncorrupted mind.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—The blessings pronounced upon Isaac are repeated from the following passages: xii. 3, 4; xiii. 14—17; xv. 1—6, 18—21; xvii. 2—8; xxi. 12; xxii. 16—18 (comp. xxiv. 60). But they are here so necessary and so perfectly in harmony with the economy of the patriarchal history, that the idea of their being a later interpolation (*Hitzig*, *Begr. der Kritik*, p. 169), has justly been rejected by Tuch, and even by Bohlen.—הָאֵל (vers. 3, 4), הָאֱלֹהִים; see p. 414.—About הַתְּבָרָךְ see p. 336.—The various classes of precepts are here (ver. 5) enumerated nearly as in 1 Kings ii. 3; vi. 12; 2 Kings xvii. 34, 37. If we fix the meaning of the Hebrew words according to their etymology, מִשְׁמֶרֶת would be generally that which is to be *kept* or *observed* (not merely prohibitions); מִצְוָה a *command* (without being restricted to the duties of natural ethics); חֻקַּא law (from חָקַק, that which is engraven, namely on public tables or monuments; comp. *Ovid*, *Metam.* i. 91, 92; not obscure precepts, the reasons of which are hidden to the human intellect); and תּוֹרָה, a doctrine or instruction (certainly not alluding to the oral law).

7—11. The accident, which occurred twice in the life of Abraham, happened in the less eventful history of Isaac also

to say, *She is my wife*; lest, *said he*, the men of the place kill me on account of Rebekah; because she *was* beautiful of appearance. 8. And it happened when he had been there a long time, that Abimelech, the king of the Philistines, looked out of the window, and saw, and, behold, Isaac *was* sporting with Rebekah his wife. 9. And Abimelech called Isaac, and said, Behold, indeed she *is* thy wife: and how didst thou say, *She is my sister*? And Isaac said to him, Because I said, Lest I die on her account. 10. And Abimelech said, What *is* this thou hast done to us? one of the people might easily have lain with thy wife, and

(xii. 10—20; xx.). Wrongly suspecting the Philistines, among whom he stayed, of criminal lasciviousness, he pretended that Rebekah was his sister. But when the king discovered Isaac's true relation to her, he felt anguish and terror; he saw how easily an atrocious sin might have been committed by any one of his people; and he gave the most rigorous commands that his guests should be kept sacred and inviolable. Here, again, the Philistine surpasses the Hebrew in moral excellence. The former profoundly abhors a crime of which the latter thinks him or his subjects capable. The patriarch believes that there is no reverence of God among the people (xx. 11); and these doubtful suspicions, together with fear of life (ver. 9), appear to him sufficient to justify an untruth and a heedless risk of his domestic purity. But this time no direct interference of God solved the difficulty and removed the danger; the tender familiarity in which Isaac was seen to indulge with Rebekah showed, in a natural manner, their conjugal connection; Divine plagues, though apprehended by the king, did not really happen; the whole episode is carried out by purely human agencies;—this may be regarded as an indication that the third repetition of the same weakness is still less approved of or excused; but that it is introduced partly because it was a historical tradition, and partly as an analogy of Abraham's history. Though the faith of the patriarchs was, in some moments,

capable of the highest flight; it was not equally lofty on all occasions; and failed entirely on some. But the Philistines, by this incident, gained a new claim to a longer political existence, since, in the ethics of the Scriptures, degeneracy of morals alone causes the destruction of communities, while virtue is the pledge of life and stability.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.— $\text{לִּי$  in  $\text{לִּי בְּרֵכָה}$  (ver. 7) is used, like  $\text{לִּי}$  in xx. 2, in the signification of *concerning*, with regard to.—The proposed insertion of  $\text{מִן$  after  $\text{בְּרֵכָה}$  (ver. 7) is unnecessary.—The flat roofs of the Eastern houses are the favourite retreat in the dry season; and are used for very various purposes (comp. Josh. ii. 6; Judg. ix. 51; xvi. 27; 1 Sam. ix. 25, 26; 2 Sam. xvi. 25; 2 Kings xxiii. 12; Isai. xv. 3; Jer. xix. 13, etc.). They are, for the sake of safety, prudently surrounded by a railing ( $\sigma\tau\epsilon\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta$ , Deut. xxii. 8); they are generally composed of massive beams, crossed by small poles and brushwood, overlaid with earth or gravel, and often overgrown with grass (Ps. cxxix. 6, 7; 2 Kings xix. 26; Isai. xxxvii. 27), which modern travellers have seen cropped by goats and other cattle; sometimes the rain leaks through the earth; and a roller is, therefore, kept in readiness, on almost every roof, to repair the damages. Through the window of the palace, the king could therefore easily see Isaac and Rebekah (as later David saw Bathsheba, 2 Sam. xi. 2). He beheld

thou wouldst have brought guilt upon us. 11. And Abimelech charged all the people, saying, He who toucheth this man or his wife shall surely be put to death.—12. And Isaac sowed in that land, and received in the same year a hundredfold: and the Lord blessed him. 13. And the man became great, and he went on growing great, until he became very great. 14. And he had possession of flocks, and possession of herds, and a great number of servants: and the Philistines envied him. 15. And all the wells which his father's servants had dug in the days of Abraham his father, the Philistines had

Isaac צחק, which is certainly not intended as a euphemism (*Rashi* צחק לשון לדור, *ludere*; *Prop.* II. v. 4; *Ovid*, *A.A.* ii. 389; *Catull.* lxi. 211); but simply signifies caressing and playing (*Septuagint*, παίζοντα; *Vulg.* *jocantem*), perhaps, as has been observed, with a designed allusion to the name צחק.—The past tenses שכב and הבאת (ver. 10) assume the meaning of the mere possibility, "might have slept," etc., as they are coupled with the qualifying adverb כמעט (*comp.* xii. 19; *Prov.* v. 14).—עמ is here synonymous with חמא in xx. 9.

12—17. When Eastern nomads happen to arrive at a locality promising food for their cattle during a longer period, they often, at the same time, apply themselves to agriculture, ready to resume their wanderings after the completion of the harvest. When, therefore, Isaac saw himself safe in the fertile districts of Gerar, which had remained untouched by the famine prevailing around; he, likewise, began to cultivate the ground. This fact evidently marks a progress in the history of the patriarchs; it is the transition from uncertain migrations to a more settled mode of life; it implies a more permanent interest in the land itself; during one season, at least, the Hebrew could call his own, not only the grave of his parents, but the soil which gives life and wealth; he ate his own bread, and owed it to the beneficence of God alone, who blessed his labours

with a hundred-fold produce. But Isaac was not intended to carry the development of Israel a decided step onward; he might, as a forerunner, point to future phases of progress; but he should not accomplish them himself; he merely possessed what he had received from his father; hence, on the one hand, his rich harvests, were not obtained in the promised land itself, but in the territory of the Philistines, who had just given another guarantee that they would survive the destruction of the tribes of the Canaanites; and, on the other hand, even the enjoyment in the strange land was not permitted to last long; for Isaac was, by envy or fear, compelled to leave the scene of his prosperity, and to continue his wandering life. The jealousy of the Philistines manifested itself in deeds of mischief. So far from looking with satisfaction on the agricultural prosperity of Isaac, they placed in his way every obstacle fatal to a proprietor of cattle, depriving him of the indispensable wells which his father had dug. Their animosity assumed so serious a character, that the king, no doubt, in order to prevent more violent disturbances, found it prudent to request Isaac to leave his land, reminding him, that he had grown much more powerful than his subjects themselves (ver. 16); for "he had become greater and greater till he was very great" (ver. 13); and he especially possessed, besides the cattle, a vast number of slaves (ver. 14).

stopped them, and filled them with earth. 16. And Abimelech said to Isaac, Go from us; for thou art much mightier than we. 17. And Isaac departed thence, and pitched his tents in the valley of Gerar, and dwelt there. —18. And Isaac dug again the wells of water, which they had dug in the days of Abraham his father; for the Philistines had stopped them after the death of Abraham: and he called their names like the names by which his father had called them. 19. And Isaac's servants dug in the valley, and found there a well of fresh water. 20. And the herdsmen of Gerar quarelled with Isaac's herdsmen, saying, The water is ours: and he called the name of the well Esek [Contention], because they contended with him. 21. And they dug another well, and

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—The root **שׁוּ** signifies, in Hebrew and Chaldee, *to measure* (comp. **שׁוּר**; and Prov. xxiii. 7); **שְׁעָרִים** (**שׁוּר** (ver. 12) means, therefore, “hundred measures,” hundred-fold, as it is translated by Onkel., Saad., Rashi, Ebn Ezra, and others; while some read less plausibly **שְׁעָרִים** (barley); thus the Sept. (*ἐκατοστέουσιν κριθήν*), the Syriac, Michaelis (Bibl. Orient. ix. 193) etc.—**גָּדֵל** (ver. 13), is a verbal adjective signifying *becoming greater*, or simply *greater* (comp. xxiv. 35; Job xxxi. 18); the adjective, infinitive, or participle, connected with the verb **הִלֵּךְ** expresses a *continuance* (or going on) of the action (1 Sam. ii. 26; 2 Sam. iii. 1; Jer. xli. 6; Gen. viii. 3); and as the infinitive absolute after the finite verb also denotes perpetuity and progress (1 Sam. vi. 12; 1 Kings xx. 37), the words **וַיִּלְךְ ה' לֵךְ וְגָדֵל** describe with double emphasis the growing prosperity of Isaac.—**עֲבָדָיו** (ver. 14) is, like in Job i. 3, the collective noun for servants (**עֲבָדִים** וְשִׁפְחֹת, xx. 14, etc.); Lat. *servitium* or *famulitium*; German, *Dienerchaft*; it is not *γέωργια* (Sept. in this passage), but *ἐργασία* (Sept. in Job) or *θεραπεία* (Matt. xxiv. 45); *familia* (Vulg.); nor **פִּלְחָנָא** or **פִּלְחָנָא**, agriculture or labour (Onk. in Job, and Rashi).

12—22. He left the town, and pitched

his tents in the valley of Gerar. But here he found malice and ill-feeling not less active; the wells secured by Abraham were likewise stopped; but, re-opening them, he called them by their former names, in order to show how faithfully he followed in his father's steps (see p. 114). He dug, besides, several new wells, two of which being disputed to him by the shepherds of Gerar, he appropriately denominated Strife and Contention (**עֵסֶק** and **עֵשְׂקָנָה**). Though Isaac would, no doubt, have been strong enough to defend his rights, his peaceful disposition induced him calmly to yield to violence; and his enemies, at last conquered by his magnanimity, allowed him the undisturbed possession of the third well which he discovered, and which he therefore called Enlargement (**וַיִּקְרָא**), saying, “Now the Lord hath made room for us, and we shall be fruitful in the land” (ver. 22). A new triumph was gained, not by strength of arms but of character, not by the exertion of men but by the will of God: and this victory of the mind was regarded as a promise of other great achievements.

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—The words **וַיִּקְרָא** **בְּיָמֵי** (ver. 18) are rendered by the Sept. *οἱ παῖδες Ἀβραάμ*, and by the Vulg. *servi Abraham*; so that the former read **בְּיָמֵי** **אֲבָרָהָם** (as in the Samar. text);

strove for that also: and he called the name Sitnah [Strife]. 22. And he removed from there, and dug another well; and about that they did not quarrel: and he called its name Rehoboth [Enlargement]; and he said, For now the Lord hath enlarged for us, and we shall be fruitful in the land.—23. And he went up from there to Beer-sheba. 24. And the Lord appeared to him that night, and said, I *am* the God of Abraham thy father: fear not, for I *am* with thee, and I shall bless thee, and shall multiply thy seed for My servant Abraham's sake. 25. And he built an altar there, and invoked the name of the Lord, and pitched his tent there: and Isaac's servants dug there a well.—26. And Abimelech went to him from Gerar, and Ahuzzath his councillor, and Phichol the

while the Syr. expresses: עֲבָרִי אֲבִי בִיטִי אֲבָרָהָם אֲבִי עֲשֵׂק—(as עֲשֵׂק in Chaldee and Syriac) "contention" (*Joseph.*, Antiq. I. xviii. 2: *μάχη*); different from עֲשֵׂק "injustice, violence" (as the Sept. and Vulgate erroneously render: *aducia*, and *calumnia*); compare Exod. xvii. 7: כֹּסֶף רַחֲבֹת—(space, extension," signifying an easier condition, in contradistinction to *strained* circumstances (Ps. iv. 2; xviii. 37; see on ix. 27).

23—25. Therefore, God appeared to Isaac anew, and confirmed to him the former assurances; He bade him be firm and fearless; for He would shield him and multiply his progeny, on account of His servant Abraham; for He is "the God of Abraham." This vision took place in Beer-sheba, whilst Isaac was still wandering, no doubt, near the tamarisk which his father had planted, and at which he had offered up his prayers to the everlasting God (xxi. 33). Here Isaac erected an altar, and also worshipped God, his protector; and since this place was now doubly sacred, he pitched there his tents, and dug a well.

26—33. This well was destined to obtain a peculiar importance. The king of the Philistines had always treated Isaac with regard and veneration; he respected in him the son of that "prophet," whose

extraordinary dignity had before been so strikingly manifested (xx. 6); and when he said to him: "thou art much mightier than we," he certainly did not understand this expression literally; it was dictated by politeness, not by fear; for, if indeed the king of Gerar was the less powerful of the two, his boast, that he had dismissed the patriarch in peace, would have caused in the latter a smile of contempt, rather than the feeling of gratitude. But though separated from Isaac, he still saw him in his mind protected by a supernatural power, and blessed by a Divine influence; he was impressed with the conviction, that a great future awaited him and his race; and he was, therefore, anxious to renew the alliance which had been concluded with Abraham. It is, hence, but natural, that the succeeding part of our narrative should, in almost every particular, be parallel with the corresponding event in Abraham's life (xxi. 22—32). The transaction is here also designed to possess a public and political character. Hence, the king journeyed to Isaac, accompanied by his general Phichol, and his councillor or minister Ahuzzath (אַחֻזָּת טָרְעֵנוּ). Isaac, acknowledging Abimelech's superiority in material power, charged him, somewhat bitterly, with having forced him to leave abodes where he had begun to grow rich and prosperous;



general of his army. 27. And Isaac said to them, Wherefore do you come to me, and you hate me, and have sent me away from you? 28. And they said, We saw indeed that the Lord was with thee: and we said, Let there now be an adjuration between us, between us and thee, and let us make a covenant with thee; 29. That thou wilt do us no evil, as we have not touched thee, and as we have done to thee nothing but good, and have sent thee away in peace: thou *art* now the blessed of the Lord. 30. And

he ascribed that measure, with unjust exaggeration, to the hatred of the king also; but the latter deemed it inexpedient to revert to past contentions; he felt himself innocent; he had the welfare of his people at heart; and he replied with a slight evasion, that his ardent desire was a close and indissoluble friendship with the Hebrews. He saw without envy, but not without apprehension, the manifest increase of Isaac's resources; he apprehended, that this growing strength might one day be employed to the injury, whether the subjection or the destruction, of the Philistines; he wished to bind him by that terrible oath which calls down the most awful imprecations upon him who breaks it (נֶאֱמַר, see p. 467; comp. Isai. xxiv. 6). The patriarch, compelled to do justice to the virtue of Abimelech, renewed the compact guaranteeing the future independence of the Philistines, and exempting them from the fate impending on the Canaanites. The duties of hospitality were liberally performed; convivial enjoyment revived and cemented their friendship; and oaths were exchanged.—The king had scarcely departed, fully satisfied with the result of his journey, when the servants of Isaac informed him of the new well which they had found. The patriarch, whose mind was still absorbed by the solemnities just performed, designated the well with a name calculated to commemorate the event; he called it *Oath*, which word coincides in Hebrew with *seven* (שְׁבועָה, שְׁבועָה), the number of sacredness and religious obligation (comp. xxi. 30, 31); and, hence, the town in which the occurrence took place, bore the name of *Beer-Sheba*, or "Well

of the Oath" (בְּרַשׁ נֶאֱמַר). It is true, that the same name was given to that place before, in Abraham's time, on a similar occasion (xxi. 31). But our passage does not state, that the town *now* received the name of Beer-Sheba; it simply mentions, that "the name of the town was Beer-Sheba"; and it intimates, that this name, which might have existed before, now obtained an additional propriety from the new well dug by Isaac's servants, and from the oath sworn by Abimelech. On the former occasion, Beer-Sheba was not even called a town; and it appears, that the place of the well only was, at that time, designated "Well of the Oath"; but that, gradually, the town in which or near which it lay, was called Beer-Sheba (xxii. 19); and that here another reason is assigned for this appellation. But it is certain, that the well is, in our text, represented as different from that opened by Abraham in the same locality; for it is clearly distinguished from those stopped by the heathen tribes, and then re-opened by Isaac (ver. 18); and it may be a welcome illustration of the Biblical narrative, that modern travellers have discovered *two* wells in the neighbourhood of the ancient Beer-sheba, both bearing this name. But we must not forget, that the chief tendency of this section also is to show the strict analogy between the history of Isaac and that of Abraham; that, therefore, both narratives may, as regards their origin, be traceable to one and the same tradition; and that the early existence of two wells with the same or similar names easily suggested two separate narratives.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—The words

he made them a feast, and they ate and drank. 31. And they rose early in the morning, and swore one to another: and Isaac sent them away, and they departed from him in peace. 32. And it was on the same day, that Isaac's servants came, and told him concerning the well which they had dug, and they said to him, We have found water. 33. And he called it Shibah; therefore the name of the city is Beer-sheba to this day.—34. And Esau was forty years old when he took to wife Judith the daughter of

אֶחָזַת כְּרֵעָה, corresponding as they do with מִכָּל שֶׁר צָבָאוּ, can scarcely be otherwise understood but *Ahuzzath, his friend*; for the termination *ath*, in proper nouns, is not unusual (בְּשֵׁמֶת, גְּלִית, אֵילת, etc.); and כְּרֵעָה is "the friend," synonymous with רֵעַ (Judg. xiv. 20), not unfrequently used with suffixes, and in the plural (Judg. xiv. 11; xv. 2. 6; 2 Sam. iii. 8; Job vi 14; Prov. xix. 7). It is, therefore, unnecessary to render: "Ahuzzath, one of his friends" (Engl. Vers. as if כְּרֵעָהוּ were identical with רֵעָהוּ; כֵּן being used as a collective noun); or 'Οχοζάθ ὁ ννυφάγγελος ἀβροῦ (Sept.); or "a suite or a number of his friends" (Onkel.: מְרַחְמוּהוּ; Jerom., Quæst. in loc.: *collegium amicorum ejus*; Rashi). As, however, the character of this transaction is public and political, it is probable that כְּרֵעָה is here more strictly synonymous with רֵעָה "supreme councillor or minister" (2 Sam. xv. 37; xvi. 16; 1 Kings iv. 5; while in 1 Chron. xxvii. 33 רֵעַ is used).—The particle אֵם (ver. 29) follows after the terms of swearing (אֵלֶּה, ver. 23), and signifies "that not" (comp. xiv. 22, 23; xxi. 23).—תַּעֲשֶׂה has *zere* in the last syllable (like the imperative, and as in the Aramean dialects; comp. תַּבָּא instead of תֵּאבָּה, Prov. i. 10), as תַּהֲיֶה (after אֵל, Jerem. xvii. 17); תַּגִּלָּה (after לֵא, Lev. xviii. 7, 8, etc.); תַּעֲשֶׂה (Josh ix. 24); תַּרְאָה (Dan. i. 13; see Gesen., Gram. § 74, note 16; Ewald, Gram. § 372; and note on Exod. xxii. 22).—שִׁבְעָה *seven*, is the name of the well on account of the oaths there exchanged (see *supra*; Sept. *ἑπτες*). The translation of the Vulgate, "Abundantia," as if the reading were

שִׁבְעָה (*satisfaction*), is against the context.—The preceding narrative belongs indisputably to the Jehovist.

34, 35. Esau, entering matrimonial life, like יִשְׂרָאֵל, in his fortieth year (xxv. 20), deviated in two most important points from the customs which had become traditional in his family. First, violating the law of monogamy, he took *two* wives. But since polygamy, as a matter of practice, remained so deeply rooted among the Hebrews throughout the Biblical times, that it was not always avoided even by grave and pious men, however forcibly it was condemned in doctrine and example; the text adds no word of reproach with regard to this part of Esau's conduct; but it is very strong and severe in respect to another point: these two wives were Hittites, belonging to the detested tribes plunged in crime and impiety, and hastening their unavoidable perdition; they infected the purity of Abraham's family, which was destined as the seed of righteousness and salvation; and hence they were a source of heartburning grief to Isaac and to Rebekah. Esau had shown utter indifference to the honour and dignity of his descendants; he had proved, that he had no feeling beyond the transitory hour; he could, therefore, in choosing his wives, have no other consideration but his interests and his propensities.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—The wives of Esau are here called *Judith*, the daughter of *Beeri* the Hittite; and *Basemath*, the daughter of *Elon* the Hittite. According to xxviii. 9, he took a third wife, *Ma-halath*, the daughter of *Ishmael*, and sister

Beeri the Hittite, and Basemath the daughter of Elon the Hittite. 35. And they were a grief of mind to Isaac and to Rebekah.

of *Nebajoth*. But in xxxvi. 2, 3, his wives are thus mentioned: *Adah*, the daughter of *Elon* the Hittite; *Aholibamah*, the daughter of *Anah* the *Hivite*; and *Basemath*, the daughter of *Ishmael*, and sister of *Nebajoth*. Though the same tradition forms, no doubt, the basis of the two relations, as they have several of the chief points in common: it is so evidently corrupted, that it is impossible to bring the two statements into harmony; and all such attempts are necessarily fruitless: for even if we suppose, that *Judith* and *Mahalath* are identical with *Adah* and *Aholibamah*; *Basemath* cannot, at the same time, be the daughter of *Elon* the Hittite, and of *Ishmael*; and if *Elon* is the father

of *Adah*, he was not the father of *Basemath* (see, further, on xxxvi. 1—3). These wives were to *Isaac* and *Rebekah* כְּרִיבָה, that is, “bitterness of spirit,” or *grief* (כְּרִיבָה, from כָּרַב, like כְּרִיבָה, Deut. xxxii. 32; Job xiii. 26; comp. כְּרִיבָה, Prov. xiv. 10, and כָּכַר, Prov. xvii. 25). But not their *refractoriness* or *quarrelsomeness* (from כָּרַב, *Onkel.*, Sept. *ἐπιζουσαι*), nor the difference in their manners (*Cleric.*), not even their idolatrous habits (*Targ. Jer.* and *Jonathan*), caused pain to the parents; but their descent from tribes which were devoted to destruction, and from which the *Israelites* were for ever to be separated. (About the authorship of these verses, see on xxviii. 6—9).

## CHAPTER XXVII.

**SUMMARY.**—*Isaac*, feeling the approach of decrepitude, intended to bestow his blessing upon *Esau*; but *Rebekah*, wishing to secure it for her younger son, suggested a stratagem which, executed by *Jacob*, was attended with the desired result. The consequence was, that *Esau*, who could now obtain a prediction of but very questionable value, conceived a violent hatred against his brother, who to avoid his anger, on the advice of *Rebekah*, departed to *Mesopotamia*, while *Isaac* was persuaded that the end of his journey was the choice of a wife from her family in *Haran*.

1. And when *Isaac* was old, and his eyes were dim, so that he could not see, he called *Esau* his eldest son, and said to him, My son: and he said to him, Behold, *here am I*. 2. And he said, Behold, I pray thee, I am old, I

1—4. It was the aim of the Bible to substitute the supernatural for the natural; to direct the attention from the changeful phenomena to the immutable laws which govern them; to proclaim the Mind which called forth, formed, and rules the Matter; to diffuse that happiness which lies beyond the senses, in the depth of the purified heart and in the enlightened intellect; to teach Love which gives, instead of Selfishness which desires; and to represent Time only as the threshold of Eternity. But in no part of the Scriptures are these contrasts more strikingly exhibited than in the

history of the patriarchs. Here both principles, the natural and the spiritual, are systematically personified, in *Abraham* and *Lot*, in *Isaac* and *Ishmael*, and in *Jacob* and *Esau*—while with *Jacob*, the father of the twelve sons, each of whom was destined to form a member of the community of God, the dualism ceases. But that contrast is not without a marked development. In *Abraham* and *Lot*, it is only in its beginning; both emigrate into the promised land; both thrive on the chosen soil; both are specially protected; and *Lot* is twice saved, once from captivity,

know not the day of my death: 3. Now therefore take, I pray thee, thy weapons, thy quiver and thy bow, and go out to the field, and hunt for me *some* venison; 4. And make me a palatable meal, such as I love, and bring *it* to

and once from death. In Isaac and Ishmael, the distinction grows wider; the latter is expelled from his father's house; he takes his abodes in the inhospitable desert; associates and intermarries with the Egyptians; and lives on prey and rapine; but he shares the sign of the covenant (xvii. 25), a sacred link connecting him with his race, a ray of hope left for the future. But in Esau and Jacob, the antagonism between the man of nature and the man of spiritual training reaches its highest gradation. They are from the beginning distinguished as "the man of the field," and "the upright man" (xxv. 27); the one lives only for the present, the other seeks his glory in the future; the one laughs at the imaginary worth of the birthright, the other covets it as his highest felicity; the one does not hesitate to form an alliance with the daughters of Canaan, the other allows the best part of his manhood to pass rather than follow that example. But notwithstanding all this, Isaac persevered in his preference of Esau; though grieved at his marriages, he intended to bestow upon him the blessing which made him the heir of the Divine promises; and which, pronounced immediately before death, was regarded as infallible. This conduct of Isaac, the more surprising if we consider the prophecy given to Rebekah, that the elder son was destined to serve the younger (xxv. 23), may be thus explained. Though Esau was, indeed, merely the man of nature, he was a perfect type of his class; he possessed all its heart-warming qualities; he was frank and unsophisticated; cordial and true; quick in his sentiments and in his resolutions; and though liable to ebullitions of passion and vindictiveness, yet easily soothed and generously forgiving. The character of Jacob, on the other hand, though ennobled by higher aspirations, from early youth directed to the

loftiest spiritual aims, and earnestly craving to become the heir and successor of Abraham, was disfigured by many vices to which a subtle mind is peculiarly subject. His cunning, insincerity, and unmanly stratagems were abject and despicable. Isaac sympathised, therefore, more deeply with Esau; he turned to the man of nature, or, as the text expresses it, "he ate of his venison" (xxv. 28); he preferred the more *perfect* son: but he forgot that the perfection of Esau lay merely in the sphere of the natural, was circumscribed by narrow limits, and was, therefore, more easily attainable; while the realm of the ideal, after which Jacob strove, is so boundless that perfection, in that field, is impossible to man; but that one short flight into the region of truth and of moral beauty infinitely surpasses in value all attainments simply human and natural. Isaac did not preserve that sublimity which had fortified him for the sacrifice on Moriah; he relapsed to the level of ordinary men; he had become old, and his eyes were dim; and his mind had lost not a little in strength and elevation. It is a dexterous trait on the part of the author to express Isaac's predilection for the man of nature by his desire for venison, killed and prepared by him. Nothing could have better embodied the merely external or material relation between the father and his eldest son. The blessing is so prominently made dependent on this meal (ver. 4), that it appears almost as its reward. But, on the other hand, the venison is evidently like a sacrifice offered by the recipient of the blessing, and ratifying the proceedings; and hence Jacob killed and prepared *two* kids of the goats (ver. 9), whereas, for an ordinary meal, one would have been more than sufficient; it imparted to the ceremony, in certain respects, the character of a covenant (comp. xxi. 27—30; xxvi.

me, that I may eat; that my soul may bless thee before I die. — 5. And Rebekah listened when Isaac spoke to Esau his son. And Esau went to the field to hunt *for* venison, in order to bring *it*. 6. And Rebekah spoke to Jacob her son, saying, Behold, I heard thy father speak to Esau thy brother, saying, 7. Bring me venison, and make me a palatable meal, that I may eat, and I may bless thee before the Lord before my death. 8. And now, my son,

30; xxxi. 54; Exod. xii. 2; xxiv. 5—11, etc.); the one party showed ready obedience and sincere affection, while the other accepted the gift, and granted, in return, the whole store of happiness he was able to bequeath. Thus the meal which Isaac required, has a double meaning, both connected with the internal organism of the book.

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—Weakness of the eyes is a far more general complaint in many parts of the East than in our countries (see on Exod. p. 282); it very often grows into almost total blindness; and it is, in a more or less aggravated form, the usual forerunner and concomitant of old age (comp. xlviii. 10; 1 Sam. iii. 2; Eccl. xii. 3); and exemption from this calamity was regarded as a peculiar mark of Divine beneficence (Deut. xxxiv. 7).—The preposition *בְּ* in *בְּמַלְאָתָא* is analogous to *בְּ* in *מַלְאָתָא* (xvi. 2). it may be called *privativum*, and signifies *so that not*. It is used, in a similar sense, before substantives *מִפְּנֵי* *far from, or without, fear* (Job xxi. 9; Isai. xxiii. 1, etc.; comp. 1 Sam. xv. 23; *לֹא בְּמַלְאָתָא*).—The general term *בְּיָדָיִם* (ver. 5, *ἄπλα*), thy weapons, is specified by the two following words, *בְּחֶלְדִּי וּבְחֶלְדִּי*. The former *חֶלֶד* (from *חָלַל* to hang), is “that which is suspended”; and hence, probably, a *quiver* which was hung over the shoulders or at the girdle; thus Sept. (*φάετρα*), Targ. Jonathan (*בֵּית נִיר*), the Samarit., Vulgate, and others. *חֶלֶד* may, certainly, according to its etymology, also signify *sword*, as Onkelos • (*כֶּסֶף*), the Syrian, and others, render (comp. also *Ebn Ezra in loc.*, and *David*

*Kimchi*); further, it is as unusual for quiver, which is generally expressed by *חֶלֶד*, as it would be for sword, since it occurs in this passage only; and “sword and bow” are stated together (xlvi. 22) as well as “arrows and the bow” (2 Kings, xiii. 15; Isai. vii. 24); but as for the purposes of hunting, the arrows are appropriately mentioned in conjunction with the bow; the meaning *quiver* is decidedly preferable; although Fuller (Miscell. i. 17) and others, have laboured to find arguments in favour of sword (xlvi. 22).—*בְּיָדָיִם* has been changed into *בְּיָדָיִם* by the Masorites, not only to bring it into accordance with vers. 5 and 7, but because *בְּיָדָיִם* generally signifies *provision* for a journey (xlii. 25; xlv. 21, etc.).

**5—10.** Though Isaac called Esau his eldest son (ver. 1), Rebekah, after the cession of the birthright, no longer regarded him as such. She had seen the prophecy received before the birth of the twins, approaching its realisation in more than one respect. The disposition and character of the sons were, to her, sure indications of the future; Esau appeared to her judgment as little capable of becoming the depository of the religion of Abraham, as she saw Jacob eager to fulfil this mission; and every doubt was removed when she perceived the heedlessness with which Esau despised the privileges of his birth. But she had been unable to gain Isaac over to her own conviction; she could neither understand nor eradicate his partiality for Esau; when she, therefore, heard, with alarm, of the intended blessing, too well aware of its unavoidable efficacy, and anxious

listen to my voice, according to that which I command thee. 9. Go, I pray thee, to the flock, and fetch me from there two good kids of the goats; and I will make them a palatable meal for thy father, such as he loveth: 10. And thou shalt bring *it* to thy father, and he may eat, that he may bless thee before his death.—11. And Jacob said to Rebekah his mother, Behold, Esau my brother *is* a hairy man, and I *am* a smooth man: 12. Perhaps my father

to avert what she believed would be a fatality and a misfortune, she took refuge in a stratagem, proving her to be the worthy mother of the cunning Jacob. She was certainly in her aims more exalted than her husband; but she was far inferior to him in uprightness of conduct; she failed in morality and honesty; though her mind was elevated, her heart lacked the simplicity of innocence; she acted on the baneful principle that the end sanctifies the means; and she had so deeply imbibed this doctrine, that she preserved an imperturbable composure and firmness throughout the whole of the hazardous and complicated transaction. She knew well how to interest Jacob for her plans; she had heard Isaac say to Esau, that he wished to bless him before his death (ver. 4); in repeating this to Jacob, she represented his words to have been: "that I may bless thee *before the Lord* before my death" (ver. 7); the addition of the name of God at once enhances the sacred character of the narrative: it is as designedly omitted by the text in the address of Isaac to the worldly Esau, as it is deliberately inserted in the words of Rebekah to her ambitious son Jacob.

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.** — לְהִבִּיאַ (ver. 5) is added to לָצוּר to which it is subordinate, to describe the purpose for which the venison was intended: "to hunt the venison in order to bring or offer it." It would presuppose a poetical colouring of the passage, were we to render "to hunt the venison and to bring it," and to take לְהִבִּיאַ as an *asyndeton* (instead of וּלְהִבִּיאַ). The phrases in Josh. ii. 5, and 2 Kings xxiii. 19

(בָּמוֹת לַחֲכָעִים וְהַשֶּׁשֶׁר לִסְגֹר) are not analogous to our passage, as the words לָצוּר לְהִבִּיאַ do not so strictly belong together as to mean: "venison intended to be offered." But the reading of the Septuagint לָאֵבִי (τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ) is, at least, unnecessary, and undoubtedly spurious (comp. ver. 4, 7).

**11—14.** Jacob was not indifferent to the appeal of his mother; he prized the blessing and wished to secure it; and he had no scruples with regard to the rights of Esau. He considered the transfer of the birthright for the pottage of lentiles as perfectly valid; but he was afraid of a possible failure; he trembled at the idea that the device might be discovered by Isaac, and that it would be punished with a deserved curse; he objected that his brother Esau was a "hairy man," while he himself was a "smooth man," by which circumstance alone he was certain that the father would detect the deception. Not truthfulness, but expediency prompted his hesitation; and when, therefore, his mother, with her characteristic calmness, had taken upon herself all possible consequences, thus showing her perfect confidence in the success of her scheme, he no longer delayed to execute her command, but prepared himself to deceive his blind father—an unfortunate step, which implicated him in a net of untruths; a sin for which he had to atone by years of trial and of toil.

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.** — Jacob feared to appear in his father's eyes עֵינֵי אִשָּׁאָה (ver. 12). The scene is far too grave that Jacob should merely have been afraid of seeming to joke. (κατα-

will feel me, and I shall be in his eyes as a deceiver; and I shall bring a curse upon me, and not a blessing. 13. And his mother said to him, Upon me *be* thy curse, my son; only obey my voice, and go fetch *them* for me. 14. And he went, and fetched, and brought *them* to his mother: and his mother made a palatable meal, such as his father loved.—15. And Rebekah took the choicest garments of her eldest son Esau, which *were* with her in the house, and dressed *with them* Jacob her younger son: 16. And she put the skins of the kids of the goats upon his hands, and upon his smooth neck: 17. And she gave the palatable meal and the bread, which she had prepared, into the hand of her son Jacob. 18. And he came to his father, and said, My father: and he said, Here *am* I. Who *art* thou, my son? 19. And Jacob said to his father, I *am* Esau thy firstborn; I have done as thou badest me:

παῖζων, *Sym.*; *Bohlen*): he apprehended a curse, if detected; he knew he must be regarded as an impostor, a contemptible deceiver; Sept. ὡς καταφρονῶν (a despiser of sacred things); Vulg. *me sibi voluisse illudere*. תעע (like תעה) implies the notion of leading astray; hence תעע תעע deception (Jer. x. 15; li. 18; comp. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 16); it is synonymous with לרר and לעל; the three roots have the primitive meaning of *stammering*; and then receive the derived significations of *mocking, deceiving*, or uttering *profane or impious language* (Job xi. 3; xxxiv. 7; Prov. iii. 34; xiii. 1, etc.; comp. *Gesen.* Thesaur. pp. 750, 751, 757).—There is no reason to suppose that יהוה אלהי, not יהוה אלהי, was the original reading, and that it was altered because it appeared to be an offence against filial respect, if Jacob said to his mother, “Thou wilt bring a curse upon me.” The Septuagint already expresses יהוה אלהי, and the authority of the Syriac version and some Samaritan manuscripts is insufficient to overthrow the received text.—About קללתך (ver. 13) see xvi. 5, on חסדי עליך.

15—26. The scene of the fraud is described with a psychological skill which

rivets the interest, and excites the admiration, of the reader. Jacob, carefully disguised by his shrewd mother, dressed in the festive garments of Esau, and with the hairy skins of goats on his hands and his neck, stepped before his father, offered him the meal, and demanded the blessing. The old man who, from infirmity, was reposing on his bed, sat up to receive his son. When he asked Jacob who he was, the latter answered boldly: “I am Esau thy firstborn”; but he thought he recognised the voice of Jacob; his suspicions were roused; he knew the crafty disposition of his younger son too well; and he felt the duty of extreme carefulness. He expressed his doubt first most gently, by uttering his wonder how Esau had contrived to find the venison so speedily: upon which Jacob blasphemously replied, “The Lord thy God hath brought it in my way.” It might be expected, that this solemn declaration would satisfy Isaac, and that he would, without delay, proceed to the intended ceremony. But his impressions of Jacob’s deceitfulness were so strong, that that formal and sacred profession excited rather than removed his distrust. Wishing, therefore, to obtain another and more strik-

rise, I pray thee, sit and eat of my venison, that thy soul may bless me. 20. And Isaac said to his son, How *is it* that thou hast found so quickly, my son? And he said, Indeed, the Lord thy God brought *it* in my way. 21. And Isaac said to Jacob, Come near, I pray thee, that I may feel thee, my son, whether thou art indeed my son Esau or not. 22. And Jacob went near to Isaac his father; and he felt him, and said, The voice *is* Jacob's voice, but the hands *are* Esau's hands. 23. And he did not discern him, because his hands were hairy, as his brother Esau's hands: and he blessed him: 24. And he said, *Art* thou indeed my son Esau? And he said, I *am*. 25. And he said, Bring *it* near to me, and I will eat of my son's venison, that my soul may bless thee. And he brought *it* near to him, and he ate: and he brought him wine, and he drank. 26. And his father Isaac said to

ing proof, he said, in undisguised terms, that he desired to feel him in order to convince himself whether he were Esau or not; such a doubt would not have offended Esau, because his mind was unconscious of guile; and if it offended Jacob, it was a very inadequate punishment for his open and deliberate untruth. But even when Isaac felt the hairy hands and neck, he could not banish his suspicions; he confessed that indeed the hands were those of Esau, yet the voice was that of Jacob. Conceiving, however, that he could not expect surer and more direct proofs, he resolved to bless the son who stood before him (ver. 23). But when he was about to commence, he paused again; his scruples returned; and he asked anew calmly and affectionately: "Art thou my son Esau?"—to which Jacob was hardened enough to answer: "I am." It would have appeared an unworthy scepticism in Isaac to tarry any longer; he, therefore, without further objection, accepted the meal, like a grateful offering, regarding it as a gift of love which required a return on his part. When he, therefore, after the repast, wished to kiss his son, this was not dictated by a renewal

of his doubts; it was an act of love in exchange for the affection just experienced; it sealed the alliance of the hearts of the father and the son; it expressed that both were links of the same spiritual chain; and is, in more than one respect, analogous to the imposition of the hand which later accompanied the blessing of Ephraim and Manasseh (xlvi. 14).

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—Although Esau was married long since (xxvi. 34), he seems, at the time of the blessing, to have formed a part of the common household; his garments were kept by Rebekah (ver. 15); and he returned into Isaac's house as his own home (see p. 595); that, therefore, Jacob was in the same close connection with his parents, needs scarcely to be observed; and he seems not yet to have possessed any independent property (ver. 9).—The skins of goats are well adapted to the purpose for which Jacob employs them. For the hair of the Syrian long-eared goat, though often black, is long and soft, and looks and feels not unlike human hair; whence the Romans employed it for wigs and other artificial coverings of the head (*Martial*, xii. 46;



him, Come near now, and kiss me, my son. 27. And he came near, and kissed him: and he smelt the odour of his garments, and blessed him, and said,

See, the odour of my son is like the odour of a field, which the Lord hath blessed.

Cant. iv. 1). — **הַחֵן** stands instead of **הַחֵן** (comp. Job xxxviii. 18; **חֵן**); and in **הַחֵן** the demonstrative is emphatically added to the personal pronoun (comp. **הַחֵן** xxv. 22).

27—29. Many parts of Arabia and Palestine exhale a most delicious odour (*Herod.* iii. 113); after a refreshing rain especially, the air is perfumed with a fragrance inexpressibly sweet (*Plin.* xvii. 5); and the soil, furrowed by the plough-share, emits often the balmy treasures hidden in its depth (see p. 251). Thus, the garments of Esau, the man of the field, who roamed through hill and valley, were redolent of the scent of aromatic herbs; they called up in Isaac's mind the pictures of freshness, health, and abundance; his spirit, moved and struck, assumed a prophetic elevation; and he began the blessing: "Behold, the odour of my son is as the odour of the field which the Lord hath blessed." He then describes the land intended for Jacob's inheritance most emphatically as one distinguished by fertility; the dew of heaven and the richness of the earth unite to mature the choicest productions; the bread which nourishes, and the wine which cheers the heart of man, are there brought forth in equal profusion; the necessities of life, easily and plentifully obtained, are enhanced by its comforts (see p. 360). This is the first benediction pronounced upon Jacob; and who can doubt, that it fully accords with the exceeding natural fertility of the Holy Land? Let us remind the reader of a few facts.

Palestine is generally described in the Bible as "a good land, flowing with milk and honey" (*Exod.* iii. 8, etc.); and it fully deserves these epithets. It is distinguished by a salubrité of climate and exquisiteness of temperature scarcely to be expected from its geographical position (for it is situated

between 32° and 34° E. Longit., and 31° 11' and 33° 15' N. Latit.); but the mountainous character of almost all its provinces obviates oppressive heat; the longest day in summer is only 14 hours and 12 minutes (the shortest being 9 hours and 48 minutes); occasional showers refresh the air; and the atmosphere is, therefore, generally pleasant and moderate. But the most remarkable feature in the climate of Palestine is the extraordinary difference between places often but a few miles distant from each other; the palm-tree and fruits of the tropics grow close by the nut-tree, the oak, and other products of the northern zones; hills and valleys alternate in rapid succession; the vegetable kingdom of almost all parts of the globe is represented in a country extending not more than about 190 miles in length, about 80 in breadth in the middle, and varying between 10 to 15 in other parts; and no month of the year is without fruits and blossoms. — The year is divided into two seasons:—

1. *The Winter* (**חֹרֶף**, or **קֶץ**, **χειμῶν**). It begins in the middle of October, when the days continue to be agreeably warm; while the nights commence to be cool; the *earlier rain* (**יָרֵד**, **מִדְּבָר**) begins, though but gradually, and in isolated showers, still permitting the operations of agriculture. The trees lose their foliage, and fires are desirable as a matter of comfort (*Jer.* xxxvi. 22). In December the rain becomes more and more copious and continuous, and it often comes down with such violence, as materially to injure or totally to destroy the frail houses, mostly constructed with mud-tiles baked in the sun, and with palm-branches (compare *Matt.* vii. 25—27); in January and February, it sometimes alternates with snow, or, in the night, with ice, which, however, generally melts on the same day; severe frost is rare, and

28. And God may give thee of the dew of heaven and of the fatness of the earth,  
And abundance of corn and wine.
29. Nations will serve thee, and peoples prostrate themselves before thee:

in all cases of short duration; while mild and sunny days occasionally surprise the inhabitants, and invite them to the public places. But the influence of the colder season on man and beast is naturally greater in the East than in our countries; languor and diseases generally follow in its train; it is often most severely felt around Jerusalem, and aggravated by fearful tempests, not unfrequently accompanied with hail-storms. Travelling is, at that period of the year, both laborious and dangerous, especially in the steep mountain-paths. In January, the cold rain continues at intervals; but in the southern parts of Palestine the sky begins to assume a more serene aspect; occasional fine days are the harbingers of the more genial season; and in February, the mild temperature of spring prevails almost throughout the country. In the month of March to the middle of April falls the *latter rain* (עֲרֵבֵי צֶמֶד); the heat increases perceptibly, though the nights remain chilly. Thunder and lightning are not unfrequent during the first three months of the year, while from the middle of April to the middle of September, it neither rains nor thunders (comp. 1 Sam. xii. 17). Showers falling within this period cause consternation, as phenomena indicating some disorder in nature.

2. *The Summer* (יָרֵד, θέρος). Towards the end of April, the sky becomes more clear and transparent; heat and drought increase; but in the nights very abundant and refreshing dew descends, without which the vegetation of fields and meadows would inevitably wither. The dew is hence called the "precious treasure of heaven" (Deut. xxxiii. 13); and invariably forms a chief feature in the picture of blissful fertility (Deut. xxxiii. 28; Zech. viii. 12, etc.). This is generally the time for the corn-harvest. In May, the heaven is perfectly

cloudless, and the power of the solar rays increases; yet the evenings are delightfully cool. In June, July, and August, the heat steadily rises; a tropical temperature prevails; and deaths from sun-strokes occur (2 Kings iv. 19, 20; Ps. cxxi. 6); even the nights are sultry; and many fountains and cisterns dry up. The dew, though continuing to nourish the stronger plants, loses its effect upon the grass, herbs, and flowers; and the fields are so arid, that a single spark would instantaneously spread a conflagration; the richest soil is burnt; the beautiful verdure, which enchants the eye in April, is, three months later, converted into the brown blades of the desert. In September, the nights again become refreshing; and now and then, especially towards the end of the month, rain falls, and the heat diminishes.

A country whose seasons are so regular, and whose climate is, on the whole, so temperate, may well be expected to be distinguished by fertility. That it was so in an eminent degree, is fully confirmed both by Biblical and classical writers. It is, in the Old Testament, called "the choicest of all the countries of the earth" (Ezek. xx. 6); a "precious land, a beautiful inheritance among the hosts of nations" (Jer. iii. 19); a "land of brooks of water, of fountains, and deep floods; a land of wheat and barley, and vines, and fig-trees, and pomegranates; a land of oil-olive, and honey, whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass" (Deut. viii. 7—9); it is described as unlike the land of Egypt, "where the seed is sown and watered with the foot, like a garden of herbs" (see note on Exod. i. 19); as a country of hills and valleys, which drinks water of the rain of heaven; as a land which God loves, and "upon which the eyes of the Lord are constantly from the beginning of the year to the end of the

Be lord over thy brothers, and let thy mother's sons  
prostrate themselves before thee.

Cursed *be* those who curse thee, and blessed those who  
bless thee.—

year" (Deut. xi. 10—12; comp. xxxiii. 13—17, 23, 28; Judg. xiv. 8; 1 Sam. xiv. 25, 26; Ps. lxxxi. 17; see especially the beautiful description in Joel ii. 19—26).—Further, Tacitus (Hist. v. 6) observes: "the soil is fertile; it abounds in all sorts of fruits which our country produces, and besides them in balm and palm-trees." Josephus extols in glowing language the wealth and beauty of the valley of Jericho (Bell. Jud. IV. viii. 3; comp. III. iii. 2—5; I. vi. 6); Justinus writes in similar terms (xxxvi. 3, 4); and Ammianus (xiv. 8) praises the well-cultivated and highly productive fields; while the remark of Strabo (xvi. 762, 763), that the vicinity of Jerusalem is stony and parched, is opposed to all other and more authentic testimonies. Nor do all those accounts exaggerate the truth. The plains and valleys are irrigated by numerous rivulets; the mountains, gradually sloping down into hills, are peculiarly adapted for the cultivation of the vine and the olive-tree, and for the breeding of cattle; and though some are naturally arid and rocky, they were rendered highly useful by the industry of the ancient inhabitants; terraces dug from base to summit, and covered with richer soil, received the seeds; and in due season, the vernal and autumnal rains, the beneficent dew, the genial rays of the sun, and the mildness and salubrity of the atmosphere, matured olives, figs, and grapes, and soon also leguminous plants, and most excellent corn.—Though the desert in several parts encroaches upon the land, many districts of the interior vie with the most blooming tracts of Egypt and Mesopotamia. Palestine is, indeed, like an oasis in a surrounding wilderness; a favoured spot, which might well appear like the special gift granted by a beneficent God to a chosen nation. But the fruitfulness of Palestine was destroyed by warfare and pillage; perhaps no country on earth has been more frequently in-

vaded and devastated; it was the scene of numberless wars and occupations; it passed successively into the hands of many neighbouring and distant nations, Asiatic, European, and African. Can we be astonished that districts, once blooming like beautiful gardens, lie neglected like a desert; that a population once flourishing and numerous, has, in many parts, shrunk into communities of paupers or robbers; and that, with the perpetual dread of the rapacious Bedouin over the head of the husbandman, the soil seems waste and desolate? However, neither violence nor negligence have been able totally to annihilate the natural fertility of Palestine; some of the terraces, especially between Nablous (Shechem) and Jerusalem, have remained, and are successfully cultivated by the Arabs who inhabit the neighbouring tracts; a considerable quantity of corn is annually exported from Palestine to Constantinople; and a still greater amount of raisin-honey is sold to Egypt; the cotton produced in the plains of Esdraelon, excels in quality even that of Syria; numberless herds and flocks graze on the luxurious fields of Galilee, and in the rich plains which border the northern part of the Jordan; swarms of wild bees accumulate their honey in the cavities of trees and the fissures of rocks; and the exertions lately commenced from various quarters for redeeming the Holy Land from the curse of indolence under which it has so long suffered, justify the hope of the most cheering success, promising to realize once more the prophetic blessing of Isaac: "The Lord may give thee of the dew of heaven, and of the fatness of the earth, and abundance of corn and wine."

He further promised to Jacob the dominion over subjugated nations; he alluded to the conquest of the surrounding provinces, and the extirpation of the tribes of Canaan; of all those who, by their

30. And when Isaac had finished blessing Jacob, and Jacob was yet scarcely gone out from the presence of Isaac his father, Esau his brother came in from his hunting. 31. And he also had made a palatable meal, and

crimes, were destined either to serve or to perish, and who, by descent and faith, were strangers to the Israelites. However, not those alone, but even his own "brothers," "the sons of his mother," should acknowledge the sovereignty of Jacob's progeny; and more particularly the Edomites, the nearest and latest kinsmen of the Hebrews, the children of an ancestor who was born of the same father and of the same mother with Jacob, and to whom, by right of nature, the authority of the firstborn belonged (ver. 37). But the Hebrews were destined to be more than the mere conquerors and inhabitants of Palestine; their worldly prosperity was but the pledge of higher and more precious treasures; it was the guarantee that they should be the guardians of truth and peace of mind; that all the nations of the earth were to follow the standard they would unfurl, and that all generations were to respect them as their guides and instructors: that "those who curse them are cursed, and those who bless them are blessed." The Israelites were selected as the prophets among the nations, to be the intermediate link between God and mankind. Thus understood, the prediction of Israel's dominion presents an admirable climax, from the foreign nations to kindred tribes, and from the external power to the universal sovereignty of the mind.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—The odour of the garments of the simple man of the field, Esau, has been strangely ascribed to artificial perfumes or ointments, which were used only by effeminate persons in an age of luxury (Cant. i. 3; iii. 6; Ps. xlv. 9, etc.). About אִם־לֶחֶם, which is here not simply "poetical," see on xxviii. 6—9.—As Esau spent his days mostly in roving through fields and hills, his clothes naturally received a smell of freshness from the fragrant products of the southern climate. — אִם־לֶחֶם contains, like אֶלֶם, with

which it stands in parallelism, the preposition בְּ; and אִם־לֶחֶם is a plural noun, used synonymously with אֶלֶם (Numb. xiii. 20; Nehem. ix. 25, 35); אִם־לֶחֶם or אִם־לֶחֶם (Isai. v. 1; xxviii. 1); אִם־לֶחֶם (Dan. xi. 24); and אִם־לֶחֶם (Isai. lix. 10). — The Ketib אִם־לֶחֶם (ver. 29) is the more regular, though less usual form, instead of אִם־לֶחֶם. — The form אִם־לֶחֶם is poetical, as in Job xxxvii. 6; or אִם־לֶחֶם in Isai. xvi. 4; see p. 129.

30—33. A most intense, if not painful, interest is excited in the reader's mind; he is in an anxious suspense, trembling lest Esau should return and surprise Jacob in his ludicrous disguise and his reckless fraud; his sympathy is divided, and in a perplexing conflict. The Biblical author was distinctly conscious of this critical situation; he relates, with great stress, that "Jacob was yet scarcely gone (אֲנִי־נִצַּח־יָאֵל) out from the presence of Isaac his father," when Esau came back (comp. Judg. vii. 19). A scene of violence was thus avoided; and this was regarded as an interposition of Providence, as a sign that God desired the prerogatives of Jacob. When, therefore, Esau, hastening to prepare the venison, brought it to his father, and demanded the benediction, Isaac was indeed overwhelmed with consternation and grief; he felt, indeed, excruciating anguish that his younger son should have debased himself by falsehood, and craft, and shameless blasphemy (ver. 35); but he could not but acknowledge, in his success, the finger of God, who evidently had determined the elevation of Jacob; he could not but be forcibly reminded of the prophecy received by Rebekah, and now at last be convinced of its truth; and he exclaimed, though with a certain sorrowful feeling, yet with firmness and assurance: "he shall certainly be blessed." However deeply the father might continue to despise the abject means by which the benediction was obtained,

brought *it* to his father, and said to his father, Let my father rise, and eat of his son's venison, that thy soul may bless me. 32. And Isaac his father said to him, Who *art* thou? And he said, I *am* thy son, thy firstborn Esau. 33. And Isaac trembled very exceedingly, and said, Who, then, is he who took venison, and brought *it* me? and I have eaten of all before thou camest, and have blessed him:—he shall certainly be blessed.—34. When Esau heard the words of his father, he cried with a great and exceedingly bitter cry, and said to his father, Bless me also, Oh my father. 35. And he said, Thy brother came with cunning, and

he was now certain that Jacob was destined to be the propagator of the faith of Abraham.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS. — אֲנִי is a particle expressing impatience, like the Latin *tandem*; therefore the words לֹא וְכִי אֲנִי הוּא mean “who, then, is he who,” etc.; comp. ver. 37, where Onkelos renders כֵּן. — The emendations of the Hebrew text proposed by Hitzig: וְאֵבְרָכְהוּ נָם בְּרוּךְ יְהוָה וְכִי “And I blessed him indeed. And it was,” etc. (comp. Joa. xxiv. 10), would destroy the powerful consistency of this part of the narrative; נָם has, in the received text, a very considerable emphasis; and this application of the particle is in no way unusual (see p. 176; comp. xxx. 8). —Nor is it necessary, with others, to add before כִּשְׁמֹעַ the verb וַיְהִי, which they suppose was by mistake omitted after the similar word יְהִי. The Masoretic reading is supported by the authority of the Samaritan codex, the Septuagint, and other ancient versions. The reasons which are maintained to have prompted the corruption of the text, guided the author of the Pentateuch himself; for it is one of the chief ideas of this portion, that the blessing of the patriarch once bestowed is irrevocable; if the received reading is wrong, it would follow that the whole chapter is a later fabrication; and the assertion, that the construction וַיְהִי בְרוּךְ יְהוָה is not Hebrew, is indeed bold; for it would tend to prove that the corruptions date from the comparatively recent period when Hebrew had become a dead language. Though

the construction וַיְהִי כִשְׁמֹעַ is rather brief, it is neither abrupt, nor against the genius of Hebrew syntax (comp. xix. 4, etc.).

34—38. In this embarrassing dilemma, both the nature of the patriarchal blessing and the character of Esau are most distinctly developed. The blessing is irrevocable; once pronounced, it works its effect with the infallibility of fate. This power is, indeed, attributed to the words of all parents spoken on their children; “the blessing of the father builds houses to the sons, the curse of the mother destroys them” (Sir. iii. 9); for the parents are to the children *the representatives of God*; but it is the case in an eminently higher degree with the patriarchs; they are, in their blessing, the instruments of God, who guides and inspires them; their words are Divine prophecies. These notions, undoubtedly standing in admirable harmony with the whole Biblical system, are certainly far superior to the analogous ideas of the classical nations. If Phœbus cannot revoke the fatal promise made to his ambitious son, Phœton; or if Theseus cannot arrest the curse which his blind wrath had hurled against his innocent son, Hippolytus: it is because the gods, themselves instruments, have no power over fate; nor is man the author of his own thoughts and words, but some demon is charged to infatuate, in order to ruin him. —Though Isaac exclaimed with a bitter pang: “Thy brother came with subtlety,” he was neither able nor desirous to annul the blessing;

took away thy blessing. 36. And he said, Is he not justly named Jacob [Deceiver]? for he hath now deceived me twice: he took away my birthright; and, behold, now he hath taken away my blessing. And he said, Hast thou not reserved a blessing for me? 37. And Isaac answered and said to Esau, Behold, I have made him thy lord, and all his brethren have I given to him for servants; and with corn and wine have I supported him: and what then shall I do to thee, my son? 38. And Esau said to his father, Hast thou but one blessing, my father? bless me also, Oh my father. And Esau lifted up his voice, and

he seemed to have exhausted his whole store of prophetic benediction; he had scarcely a second to bestow: points more than sufficient to prove, that the blessing was not regarded as the voluntary act of the patriarch, but as the gift and emanation of God, which, like all that proceeds from Him, is perfect and unerring. But how did Esau act in this conflict? It appears, that even he, in the first impression of his mind, acknowledged the invisible hand of Providence; for when he heard, that his brother had obtained the blessing, his feeling was that of intense and overpowering grief rather than of anger; "he cried with a great and exceedingly bitter cry"; and added simply: "Bless me also, Oh my father." But when Isaac himself could not repress his indignation against Jacob, when he described the means by which the latter had secured the privilege as contemptible cunning: how should the injured man of nature, impetuous and impulsive as he was, withhold an acrimonious and pungent rebuke? how should he not, in this maturer epoch of his life, be reminded of the artful insidiousness by which he had before been deprived of his birthright? and it is pardonable to his passion, that in order to give to the charge a greater stress, and a certain striking truth, he found Jacob's unprincipled cunning expressed and foreboded in his very name (see p. 487). But another interesting feature of Esau's character is here revealed. While in Jacob's conduct the high and noble aims

which he pursued, were in most discordant contrast with the ungenerous means which he employed, Esau was fluctuating and contradictory within himself; though the general tone of his mind was indifference to spiritual boons, his sentiments were spontaneous and profound *whenever the voice of nature spoke*; he despised the *birthright* (xxv. 34), but regarded himself always as the *firstborn son* (ver. 32); he slighted the prophecy of God (xxv. 23), but coveted most anxiously the blessing of his *father*; he attributed to the latter a greater force than to the former; he hoped to neutralize the effect of the one by the weight of the other; he could not comprehend or feel the invisible, but he was keenly susceptible of the visible; his mind was not sublime, but his heart was full of pure and strong emotions; he saw in his father only the earthly progenitor, not the representative of the Deity — he was, indeed, the man of nature. As such he is described in the affecting scene of our text; he is designedly placed in marked contradistinction to his brother Jacob: nature, simplicity, deep and genuine affection on the one side; shrewdness, ambition, and indefinite, soaring, but unsatisfied intellectual craving on the other. This contrast not only implies the kernel and spirit of this narrative, but forms the centre of all Biblical notions. Hence Esau's vehement disappointment will receive its proper light; he deeply repented, that he had sold his birthright, but only because he believed,

wept. 39. And Isaac his father answered and said to him,

Behold, without the fatness of the earth shall be thy dwelling,

And without the dew of heaven from above.

that he was for that reason justly deprived of the father's blessing due to the eldest son (ver. 36); he heard, without envy or animosity, that Jacob's descendants had been declared the future lords of his own progeny; leaving that prerogative un murmuringly to his brother, he exclaimed: "Hast thou but one blessing, my father"? and burst forth into another flood of tears (comp. Hebr. xii. 17).

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—In רַכְנֵי נָח the nominative is repeated after the accusative of the suffix; comp. note on iv. 26, p. 154. — 'וְיָקִי' (ver. 36), "*Has in truth his name been called Jacob*"? that is, *justly* does he bear that name; therefore, Sept. *δικαιως*; Vulg. *juste*; Onkel. מִיָּמִי; and Maurer: "*dubitantis speciem ostendit Esavus, ut eo acerbius affirmet.*" — הָיָה לְיַעֲקֹב "already twice"; comp. xxxi. 38, etc.

39, 40. Long had the fond father resisted the importunity of Esau, since he knew that he could predict to his favourite son little that could give satisfaction to himself, or prove acceptable to the other. This reluctance might have taught a wiser and more prudent man to renounce a certainty little calculated to brighten his prospects. But now Isaac was forced, almost against his will, to reveal the painful truth; he described the abodes assigned to the Edomites as barren and cheerless, neither favoured by the fatness of the earth, nor the dew of heaven; their life, therefore, far from being one of calm enjoyment, would be passed in plunder and warfare; they would owe all to the sword, and nothing to the plough-share; but though always wielding sanguinary weapons, yet their lot would be subjection and servitude; though strong enough for pillage, they would be too rude for victory; they would be the slaves of their kindred tribes;

—but their innate prowess, if tempered by prudence, and controlled by discipline, would always be powerful enough to secure or to restore their liberty; if roused by self-respect and energy, they would break the yoke, and be again free in their vast steppes. This is the image of Esau's history, at once forcible, faithful, and concise. The tracts inhabited by the Idumæans, the region of Mount Seir, and the deserted districts in the west and north-west of it, belong, perhaps, to the most desolate, the most sterile parts of the globe. There is frequently for many miles no village, no hut, to mark the trace of a human being; the soil is parched by the burning rays of the sun; solitude and devastation prevail around; those who, by ancestral traditions or indolence, are kept in these regions, seek refuge in caves or subterranean tents; the soil, yielding no more than a scanty verdure, scarcely sufficient for the maintenance of flocks, defies the industry of the husbandman; no waving ear, no golden fruit, no smiling flower, relieves the eye of the desponding wanderer; "the fatness of the earth, and the dew of heaven" are alike denied to the land. It is, however, hardly necessary to observe, that some parts of the districts of Idumæa, especially those nearer the southern frontiers of Palestine, and some other valleys, were capable of cultivation, and produced corn and wine, though scarcely more than was barely necessary for immediate consumption (Numb. xx. 17; Ezek. xxv. 13; comp. *Jerome, Comment. in Obad. vers. 5, 6; and Proleg. ad Amosum*).—The other points of Isaac's predictions have already been illustrated; we have treated of the unbridled mode of life of the Edomites; of their subjection under the sceptre of the kings of Judah; and their ultimate deliverance in the reign of

40. And by thy sword shalt thou live;  
 Yet shalt thou serve thy brother:—  
 But when thou truly desirest it,  
 Thou shalt break his yoke from thy neck.—

king Joram (see p. 488); but we may here more distinctly express an idea, before but passingly alluded to (p. 489). The text intimates, that the freedom of the Idumæans was given in their own hands; that they might be independent whenever they would summon sufficient energy earnestly to wish it (כִּאֲשֶׁר תִּרְדּוּ); and as the history of Esau is the mirror in which we are to see the destinies of his descendants, we may, in the repentance of the former, find a regret, on the part of the latter, that they had neglected their dignity when it was time to vindicate it; for they might, indeed, after their subjugation, have attempted fruitless revolts and invasions; but centuries elapsed before they could redeem the forfeited rights.

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—The words 'כִּאֲשֶׁר תִּרְדּוּ' addressed to Esau (ver. 39) cannot mean "of the fatness of the earth, and of the dew of heaven," but must signify *without* them (see on vers. 1—4); for, 1. In the former sense, the prediction would be untrue; since Idumæa is no fertile, but, on the whole, a most dreary and unproductive land. 2. Every blessing had already been given away to Jacob (vers. 27—29); not dominion only, but also fertility and abundance had been granted to him; and, therefore, nothing was reserved or left for Esau (אֵלֶּךָ, ver. 36). 3. If Isaac had intended to bestow such blessing upon his eldest son, he would not have resisted and hesitated so long, although his alarm and grief at the immorality of Jacob might have been equally great. 4. The play upon the words כִּאֲשֶׁר and כִּסְלָל, here used in the curse of Esau, while, in ver. 28, they are employed in the blessing of Jacob, is, no doubt, intentional; it recalls the facts, that though the territories of both brothers are geographically not distant from each other, and Esau also might have been great and free if he had energetically wished it: their destinies were as different as their

characters and dispositions (comp. xl. 13, and 19).—עַל הַלָּחֶם is like עַל חֶרֶב in Deut. viii. 3.—רָדָה, an expressive word, denotes the wild attempts of an untameable animal to break through every restraint and revel in unchecked liberty: taken in a figurative sense, it describes, therefore, well the incessant revolts and attacks of a ferocious people, eager to shake off the yoke of servitude or dependence (comp. Hos. xii. 1; Jer. ii. 31). The prophecy, then, expresses, that although the Edomites will be subjected to the Hebrews, they will never cease to rage against their fetters, and will at last succeed in breaking them.

—But רָדָה, i. and iv. signifies, to *wish*, or to have the determined will of performing something: and although we believe the former meaning to be more powerful and more immediately intended in our passage; it will yet be admitted, that it does not exactly exclude the latter sense, which, as we have shown above, alludes to the long and fatal indifference of the Idumæans. But רָדָה has certainly neither an affinity to the verb רָדָה *to govern* (Kimchi, Saad., Erpen.), which would yield the feeble sense or rather the tautology: "when thou wilt govern, thou wilt break the yoke"; nor with אָדָה *to be strong* (Samarit. Cod.: תָּאָדָה); nor does it imply the notion of complaining or grieving, proposed by some of the earlier commentators, and conjecturally derived from Ps. lv. 3, where, however, the verb אָרִיר is easily referable to the general meaning of רָדָה ("I revolt against my grief"). The renderings of the other ancient translators are inaccurate (Sept. *ἔσται δὲ, ἡνίκα ἰδὼν καθέλης*; Vulg. *tempusque veniet quum excutias et solvas*, etc.; Onkel., "and it will come to pass when his [Jacob's] descendants will transgress the words of the Law, that thou wilt shake off the yoke," etc.).



41. And Esau hated Jacob on account of the blessing with which his father had blessed him: and Esau said in his heart, Days of grief are at hand for my father; for I will slay my brother Jacob.—42. And these words of Esau her elder son were told to Rebekah: and she sent and called Jacob her younger son, and said to him, Behold, thy brother Esau will take revenge upon thee by

41. When Esau, leaving the presence of Isaac, no longer felt the sanctifying influence of a father's voice, every restraint was loosened, and he gave vent to the passion of his heart. He burnt with hatred towards his treacherous brother; and believing that he was able to annihilate the effect of the blessing, he was eager to quench his anger in the blood of the deceiver. But while he was wishing to perpetrate the sanguinary deed, the revered form of his aged father rose before his mind; it seemed for a moment to appease his ire: yet his hatred was too turbulent, too intense; he deplored the wretchedness into which he knew that his father would be plunged; yet he was unable to prevent it; instinct and passion struggled against each other; but his passion was stronger than his reason, though it did not extinguish his love, though it did not corrupt his heart. What an excellent picture of the true man of nature!

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—It is, therefore, less appropriate to understand the words יָקְרְבוּ יְמֵי אָבִי to mean "the days of mourning for my father are at hand" (Engl. Vers., *Rosenm.*, *Tuch*, and others). Although there is no grammatical objection to this acceptation, it would presuppose a deliberate calmness and self-control on the part of Esau totally at variance with his character; for, to postpone the revenge to a suitable but an indefinite period, is the deed of a coldly calculating, not of an impulsively impetuous mind. Besides, Esau would have been obliged to wait till after the death of his mother also; for we have no reason to suppose that he loved her less; and it was she who would have been particularly grieved at Jacob's premature death.

42—45. Rebekah knew well the generous, though vehement disposition of her eldest son. When, therefore, she was informed of his criminal intentions, which he was too artless sufficiently to conceal, she, with her usual calmness and prudence, devised a plan which prevented the impending bloodshed and misery. Acknowledging that Esau had, indeed, from an ordinary point of view, been seriously wronged (ver. 45); but convinced that his anger would soon cool down, if its object were removed; that rankling animosity could not linger in his breast; and that, thoughtless and forgiving, he was swayed by the impulse of the moment: Rebekah advised Jacob to escape to Mesopotamia, to her brother Laban, and there to await the time when he would be able to return with safety; she herself would watch that he should not longer be absent from the land promised to him and his seed than precaution demanded. But she seems to have supposed that the consideration of his own safety would alone have been insufficient to move Jacob to flee; for she deemed it necessary to add, as another stimulus, "why should I be bereaved of you both in one day"? She evidently alluded to the custom of the avenging of blood, which would have forced the nearest relative of Jacob to expiate his blood by killing Esau (comp. 2 Sam. xiv. 6, 7). Jacob's journey to Mesopotamia is thus freed from the low motives of selfishness and cowardice, and assumes the character of filial affection.

To the remarks on the avenging of blood, offered on another occasion (Comm. on Exodus pp. 391—397), we add a few notices concerning its observance in

killing thee. 43. Now, therefore, my son, listen to my voice; and rise, flee to Laban my brother, to Haran; 44. And remain with him some time, until thy brother's anger turneth away; 45. Until thy brother's anger turneth away from thee, and he forgetteth what thou hast done to him: then I shall send, and fetch thee from there: why should I be bereaved of both of you in one day?—

the present time. Though the law of Mohammed teaches, that fathers are not to be punished for the crimes of their children, nor children for those of their parents, either in this world or in futurity (comp. on Exod. pp. 348—350; Deut. xxiv. 16; 2 Kings xiv. 6; 2 Sam. xiv. 7); this doctrine is far from being generally acted upon: on the contrary, the *thar*, or duty of blood-revenge devolves upon every one within the fifth generation (or *Khoms*), and may be exercised against any one within the same degree of consanguinity; it is even sometimes asserted that the right to the blood-revenge is never lost; that it descends on both sides to the latest generation (*Burckhardt*, Notes on the Bedouins, p. 85). Hence an Arab hesitates to tell his name to a stranger, or to mention that of his father, or of his tribe, for a blood-feud might exist between them; children even are instructed to observe this caution; and strangers are, in the open country, regarded with extreme suspicion (comp. *Layard*, Nineveh and Babylon, p. 305); but as guests are inviolable, a homicide is perfectly safe in the tent of a third person, or even in that of his own persecutor. The price of blood was legally one hundred camels (thirty of four years old, thirty of five years old, and forty with young); but to accept less was considered virtuous; and the compensation is different in different tribes; in some of them a mare, a black slave, and a gun are indispensable, besides a certain number of camels, or their value in other cattle or money. It is regarded as an act of great charity to contribute towards the blood-money, if the murderer is a poor man, who in order to collect the imposed sum,

frequently, with a chain round his neck, wanders from tent to tent through the desert and all the towns and villages within his reach. To forgive a wound is deemed a highly meritorious act of moderation; but if, after having promised pardon, the wounded yet exacts retaliation, he is threatened with the everlasting fire. To pardon murder, as the avenger of blood has the power to do in Persia, was illegal both in the Mosaic and the Mohammedan law.—A kind of precedent for the cities of refuge, appointed by Moses, existed in the ancient and still prevailing usages of the Arabs. The homicide generally offers to the avenger of blood money as a compromise; but even if this is not accepted, he, according to immemorial custom, obtains a truce of “three days and four hours,” during which time he may remove to another tribe, and implore its protection, which it is considered a duty to grant. His relatives generally flee with him; sometimes more than a hundred tents are removed in consequence of one murder; in almost all encampments such fugitives from other tribes are found; fear generally prevents them from returning to the nation from which they sprang; and they gradually amalgamate with their protectors. But a friendly tribe may not be near; the persecutor may be stronger than the new friends of the homicide; and no religious law forbids the former to abstain from insidious attacks; whereas the arrangements provided by the Mosaic Law, afforded him a secure and powerful refuge.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS. — About וַיִּנְחָם אֶת דָּבָר (ver. 42) see on iv. 18.—נִחַם in Hithpael or Niphal (Isai. i. 24), means, properly, to console oneself; there-

46. And Rebekah said to Isaac, I loathe my life because of the daughters of Heth: if Jacob take a wife of the daughters of Heth, such as these, of the daughters of the land, of what avail is life to me?

fore, to take revenge, which gratifies the incensed mind (*Aristotle*, *Rhet.* ii. 2: *τῷ ὀργῇ ἔκταται ἡδονὴ τις ἀπὸ τῆς ἀλπίδος τοῦ τιμωρήσασθαι*; see *Gesen.* *Thes.* p. 874). Therefore *נִקְמָה*, to revenge oneself, is construed with *ל* on somebody (here *לָּהּ*), like *ל* *נָקַם*, *Nah.* i. 2; *Ezek.* xxv. 12. The translations *ἀπειλῇ*, *minatur*, etc., are incorrect.—See notes on xxviii. 6—9.

46. Rebekah, concealing from Isaac,

for the sake of his tranquillity, the danger which menaced Jacob's life from the vehemence of Esau's passion, yet wishing to accelerate Jacob's departure, considerably said to her husband, with a certain affectation of vehemence, that she would regard her life as a burden and a plague, if Jacob were, like Esau, to marry a daughter of the hateful Hittites: and Isaac readily understood the meaning and scope of her remark (comp. xxvi. 35; xxiv. 3, 4).

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

SUMMARY.—Isaac dismissed Jacob, on his departure to Mesopotamia, with a spontaneous blessing, and the repeated injunction not to take a wife from the daughters of the Canaanites. The latter circumstance induced Esau to add Mahalath, the daughter of Ishmael, to the two Hittite wives previously married. Jacob, on his way to Haran, stayed one night near Bethel, where God appeared to him in a wonderful dream, and encouraged him by most comprehensive promises. When he awoke, and felt the sacredness of the place, he sanctified the stone on which he had rested as a holy monument, and made a vow, that if he safely returned to his home, he would convert that monument into a sanctuary, and offer to God the tenth part of whatever property he should acquire.

1. And Isaac called Jacob, and blessed him, and commanded him, and said to him, Thou shalt not take a wife of the daughters of Canaan. 2. Rise, go to Padan-aram, to the house of Bethuel, thy mother's father; and take for thee a wife from there of the daughters of Laban, thy mother's brother. 3. And may God, the Almighty, bless thee, and make thee fruitful, and multiply thee, that thou

1—5. Stimulated by Rebekah, Isaac urged Jacob to journey without delay to the plains of Mesopotamia, to repair to the house of Bethuel, and there to choose a wife from the daughters of Laban. But he was not perfectly satisfied with the unexpected result of a transaction in which he had merely been a passive instrument, but in which he yet recognised and revered the hand of a higher power. When, therefore, he dismissed Jacob, he gave him

his free and spontaneous blessing. As it was occasioned by the contemplated marriage of Jacob, he naturally wished him, above all, a numerous and powerful progeny; and comprising in a single expression the whole aggregate of the highest boons, he added, that God would give him and his seed "the blessing of Abraham" (comp. xvii. 8; xxi. 17, 18). As this journey forms a most decided epoch in Jacob's life, the text relates it in the

mayest become a multitude of people; 4. And may He give thee the blessing of Abraham, to thee, and to thy seed with thee, that thou mayest inherit the land of thy sojourn, which God gave to Abraham. 5. And Isaac sent away Jacob: and he went to Padan-aram, to Laban, son of Bethuel the Aramæan, the brother of Rebekah, Jacob's and Esau's mother.—6. And when Esau saw that Isaac had blessed Jacob, and sent him away to Padan-aram, to take for himself a wife from there—when he blessed him—and that he had commanded him, saying, Thou shalt not

most accurate terms, and as if briefly summing up the past events, it adds a minute genealogy: "And Isaac sent away Jacob: and he went to the low-land of Aram, to Laban, the son of Bethuel, the Aramæan, the brother of Rebekah, the mother of Jacob and Esau" (ver. 5); now, perhaps, intentionally placing Jacob before his elder brother (see on Exod. vi. 9).

●—●. Esau, true to himself, soon forgot his animosity against Jacob. Not only did he hear with almost perfect calmness of the new blessing which his brother had received; but as, by the solemn injunction of Isaac, he was reminded that the matrimonial alliances concluded by him with the Hittite women were regarded with displeasure by his parents, and wishing to please and satisfy them—he, like a true rustic in intellect, unable to rise above the sphere of the natural, he took a *third* wife, a daughter of *Ishmael* (יִשְׁמָאֵל) besides his wives; comp. xxxi. 50), without dismissing his two former wives, who had blessed him with children.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—Two points remain to be discussed with reference to the important section comprising from xxvi. 34 to xxviii. 9, which forms one continuous portion. First, the chronology of the events related. Jacob departed immediately to Mesopotamia (vers. 7, 10). There he stayed twenty years, fourteen of which he served for his wives, Rachel and Leah (xxxi. 38). Shortly after the birth of Joseph, he intended to return to Canaan (xxx. 25); but he remained six

years longer for his cattle (xxxi. 41). Joseph was, therefore, about seven years old when he arrived with his father in Palestine; ten years later, he was sold into Egypt (xxvii. 2); and thirteen years after this event, in the thirtieth year of his life, he came before Pharaoh (xli. 46). Then followed the seven years of plenty (xli. 32); and when two years of the period of famine had elapsed, Jacob was called into Egypt (xlv. 6, 11); and he was at that time 130 years old (xlvii. 9). From the period of his departure to Mesopotamia to his immigration into Egypt, had then elapsed 20 years + 10 + 13 + 7 + 2, or 52 years; and Jacob was, therefore, at the time of his journey to Haran, 130—52 years old, that is, 78 years; and Isaac, when pronouncing the blessing, was 78 + 60, or 138 years (xxv. 26).—It is necessary to bear this computation in mind, as it is the basis of several essential inferences.

The second point to be briefly explained is the relation of the Elohist and Jehovist in this portion. As it is the direct continuation of the second part of the twenty-fifth chapter (from ver. 19), it must be considered in connection with it. Impartial and attentive examination leads to the following result. The older or Elohist document gives to Jacob an unconditional blessing; it states simply and clearly the submission of the elder under the younger tribes; it points, therefore, to the time of David, when the Idumæans were totally subjected to the Israelites; and does not

take a wife of the daughters of Canaan; 7. And that Jacob had obeyed his father and his mother, and was gone to Padan-aram; 8. And when Esau saw that the daughters of Canaan displeased Isaac his father: 9. Esau went to Ishmael, and took, besides the wives he had, Mahalath the daughter of Ishmael Abraham's son, the sister of Nebajoth, to be his wife.

proceed beyond this period. But the later or Jehovistic writer alludes to the eventual liberty and regained independence of the Edomites; he, therefore, qualifies the absolute nature of Jacob's superiority; he points to the time of Joram, when the Idumeans rose to become the terror and scourge of the Hebrews. These are the criteria for determining the authorship of this section: it belongs, undoubtedly, as a whole, to the Jehovist, with whose character it perfectly accords, both in spirit, and in style; but it is more than likely, that it contains parts from the older Elohist document; and we believe we are not mistaken in assigning to this source the unreserved and unqualified blessing in xxvii. 28, 29, in which, as a welcome confirmation, the name אֱלֹהִים occurs. The Jehovist embodied this benediction in his narrative, of which it now forms an integral part; it contains nothing that refers to a later time than that of David; and pronounces the perfect sovereignty of Jacob over Esau. But the Jehovist, in accordance with his well-conceived plan, added the partial benediction of Esau regarding his future deliverance (xxvii. 30—45); and assigned for Jacob's journey to Mesopotamia a motive, either entirely omitted, or but slightly touched in the older document, from which evidently the passage xxvii. 46 to xxviii. 9 is taken (comp. vers. 3, 4: אֵל שַׁדַּי, אֱלֹהִים, etc.). There no mention whatever is made of the animosity between the brothers; Isaac blesses Jacob spontaneously; there is no contention about the benediction; Esau witnesses it without anger or envy (ver. 6); and the only reason stated for Jacob's departure, is his intention to take a wife from his own family in Haran; while Esau, so

far from finding herein any cause of hostility, wishes to imitate his brother's example; for he had before caused bitter grief to his parents by taking Canaanitish wives; the verses, therefore, in which this fact was mentioned (xxvi. 34, 35), seem likewise to have formed part of the Elohist source. But more than this we cannot decide. As a warning against all hasty conclusions, we may remind the reader, that, according to the criterion above proposed, the blessing in xxv. 23 belongs to the Elohist, *although it is premised by* יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ, exactly in the same manner as the Elohist verses, xxvii. 28, 29, follow after the Jehovist's introductory words (ver. 27). Nothing can more strongly prove how closely and almost inseparably the documents of the Elohist are interwoven with the composition of the Jehovist; how unsafe it is to decide by the mere external mark of the Divine names; and how incorrect it is to assert, that we have, in Genesis, two documents, which we are still able to resolve into their component parts. The contents, the historical allusions, the progress of the ideas, and similar internal considerations can alone decide. —Tuch's remarks on this section are peculiarly happy, and full of good judgment and critical tact; but we are bound to deviate from him in several important points. For he ascribes to the Elohist the following passages only, which, indeed, form a certain connected unity: xxvi. 34, 35; xxvii. 46; xxviii. 1—9; and regards them as the direct continuation of xxv. 19—34, in his opinion also an Elohist portion; see, however, p. 493. — About the use of על in וְעַל (ver. 9), in the sense of "besides," or "in addition to," compare xxxi. 50; xxxii. 12; Exod. xxxv. 22.

### III.—THE HISTORY OF JACOB AND ESAU.

CHAPTERS XXVIII. 10 TO XXXVI. 43.

10. And Jacob went out from Beer-sheba, and went towards Haran. 11. And he arrived at a certain place, and stayed there over night; for the sun had set; and he took *one* of the stones of the place, and put *it* under his head, and lay down in that place. 12. And he dreamt, and, behold, a ladder *was* placed on the earth, and its top reached to heaven: and, behold, the angels of God *were* ascending and descending on it. 13. And, behold, the Lord stood above it, and said, I *am* the Lord, the God of Abraham thy father, and the God of Isaac: the land whereon thou liest, to thee shall I give it, and to thy seed;

10—15. On his way from the south of Palestine to the regions of the Euphrates, Jacob was surprised by the night in an open field near the town of Bethel. Why did he not enter the town, where he might have found a resting-place both more safe and more convenient? As this question is too clear to have been overlooked by the Biblical writer, he must have had an intention and reason in not obviating it. Nobody can deny that the scene here described has a symbolical meaning, and that it typifies some of the chief features of Israel's later history. The true sense of this portion can, therefore, be ascertained only by viewing it in the light of anticipative history. Now, both Abraham and Jacob are, in many respects, embodiments of the destinies of the Hebrews. But while Abraham represents chiefly their internal or religious history, Jacob foreshadows their external life, political and social. Abraham is calm and dignified; his greatness, obedience and faith; his career, devotion and submission: Jacob is active and scheming; his life, combat with adversity and hardship; while his character required a long training by struggles and tribulations. Who does not recognise in the latter patriarch the image of Israel's political history? Compelled to conquer a populous and fortified land with their swords and their bows, and constant-

ly to fight against more warlike enemies; open to the perpetual invasions and devastations of perfidious tribes; isolated, unaided, thrown upon their own strength and their own feeble resources, could they expect to triumph without the will and manifest support of Providence? Jacob sleeps in the open field, exposed to the attacks of wild beasts and wayfaring marauders, protected only by the "Guardian of Israel, who never sleeps nor slumbers." The anxious and paternal care bestowed by God upon His people was to be forcibly portrayed at the outset of the independent history of their immediate ancestor, when he left his father's house to seek refuge and to acquire wealth in a distant land, with nothing but his staff to accompany him on his long and uncertain journey (xxxii. 11). Every part and trait of this portion has, therefore, solely the end of expressing God's watchful providence for Israel; and we shall thus not be at a loss to comprehend why Jacob is represented staying over night, not in a well protected town, but under the canopy of heaven, in the chaste brilliancy of the eternal stars; we shall understand, that the ladder resting on earth and reaching into heaven, is the invisible bridge which connects men with God, the human deeds with the human destinies, the manifest effects with the great but hidden Cause; that the

14. And thy seed shall be as the dust of the earth, and thou shalt spread to the west; and to the east, and to the north, and to the south: and in thee and in thy seed shall all the families of the earth be blessed. 15. And, behold, I *am* with thee, and I shall guard thee wherever thou goest, and shall bring thee back into this land; for I shall not leave thee, until I have done *that* of which I have spoken to thee.—16. And Jacob awoke from his sleep,

angels ascending and descending the ladder show that the connection is truly spiritual and permanent, through the heart and mind, through everything that is Divine in man; we shall be convinced that God, standing at the top of this ladder, is conceived as the source from which all human blessing proceeds, and as the aim to which all human aspirations tend; that He guides and dispenses, teaches and consoles, according to His infinite wisdom; that “as the heaven is above the earth, so are His thoughts above the thoughts of man” (Isai. lv. 9). And if Jacob here represents the people of Israel, both the ladder and the angels express deeply and beautifully the constant and uninterrupted solicitude of God towards Israel, and the internal, warm, and holy yearning which Israel should entertain towards God and His truth. Since, then, the idea of *Providence* is chiefly embodied in this vision, the assurances given by God to Jacob do not merely repeat the former promises regarding the possession of the land, the numerous descendants, and the mighty extension of their dominion; they do not merely rise to the prophetic promise concerning the blessings which would be spread, through Israel, over all the nations of the earth: but they add an explicit and binding guarantee, that God would guard Jacob in all his paths; that He would lead him back safely to the land of his birth, and that He would not forsake him till all His promises were accomplished (ver. 16; comp. xii. 2, 3; xiii. 14—16; xxvi. 3, 4).

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—*קראשות* is evidently the place at or near the head;

therefore, stat. constr. *קראשותו* with the suffix *קראשותיו* at his head (1 Sam. xix. 13, 16; xxvi. 7; 1 Kings xix. 6); and with the preposition *בן* it would be *בן קראשות*, instead of which, for the sake of euphony, *קראשות* seems to have been formed (1 Sam. xxvi. 12; compare *קראשות* Jerem. xiii. 18).—The words *נצב עליו* (ver. 13) may indeed grammatically signify, “God stood at his (Jacob’s) side” (comp. xviii. 2, etc.); but, according to the explanation given, they would here mean rather, that God was *above* the angels, sending them as His messengers up and down to man, while He Himself remains in heaven, in majestic dignity. Besides, the suffix can unforcedly refer only to *מלכ*, as in *ראשו* and *בן*, not to Jacob, who is not mentioned immediately before; Sept. *ἐπ’ αὐτῆς*; Vulg. *Dominum innixum scale*.—It may be observed, that, in India, many caves used as temples, contain a high ladder, with seven gates, in conformity with the number of the planets, upon which the soul is believed gradually to ascend to the highest abode of bliss (comp. *Rosenmüller*, *Morgenl.* i. 123). In the mysteries of Mythra, a ladder is introduced with seven steps, on which the spirits were believed to ascend through the planets, till they arrive in the eighth heaven, where the deity is enthroned (*Porphy.*, *Abst.* xiv. 16; *Bohlen*, *in loc.*). These notions, possibly known to the Hebrews also, will serve to illustrate Jacob’s dream; but every astronomical and other pagan element, is here, as in all other adaptations, sedulously excluded.

16—22. When Jacob awoke, he felt the powerful reality of the dream; the words of the God of “his father Abraham

and he said, Surely the Lord is in this place, and I knew it not. 17. And he was afraid, and said, How awful is this place! this is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven. 18. And Jacob rose early in the morning, and took the stone which he had put under his head, and set it up *for* a monument, and poured oil upon its top. 19. And he called the name of that place Beth-el: but the name of the town *was* originally Luz.

and of Isaac" vibrated within his mind; and he at once gave a striking proof of the effect which both the vision and the promise had produced upon him. As God had descended to him, so he attempted to ascend to God; a religious awe came over him; his mind was agitated by a higher emotion; and everything connected with the dream assumed, in his eyes, a character of holiness. The place, especially, where he had reposed was regarded by him as "the gate of heaven," since it had manifested to him the presence of the Deity; it was the "house of God," since here He had appeared to him, promising assistance when his oppressed heart needed it most, and attended by His heavenly messengers, who represent the visible acts of His omnipotence (see pp. 399, 400). This was, most probably, the place later distinguished by the presence of the holy Tabernacle, where sacrifices were offered and vows were fulfilled (see p. 335). It cannot, therefore, surprise us, that this spot was considered as pre-eminently holy. For although the glory of God pervades the universe, so that not even the heaven of heavens can hold it, some localities were deemed as His special abodes, where men assemble, pour out their hearts, and obtain peace; for as long as religion is connected with a visible worship it will be impossible for the human mind to divest itself of the notion that there are certain places more properly hallowed by the Divine presence. But although Canaan was the holy land, and Moriah the holy mountain, appointed by God for His dwelling-place (Exod. xv. 17); it was distinctly promis-

ed, in accordance with the doctrine of Divine omnipresence (see p. 143), that God appears and blesses man at whatever place He is invoked (Exod. xx. 21). Jacob, made aware by the dream, that he had slept on one of those favoured spots, singled out for a future sanctuary, and fearful that he had sinned by employing it for a profane purpose, exclaimed, in mingled surprise and apprehension: "How awful is this place! This is nothing else but the house of God!"

But he regarded the stone, also, on which he had rested his head, as holy; he consecrated it as an altar, by a rite which was usual, not only throughout the East, but also among some northern nations. Pouring oil, the emblem of holiness and dignity (see on Exod. p. 552), over the stone, and adding, perhaps, a libation of wine (xxxv. 14; Numb. xv. 5), he endowed it with a higher significance, and marked the spot where the Tabernacle, with its double altar, of incense and of burnt-offerings, was later erected. Such sacred stones bore the name of *Baetylia* (*Bairúlia*); and as Jacob called the place *Bethel*, it is not extravagant to suppose that both words are identical, and that either Jacob simply designated the stone as a *Baetylion*, and that later the town assumed the Hebraized name of Bethel (בֵּיתֵל); or that—which is, however, less probable—from this event, all anointed stones were called Bethels, which word was, in the course of time, corrupted into *Baetylia*. It is reported that even now it is customary in the East for travellers to erect stones in different parts of the road, and there to offer up prayers and



20. And Jacob offered a vow, saying, If God will be with me, and will guard me on this way which I go, and will give me bread to eat, and raiment to put on, 21. And I return again to my father's house in peace, and the Lord

vows for their safe return (*Rosen. Morgenl.* vi. 245).—Although the *Betylia* may, among some nations, have originated in the belief that certain stones were meteors (or *aërolites*) which had descended from heaven; for instance, the stone in Delphi sacred to Apollo; in Emesa, on the Orontes, consecrated to the sun; the angular rock at Pessinus, in Phrygia, worshipped as hallowed by Cybele; the pyramidal stone at Paphos holy to Venus; the thirty square stones in Phœæ, in Achaia, with the names of gods inscribed upon them; the black conical rocks of Heliopolis, in Syria, consecrated to the sun, and partly brought to Rome by the Emperor Elagabalus, and there placed in a temple on the Palatine mount; the black stone in the south-eastern corner of the Kaaba, in Mecca, believed to have been brought from heaven by the angel Gabriel: it is not necessary to suppose that this belief prevailed among the Hebrews also, as the stone altars, such as were long in use among them, and regarding which the Mosaic law contains distinct precepts (*Exod. xx. 21—23*), are sufficient to account for their adopting the custom of erecting *Betylia*.

In order to exhibit still more impressively the character of this event, Jacob is stated to have uttered a solemn vow, in which the *providence* of God is again not only the chief feature, but forms the very centre. As a lonely and powerless pilgrim, he trusts himself entirely to the guidance and protection of God; he asks His aid and love; he prays for the necessities of subsistence, for bread and garments; he entreats Him to bring him back to his parental roof; he demands, in a word, that the God of his ancestors may prove Himself as *his* God also (*והיה לי לאלהים*); and he promises, on his part, faithful and devoted piety, manifesting itself both in the adoration of God,

and in acts of charity towards men; for he pledged himself to regard the place of the vision as the house of God, and, imitating the example of Abraham, to devote, in the name of the Deity, the tenth part of his property to his fellow-men (*xiv. 20; comp. xxxi. 13; xxxv. 1—7; 2 Sam. xv. 8*). All this obtains a greater force, if it is remembered that the worship of Bethel degenerated later into a detested idolatry; that “the house of God” was degraded into a “house of wickedness”; and that the piety of the patriarch was a warning and an exhortation for the future generations.

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—The “gate of heaven” seems to stand in contradistinction to “house of God”; and as the latter refers to the place where Jacob had rested, the former alludes to the entrance of heaven, through which the angels came down upon the earth, and at which the Lord was standing. “Gate of heaven” (*שַׁעַר הַשָּׁמַיִם*) is, therefore, not synonymous with “heavenly abode,” or with “house of God”; though the word *gate* (*שַׁעַר*) is sometimes used for the whole dwelling or house (see p. 410).—Compare about the *Bairûlia*, *Euseb.*, *Præp. Evang.* i. 10; *Pausan.* vii. 22; x. 24; *Clem. Alex.*, *Strom.* vii., p. 713; *Arnob.*, *Adv. Gent.* i. 11, etc.; *Rosenmüller*, on vers. 18, 19. — It is impossible, that Jacob, who had just received the Divine blessing, should make his belief in God dependent on any condition of external success; therefore, the words *והיה לי לאלהים* belong to the first clause; and the second part of the sentence (or the apodosis) commences with *והנחתי והנחתי*; he might promise to erect a holy monument, and vow certain gifts; but it would have been criminal to *try* God. The construction (*והיה*), analogous to the preceding verbs *וַיִּשְׁכַּן*, *וַיִּנָּח*, etc., not with the following futures *יִהְיֶה* and *אֵעָשֶׂה* demands the same acceptance.

is my God: 22. Then this stone, which I have set for a monument, shall be a house of God: and of all that Thou wilt give me, I shall surely give the tenth part to Thee.

In this portion (from vers. 10 to 22), the Jehovahist is greatly indebted to the Elohist source; he seems, in fact, scarcely to have made any material addition. For, though vers. 13 to 16 have the name יהוה, their contents are almost indispensable; it is improbable, that the Elohist document also should not have contained some similar, though perhaps shorter, blessing; if this document introduced the ladder (ver. 12), it is more than likely, that it mentioned also God Himself standing above it (ver. 13); and if we omit vers. 13 to 16, and connect ver. 12 with ver. 17, the narrative would be abrupt, if not incomplete. But who will decide whether the words יהוה לי לאלהים (ver. 21) belong to the Jehovahist or the Elohist? Was the latter

entirely unacquainted with the name יהוה? and could he not have been induced to use it, in order to avoid a less concise phrase? Since יהוה is the God of the Hebrews (see on Exod. vi. 2, 3), the sense of those words is: "if the God of Abraham and Isaac indeed proves, by His ready assistance, that He has resolved to appoint me the heir of their blessings (comp. ver. 13; 2 Sam. vii. 24; Ezek. xxxiv. 24).—The distinctions of Hengstenberg (Authent. des Pent. i. 370), although in this instance less forced, because more faithfully based on the immediate words of the text, are coloured by the artificial principles of interpretation, devised by him for proving, in all cases, an internal reason, and even necessity, for the use of the names אלהים or יהוה.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

**SUMMARY.**—Jacob, arriving at a well in the neighbourhood of Haran, was, on his inquiry, informed by the shepherds, who there assembled to water their flocks, of the approach of Rachel, the daughter of Laban, Rebekah's brother. After an affectionate salutation, Rachel announced the relative to her father, who hastened to introduce him into his house, and pressed him to stay. Jacob, loving Rachel, agreed with Laban to serve for her seven years; but after the lapse of this period, he was, by a fraud of Laban, who excused himself by the custom of the country, married to Leah, her elder and less beautiful sister. He consented, therefore, to serve seven years more for Rachel. He became, by Leah, the father of Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Judah: but Rachel was barren.

### 1. Then Jacob lifted up his feet, and came into the

2. Rich in distant hopes, but cheerless in his immediate prospects, Jacob left the land of promise. He was a true pilgrim; and his whole life was a wearisome and changeful pilgrimage. The gold of his capacious and lofty mind was to be purified from its strong alloy of dishonesty and cunning in the furnace of misery and toil; his moral education commenced at his departure from the parental house, and after many tribulations only, resulted in that peace of mind which is at once the surest symptom and

the choicest reward of true virtue. Jacob's life has always been considered as a type: we see in it, indeed, the eternal image of man's protracted contests, both against the foe in his heart and with his destinies, till at last the internal enemy is either wearied out by his resistance, or expelled by his energy, or reconciled by his sufferings (see p. 576). Among the earliest seeds sown by Jacob were deceit and craft: and flight and exile were the firstfruits of his harvest. While his grandfather's servant had undertaken the journey to the

land of the children of the east. 2. And he looked, and behold, *there was* a well in the field, and, behold, *there were* three flocks of sheep lying by it; for out of that well they watered the flocks: and the stone upon the mouth of the well *was* great. 3. And thither all the flocks were gathered: and they rolled the stone from the mouth of the well, and watered the sheep, and put the stone again upon the mouth of the well to its place.—4. And Jacob said to them, My brethren, whence *are* you? And they said, From Haran *are* we. 5. And he said to them, Do you know Laban, the son of Nahor? And they said, We know *him*. 6. And he said, *Is* he well? And they said, *He is*

town of Nahor with ten camels laden with all the most precious treasures (xxiv. 10); the offspring of the alliance concluded in consequence of that journey, left his father's roof as a poor wanderer, without a friend or an attendant, and without an animal to lighten the fatigues of the way.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—Although the expression "children of the east" (בְּנֵי קֵדָר) denotes generally the Arabs inhabiting the tracts in the east of Palestine, it is here appropriately extended to Mesopotamia, as lying still more eastward, beyond the Euphrates.

2, 3. Jacob, approaching the goal of his journey, halted at a well, like Abraham's servant. But it seems that it was not precisely the *same* well. For in the former case it is described as being simply "before the town" (xxiv. 11), here "in the field"; there the girls principally came to draw water for drinking, here it is for the shepherds who water their cattle; there it is open and steps lead down to it (xxiv. 16), here it is covered with a large stone which the united strength of the shepherds only is able to remove. The two narratives are, therefore, not copied from one another; and they are to be regarded as two independent traditions. However, a certain analogy between both episodes is obviously intended. The author wishing to impress with the utmost possible distinctness that the God of Abraham and Isaac was also the God of

Jacob, and that He was as gracious to the latter as He had been to the former; repeated in the life of the one some features from the life of the other; just as the history of Isaac is, in many respects, perfectly parallel to that of Abraham (see p. 471). The three patriarchs form one whole; one is the heir and successor of the other with regard to their historical vocation; Abraham might already have become the father of the founders of the twelve tribes; his faith and his virtue would have entitled him to this privilege; but the time was not yet fulfilled; and his history lingers, therefore, and is re-echoed in the career of his son and of his grandson.—The well was covered lest the sand, when agitated by the wind, should be driven into the water; but the stone which covered it was designedly large and heavy, that a part of the shepherds might not deprive the others of their due share, or, perhaps, as has been observed, to prevent the well being opened too frequently, by which the dust would enter more copiously.

4—12. Jacob, though arriving as a helpless stranger, was strengthened by the consciousness of his brilliant mission; he, therefore, addressed the unknown shepherds not only with cordiality, but with self-assurance and authority, and ventured even a gentle reproof of indolence. The shepherds might have been astonished at this tone, and might have regarded it as an assumption; but they answered him dispassionately.

well; and, behold, Rachel his daughter cometh with the sheep. 7. And he said, Behold, the day *is* still long; *it is* not yet time that the cattle should be gathered: water the sheep, and go *and* pasture *them*. 8. And they said, We cannot, until all the flocks are gathered; then they roll the stone from the mouth of the well, and we water the sheep. 9. While he yet spoke with them, Rachel came with her father's sheep, for she *was* a shepherdess. 10. And when Jacob saw Rachel, the daughter of Laban, his mother's brother, and the sheep of Laban, his mother's brother, Jacob approached, and rolled the stone from the mouth of the well, and watered the flock of Laban, his

Themen of the town of Nabor, of Rebekah, Rachel, and Leah, are, no doubt, intentionally represented as peaceful and moral; for it was only under the influence of a virtuous community that the future mothers of the tribes of Israel could be reared; and it was neither caprice nor pride which induced Abraham, as well as Isaac, to insist upon alliances with the daughters of Terah; but this wish was prompted by the internal and moral affinity between all the members of his family (see p. 459).—The surprise of the shepherds at the boldness of the stranger was soon succeeded by a very different sentiment. He achieved before their eyes a feat which compelled their admiration and reverence; he rolled away from the mouth of the well the heavy stone which the shepherds of three flocks had been unable to move (ver. 2); and he thus proved that he was supported by the preternatural assistance of the Deity; that his spirits were undaunted, and his strength unwearied. Such is power of a mind earnestly yearning after some great aim.—The shepherds acquainted Jacob that Laban, the brother of Rebekah, was in prosperous circumstances, and that his daughter would soon come to the well with his flocks: and whilst they were still conversing, the beautiful Rachel approached. At her sight all the fond feelings of home were at once roused; he beheld before him “the daughter of his mother's brother”; de-

light and sorrow mingled in his heart; and overwhelmed by his feelings, he paid his tribute to nature by a spontaneous flood of tears. He had been driven from the circle of his family, and now saw that being who he felt was destined to become to him the centre of a new and dearer home. But Rachel also was carried away by the remarkable deed of the stranger; she looked upon him as upon some favourite of God; she *believed* his words; and when he kissed her, she considered it no insult, no undue liberty (comp. Cant. viii. 1; Prov. vii. 13). Then only he told her that he was Jacob, and she entertained no doubt; her heart at once opened towards him; for she felt as if a miracle had been performed before her eyes.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS. — Jacob is stated to have urged the shepherds to go back to their pastures, probably to show the activity of his nature, and the zeal which he required from a servant, and which he exhibited in an eminent degree during the time of his own servitude (xxx. 40); but scarcely because he wished to speak to Rachel alone. — Nabor was regarded as one of the chief and most honoured members of Terah's descendants; therefore, “the God of Abraham and the gods of Nabor” are later mentioned together in a solemn oath (xxx. 59); and, hence, Laban, though in reality the son of Bethuel (xxiv. 29; xxviii. 5), is here introduced as the son of Nabor (ver. 5).—

mother's brother. 11. And Jacob kissed Rachel, and lifted up his voice, and wept. 12. And Jacob told Rachel that he *was* her father's kinsman, and that he was Rebekah's son: and she ran and told *it* her father.—13. And when Laban heard the tidings of Jacob, his sister's son, he ran to meet him, and embraced him, and kissed him, and brought him to his house. And he told Laban all these things. 14. And Laban said to him, Surely thou *art* my bone and my flesh. And he abode with him a

With a similar inaccuracy, Jacob calls himself the "brother of Laban" (ver. 12); besides, the word *אָח* is used for relative in general (xiii. 8, etc.).—The name *אָח* (ver. 6) signifies *lamb* (xxxi. 38; Cant. vi. 6), as the Romans had the proper names Ovilus, Porcius, Caprilus, Equitius, Taurus, Gallus, and even Asinius (compare *Bochart*, Hieroz. ii. 43).—*לֹא יֵאָכֵל* (ver. 8) does not refer to a legal prohibition, "we are not allowed" to roll away the stone, but to the physical incapability of the herdsmen, as the latter part of the verse proves; and Jacob would have had no right to disregard the law.—The term "his mother's brother" is not unintentionally repeated three times in the same verse (the tenth), to describe with the greatest possible stress, that Jacob had met with his own relations, with "his bone and his flesh" (ver. 14).

13—20. Rachel, following her first impulse, hastened home, and informed her father of their relative's arrival. This and some of the following traits vividly recall the corresponding meeting between Rebekah and Abraham's steward; but it must be borne in mind, that this resemblance is designed and significant (see on vers. 2, 3).—Laban's qualities are here delineated with no less favourable colours than on the previous occasion; he is cordial and hospitable, ready to serve and to be useful; he loses no time in offering his hearty welcome to Jacob, and with true affection at once leads the poor pilgrim into his house. Is there in all this any ground for depreciating Laban's character?—Jacob returned the kindness of his host by free communica-

tions; for "he told Laban all these things." What did he relate to him? Evidently, how he, the son of a wealthy father, came alone, a destitute stranger, into the distant land; how little prospects he had of a speedy return; and how justly he had to fear his brother's passion and anger. But Laban, far from feeling less warmly for his nephew on account of his poverty and exile, exclaimed with increased fervour: "thou art yet my bone and my flesh"! cheered him, and urged him to stay in his house.

Jacob was of too active a disposition to eat the bread of idleness; he took part in all the occupations of the house and the field; and worked unremittingly, like a bondsman. But Laban, too generous to demand such services, and certainly too just to accept them without compensation, requested Jacob to fix his wages. The latter, mindful of the paternal injunctions and of the ostensible purpose of his journey, well aware that he had passed the meridian of his life, and that he, almost an octogenarian, could, even according to patriarchal notions, no longer be considered a young man; unhesitatingly demanded in matrimony Laban's second daughter, Rachel, whom he loved, and for whom he offered to serve seven years. Orientals prefer alliances within the circle of their own relatives; marriages between cousins are in especial favour; Laban consented, therefore, readily to Jacob's proposal, saying: "it is better that I should give her to thee than to another man"; and he invited him to enter forthwith upon his duties. And the text adds in beautiful simplicity:

month's time. 15. And Laban said to Jacob, *Art thou indeed my kinsman, and shouldst thou serve me for nought? tell me what thy wages shall be.* 16. And Laban had two daughters: the name of the elder *was* Leah, and the name of the younger *was* Rachel. 17. And the eyes of Leah *were* tender; but Rachel was beautiful in form and beautiful in appearance. 18. And Jacob loved Rachel, and said, I will serve thee seven years for Rachel thy younger daughter. 19. And Laban said, *It is better that*

"And Jacob served seven years for Rachel; and they seemed to him but a few days, for the love he bore to her": words breathing the purest tenderness, and expressing more emphatically than the flowery hyperboles of romantic phraseology, the deep attachment of an affectionate heart. Love capable of shortening seven laborious years into a term of insignificant brevity, is a flame animating and purifying the soul; a sacred longing, forming its own delight and happiness. It would, therefore, be truly surprising, were we to find in our narrative features coinciding with the rude and undeveloped eastern practices. Let us examine it. As Jacob possessed no property, and could not, therefore, *buy* his wife (see xxiv. 53, p. 469; and on Exod. xxii. 15), he paid for her by seven years of service. But was this indeed so degrading as it has, by almost general consent, been denounced to be? It is alleged, that, as the wife is, in the East, regarded only as a kind of slave, first subordinate to the father, and then to the husband, she was, like the slave, acquired by purchase, and for almost exactly the same price (compare Exod. xxi. 32; and Hos. iii. 2). Such certainly was and is the case among many uncivilised tribes. But does the purchase not admit of another construction? Among some nations, the marriage-price is distinctly regarded as a compensation due to the parents for the trouble and expense incurred by the education of the daughter. From this view, there is but one step to the notion, that the parents deserve the gratitude of the man to whom they give their child; and the Hebrews, who assigned to the women a

position eminently high and honourable, who regarded the wife as an integral part of the husband, and as the indispensable condition of his happiness, and among whom it was a proverbial adage, that "an excellent wife is far more precious than riches": the Hebrews bought their wives as a treasure and the most valuable possession (comp. xxxiv. 12; 1 Sam. xviii. 25). It may be seriously asked, whether such a purchase was, *in principle*, not more dignified than the custom according to which the wife buys, as it were, a husband by her dowry, and in consequence of which the daughters of poor parents are in a very precarious position, while, in the East, daughters are at least no burden on their fathers. *In practice*, that custom is certainly liable to considerable abuses; heartless or avaricious parents, without consulting the inclination of their daughters, may sell them to those who bid the highest price: but scarcely any principle, however lofty, is safe against abuse; besides, it was a law among most tribes, that the daughter's consent must first be obtained; and it was a custom among some, that the money received by the parents should be applied for the benefit of the bride or the young couple. But supposed even, that the manner of courting and acquiring the wife was not in every respect noble and delicate among the Hebrews, it certainly did not affect the relative position of husband and wife; the one was no master, the other no slave; the usual *customs* could, therefore, safely be retained, as long as they did not endanger the beautiful principles which guaranteed the dignity of the other sex.

I give her to thee, than that I should give her to another man: abide with me. 20. And Jacob served seven years for Rachel; and they seemed to him *but* a few days, for the love he had to her.—21. And Jacob said to Laban, Give *me* my wife, for my days are fulfilled, that I may go to her. 22. And Laban assembled all the men of the place, and made a feast. 23. And it was in the evening, and he took Leah his daughter, and brought her to him; and

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—In חַדָּשׁ יָמִים (ver. 14), the second substantive describes the general notion of which the first is a specification: “a month as regards time”; חַדָּשׁ is, therefore, neither in the stat. constr., nor is יָמִים exactly in apposition; comp. xli. 1; Ruth ii. 17 (אִימָה שְׁעָרִים); Ezek. xxii. 18 (סָנִים כֶּסֶף), etc. See Gesen., *Lehrgr.* p. 667.—The words יָמִים חַדָּשׁ (ver. 15) are literally: “Art thou indeed my brother, and thou shouldst serve me for nought”? strongly expressing the moral reproach which Laban would incur if he were to admit the gratuitous services of Jacob, a free man. Both this force and the simplicity of the Hebrew construction are destroyed, by contracting חַדָּשׁ and יָ (in וְעַבְדְּתָנִי) into one notion, *because* and *therefore*. Thus, the Vulgate renders (*Num quia frater meus es*, etc.; comp. the Engl. Vers.); and similarly the Sept. (ὅτι γὰρ ἀδελφός μου εἰ, οὐ δουλεύσεις μοι δωρεάν).—The use of חַדָּשׁ is here, in some degree, analogous to that in xxvii. 36, where, however, the sense requires a necessary modification. But it has no resemblance with 2 Sam. ix. 1 and xxiii. 19.—אֶעֱבֹד בְּרַחֵל is “I shall serve thee for Rachel” (see Hos. xii. 13), פְּ expressing the compensation for, or price of, his labour; and is employed like תַּחַת in נָשָׂא תַּחַת (Exod. xxi. 23), instead of which, in another passage שָׂא נַפְשִׁי is used (Deut. xix. 21).—About the price given for wives in the East, and the still prevailing custom of poor men to serve for them, see note on Exod. xxii. 15; comp. *Ward*, *History of the Hindoos*, ii. 316; *Elphinstone*, *Kabul*, i. 182, 266, etc.—The eyes of Leah were רַבּוֹת (ver. 17), that is, literally, *tender* or

*delicate*; hence, weak and dim; and as this was considered a great defect, it is placed in contradistinction to a phrase expressing the most perfect gracefulness and beauty (comp. xxxix. 6; Esth. ii. 7). Correctly the Sept., ὀφθαλμοὶ ἀσθενεῖς; Vulg., *oculi lippī*. עֵינֵי רַבּוֹת certainly does not mean “an ugly face” (*Lackemacher*, *Bohlea*).—Jacob was intended to commence a new career, and to acquire wealth in Mesopotamia, and from there, like Abraham, to emigrate into Canaan. Both his poverty and his humiliation were in the plan of the writer; it is, therefore, not pertinent to inquire, why he did not ask his parents to send him sufficient property to save him from servitude.

**21—30.** When Laban permitted, and even demanded, his near kinsman to serve seven years for his daughter, he was no longer true to his usual generosity; while in the execution of the marriage contract he very nearly approached Jacob in cunning, by substituting the elder daughter for the younger one. His reason and motive might not have been objectionable; it might have been a deeply-rooted custom not to allow the younger to marry before her elder sister, as it was a strict religious precept among the Hindoos (*Mann*, iii. 160; *Bohlen*, on ver. 26); but Jacob was perfectly unacquainted with this trans-euphratic law; it was, therefore, scarcely less than insolence on the part of Laban, when, after the lapse of seven years, he excused his fraud by a custom about which he had insidiously kept the stranger in total ignorance. This discloses a baseness in Laban's character, arousing contempt and aversion; but it ought not to

he went to her. 24. And Laban gave to his daughter Leah Zilpah his maid *for* a maid. 25. And it was in the morning, and, behold, it *was* Leah: and he said to Laban, What *is* this thou hast done to me? did I not serve with thee for Rachel? wherefore then hast thou deceived me? 26. And Laban said, It is not done so in our place, to give the younger before the elder. 27. Fulfil her week, and we will give thee this one also for the service which thou

blind us against the redeeming qualities of his heart. In the human mind, fragrant flowers often blossom surprisingly by the side of noxious weeds. The deceit of Laban was practicable, on account of the custom, by which the bride is, on the day of marriage, conducted *veiled* to her future husband (see p. 472). A Divine nemesis has been justly recognised in this incident; for the abject stratagem practised by Jacob was punished by a similar deception practised upon him, though scarcely of quite so culpable a nature. Hence Jacob called Laban's deed an imposition ('מִשְׁחָה', ver. 25), just as Esau had described Jacob's conduct as insidious "cheating" ('עֲבָרָה', xxvii. 36).—But how did Jacob act on this provoking occasion? Content with simply expressing his disapprobation, and apparently satisfied with the dishonest excuse of Laban, he at once agreed to commence another period of servitude for his beloved Rachel. Luther confessed that, under similar circumstances, he would not have been able to display so much patience; he admired it as almost superhuman; for Jacob had a legal claim upon Rachel (comp. vers. 18, 19). But we may suppose, on the one hand, that the patriarch did not, by quarrelling with the father of Rachel, wish to endanger the family ties which he intended to form; and, on the other hand, perhaps some thought of a well-deserved retribution, such as has just been pointed out, might have forced itself upon his active mind—teaching him to bear the drudgery as a penalty and an atonement. Certain it is, that his double and severe servitude is represented by the Biblical writer as a

degradation and a punishment for the doubtful acquisition of his superiority: "in the day he was consumed by the heat, and by the frost in the night; and sleep fled from his eyes" (xxx. 40): this was one of the trials designed to purify him; the man, whose proud mind enclosed the hopes of a grand and glorious future, and whose mental eye saw his progeny the lords of mighty kings, was to bend as a slave to the will of a heathen.—But the fraud of Laban was not only a moral offence in itself; it was the more deplorable, as it destroyed the principle of monogamy to which the patriarchs on the whole adhered. Jacob had intended to marry Rachel alone; and when he found himself, against his will, allied with Leah, his heart could not renounce her from whom he expected the best part of his happiness; he took her to wife besides Leah; nor was he permitted to dismiss the latter after the solemnization of the marriage (comp. Exod. xxii. 15; Deut. xxii. 28, 29).—The voice of nature, in this instance, spoke too loud to be disregarded in favour of a principle which, even centuries after the commencement of the present era, it was found impossible to enforce by a general law.—In accordance with Oriental custom, the daughters of Laban, when marrying, received each their maid-servant (vers. 24, 29), who formed the most valuable part of their dowry, extremely modest in every other respect (comp. xxiv. 61); and frequently the nurses followed the young wives into their new homes (xxvi. 59).—Marriages were celebrated by a feast, generally lasting seven days (Judg. xiv. 12; Tobit xi.



shalt serve with me yet seven other years. 28. And Jacob did so, and fulfilled her week: and he gave him Rachel his daughter to be his wife. 29. And Laban gave to Rachel his daughter Bilhah his maid to be her maid. 30. And he went to Rachel also, and he certainly loved Rachel more than Leah, and served with him yet seven other years.—31. And when the Lord saw that Leah *was* hated, He opened her womb: but Rachel *was* barren.

18); Laban proposed, therefore, that Jacob should first finish the festive week for Leah (שָׁבַע זֶמַח); he would then give him Rachel also, for whom he expected seven other years of Jacob's services (vers. 27, 28, 30). This is the clear tenour of the text (comp. xxx. 1; and notes on xxx. 14—24).

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—שָׁבַח (ver. 24) is employed instead of the more usual לְשַׁבַּח (ver. 29; comp. xv. 6 לְיִשְׁבַּח וּיְשַׁבַּח; Nehem. iv. 16, etc.).—The fut. in לֹא יַעֲשֶׂה בֵּן (ver. 26) expresses the custom which has grown into a strong moral obligation: it must or ought not to be done (comp. xx. 9; xxxiv. 7; 2 Sam. xiii. 12; see note on x. 9, p. 263: עָלָיו בֵּן יֵאָמֵר; Vulg., *non est in loco nostro consuetudinis*.—שָׁבַע זֶמַח (vers. 27, 28) is literally: "the week of this one," that is, the festive or marriage week of Leah, at the expiration of which Jacob received Rachel also, and commenced his second period of servitude. It does not signify "this week," as שָׁבַע is in the stat. constr.; correctly the Sept., ἡβδομα ταύτης; and Vulg., *imple hebdomadam dierum hujus copulæ* (comp. Jerome, Quæst. in loc.).—The deception of which Jacob was the victim is, according to modern accounts, still practised in the East, owing to the continuance of similar marriage-customs (see Rosenmüller, Morgenl. i. 137).—The plural which Laban uses, "and we shall give" (וְנִתְּנָה, ver. 27), may either include his wife, or his eldest son (comp. p. 465); or it may be analogous to the plural in נָעֻשָׂה אִדָּם (i. 26), or נִרְדָּה וְנִבְלָה (xi. 7; comp. Gesen., Lehrs., p. 800). The Sept., inaccurately, δώσω.—The adverb נָּם in the phrase נָּם יֵאָהֵב נָּם

אֶת רָחֵל מֵלֵאָה (ver. 30) simply points, though with additional emphasis, to the substantive before which it stands; the Sept. and Vulg. have, therefore, justly left it untranslated; but it is certainly wrong to render, "he loved her *still more* than Leah" (comp. Job ii. 10; xviii. 5).

31—35. Jacob, in demanding Rachel not only with impatience, but a certain impetuosity (ver. 21), was stimulated not more by love than by a regard to the prophecies he had received; for he then numbered about 85 years. The fruits of marriage were not withheld from him. But here also the Deity had to perform a necessary act of justice. Leah was not graced with the same attractions as Rachel; her eyes, those mirrors of the soul, and often the reflex of the mind, wanted lustre and brilliancy; and yet were the ancient Hebrews especially susceptible of the charms and magic of beautiful eyes; a vivid, radiating, and energetic eye in a man, and a deep, clear, and gentle one in a woman, were irresistible recommendations (1 Sam. xvi. 12; Cant. iv. 1); no wonder, therefore, that Jacob preferred Rachel, who was "beautiful of form, and beautiful in appearance." But should Leah, the elder sister, suffer by an external defect? All advantages, and beauty among them, are indeed gifts from the Almighty, granted to serve or to delight; external graces also have their usefulness; the moral influence of the beautiful is indisputable, however various schools may differ in defining it; the fact is certain, though the principles are less obvious; yet, blind worship of beauty is both unjust and absurd; nobler than that which appears to the senses, are

32. And Leah conceived, and bore a son, and she called his name Reuben: for she said, Surely the Lord hath looked upon my affliction; for now my husband will love me. 33. And she conceived again, and bore a son; and she said, Surely the Lord hath heard that I *am* hated, and He hath given me this *son* also: and she called his name Simeon. 34. And she conceived again, and bore a son; and she said, Now this time will my husband be joined to me,

those attributes of man which are invisible; though the frame is the receptacle, it is not necessarily the exponent, of the mind; the laws of external and internal beauty are as different as the finite and the infinite. The cultivation of the beautiful is, indeed, the first step towards civilisation; but it is no more than a means of education; it has accomplished its purpose when it has contributed to awaken the interest for thought and truth; the Greeks were an element in the development of mankind; but their mission ceased when they had opened the minds of men for the reception of abstract ideas; they stopped half-way when they combined the beautiful and the good into a compound notion (*καλοκάγαθία*); for the former ought to be entirely merged in the latter, existing only in and through it; and the sentence which a Greek sage wrote over his door: "nothing ugly must enter," was to be superseded by the Biblical maxim: "deceitful is gracefulness, and vain is beauty; a woman who feareth the Lord, she alone deserveth praise" (Prov. xxxi. 30). The Book of Genesis points, indeed, to the three stages implied in these remarks. While the first woman was merely "she who gives life" (*Eve*, חַוָּה); the daughter of Lamech, seven generations later, was the *beautiful* (*Naamah*, נָעֻמָּה); this was certainly a progress (see p. 149); but many centuries were required to elapse before men ceased to regard beauty both as the test of worth, and a proof of special Divine favour. To contribute towards this important lesson, is the end of this portion; for, "when the Lord saw that Leah was hated, He opened her womb: but Rachel was barren": by the same act, He taught Jacob

wisdom, and procured justice to Leah. The latter was clearly aware of this turning-point in her life; for when she gave birth to a son, she exclaimed: "Surely, the Lord hath looked upon my affliction; for now my husband will love me." Nor does she seem to have been unworthy of being blessed with offspring; the love of her husband was the sole object of her thoughts and feelings; it formed the sum total of her happiness, and occupied her attention unremittingly; for when her second son was born, she again said: "Surely the Lord hath heard that I am hated, and He hath given me this son also"; and at the birth of the third son, she gave utterance to her feelings in a similar strain: "Now this time will my husband be attached (*תִּקְרָב*) to me, because I have born him three sons." But when she believed she had secured her husband's affection by "a threefold cord," she showed that she had a grateful as well as a loving heart, and that she was capable of religious as well as of natural sentiments; for the birth of her fourth son urged her to exclaim: "Now will I praise the Lord"; and she called his name Judah. Such excellence of character, fully deserving the reward it received, forced upon Jacob the reflection, that for conjugal happiness a *virtuous* wife is indispensable, whether adorned by beauty or not. A later portion of the Pentateuch further pursues these thoughts, and embodies them in a legal precept. As polygamy was not interdicted, it might happen that a man loved one wife less than another; in order, therefore, to protect the former against his caprice, he was forbidden to deprive her son, if he was the firstborn, of his due privi-

for I have born him three sons: therefore was his name called Levi. 35. And she conceived again, and bore a son: and she said, This time I will praise the Lord; therefore she called his name Judah: and she ceased bearing.

leges, or to confer the birthright upon the son of the more beloved wife (Dent. xxi. 15—17). For, as children are granted or withheld by God, according to His inscrutable designs—such is the Biblical doctrine—it would be impiety on the part of man to change the Eternal Will.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—It is true, that in the name רְאוּבֵן (literally, “behold a son”), the sense of רָאָה יְהוָה בְּעָנִי (the Lord has looked upon my misery) is not directly contained; but this is not even intended by the author; Leah said with emphasis: I have born a son; behold him!—and this fact implied the compassion and mercy of God. The birth of a child was a ray of joy, brightening her sadness.—

The reading *Rubel* (Ρούβηλος), which Josephus and the Syriac offer, may have been a later modification of Reuben, by the frequent permutation of the liquids *n* and *l*.—לֵךְ is traceable to לָחַץ, signifying, in Niphal, to combine, to connect; and to the same root seems the feminine לָחָץ to belong; both names denote, therefore, the child, or the tie of love, uniting husband and wife.—יְהוֹנָדָה with the ה of Hiphil, as in יְהוֹנָדָה, Nchem. xi. 7. — The mother gives here, as frequently, the names to the children (see p. 134); and, in ver. 34, the masculine נָפְתָלִי must be explained either impersonally or as an *anallage*.—About the authorship of this chapter, see the concluding remarks on chap. xxx.

## CHAPTER XXX.

SUMMARY.—Jacob became, further, the father of Dan and Naphtali by Bilhah, Rachel's maid; of Gad and Asher by Zilpah, Leah's maid; of Issachar, Zebulun, and Dinah, by Leah; and of Joseph, by Rachel. He then intended to return to Canaan. But when Laban, desirous to reward him for his past services, asked him to fix his own compensation, he applied a stratagem by which, in a period of six years, he acquired very considerable wealth.

1. And when Rachel saw that she bore to Jacob no children, Rachel envied her sister, and she said to Jacob, Give me children; and if not, I die. 2. And Jacob's anger was kindled against Rachel: and he said, Am I in God's stead,

1, 2. The ideas which the fruitfulness of Leah was intended to enforce, are, from another side, enjoined by the barrenness of Rachel. The character of the latter shows dark spots and serious defects; she was envious against a sister over whom she had many personal advantages; she was impetuous and passionate; she had the vehement temperament of Rebekah; like the latter, she broke forth in angry exclamations; but more irrational than her mother-in-law, who sought relief in prayer and oracles, she argued with her husband about her

sterility: “Give me children,” she cried, “or else I die!” She had not yet learnt the great practical truth that barrenness is not necessarily a punishment, a curse, or an ignominy (see p. 374); instead of bearing her lot with resignation, she was roused into bitterness and rage; she showed a want of faith and submission; this alone explains why “Jacob's anger was kindled against her,” and why he answered her: “Am I in God's stead, who hath withheld from thee the fruit of the womb?” (comp. l. 19). He desired to remind her, with a due emphasis, that

who hath withheld from thee the fruit of the womb? 3. And she said, Behold my maid Bilhah, go to her, and she shall bear upon my knees, that I may also have children by her. 4. And she gave him Bilhah her handmaid to wife: and Jacob went to her. 5. And Bilhah conceived, and bore to Jacob a son. 6. And Rachel said, God hath judged me, and hath also heard my voice, and hath given me a son: therefore she called his name Dan. 7. And Bilhah Rachel's maid conceived again, and bore to Jacob a second son. 8. And Rachel said, Struggles of God have I struggled with my sister, and I have pre-

no man can fathom the plans of Providence in denying children; and though this reproof was not without effect upon Rachel, years passed away before her fondest wish was realised. Sarah, Rebekah, and Rachel, the wife of Jacob's love, were barren for a long period; their children were to be regarded as *the seed of God*, for they were the mothers of the people of God.

3—8. The first result of Jacob's admonition was Rachel's proposal that he should take her maid-servant, Bilhah, and that she would recognise her offspring as her own. This was regarded as a sacrifice, and as an act of humility and self-control, deserving the reward of God (ver. 18; see p. 375). It appears that no distinct rule existed among the Hebrews with regard to the children resulting from such connections; they either enjoyed perfect equality with those of the legal wife, if the jealousy of the latter and that of her children permitted it, as was the case with the sons of Bilhah and Zilpah; or, placed into a less close relation to the family, they were dependent for property on the generosity of the father; thus Ishmael was dismissed from the paternal house with presents (comp. xxi. 10).—When Bilhah bore a son, Rachel, indeed, acknowledged him as her own; but her heart was but partially corrected; jealousy still lingered in its depth: and if this is less clear from the words which she pronounced at the birth of this child, "God

hath judged me, and hath also heard my voice, and hath given me a son"; it is evident from the exulting remark which she uttered when Bilhah bore a second son. She certainly now recognised the finger of God in withholding children from her; the reproachful question of her husband: "Am I in God's stead," had sunk deep into her mind; she knew that she had "to struggle with God"; but this struggle was not pure; it was alloyed by the spirit of strife and envious emulation; it was prompted in her much more by the desire of being, at least, equal to her sister, than of reconciling the Divine displeasure; hence she combined in her exclamation these two elements of combat with God and with her sister; but it can scarcely be doubtful upon which of the two she put the greater stress, "I have struggled heavenly struggles with my sister, and I have prevailed"; her envy was partially satisfied; and the victory over God derived, in her eyes, its greatest value from its being, at the same time, a victory over her sister.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—The expression אֶתְּחַוֶּה לְיָ (ver. 8) implies, therefore, more than *great struggles*: it means a "struggle with God," analogous to xxxii. 24—29 (see note there). Hence, the translation of the Septagint (συναγγάβετό μου ὁ Θεός) is inaccurate; and that of the Vulgate incorrect (*comparavit me Dominus cum sorore mea*); Onkelos, and the Syriac represent Leah as having moved

vailed: and she called his name Naphtali.—9. When Leah saw that she had ceased bearing, she took Zilpah her maid, and gave her to Jacob to wife. 10. And Zilpah Leah's maid bore to Jacob a son. 11. And Leah said, In felicity! and she called his name Gad. 12. And Zilpah Leah's maid bore to Jacob a second son. 13. And Leah said, For my happiness! for the daughters will call me happy: and she called his name Asher.—14. And Reuben went in the days of wheat-harvest, and found mandrakes

God by prayer; and Josephus calls him *ἀμνηστικός* (comp. *Rosenm.*, Schol. on ver. 8).

9—13. Leah, seeing that after the birth of the fourth son she ceased to be fruitful, but anxious to preserve and, if possible, to enhance the affection of her husband, offered, without much reluctance, her hand-maid, Zilpah, to Jacob, to increase, through her, his progeny. She had no other object but the happiness of him on whom she had centred all her hopes. When, therefore, Zilpah successively gave birth to two sons, gratitude, as at the birth of her own fourth son, lent language to an overflowing heart; and with unmingled delight she exclaimed: "in felicity" (גַּד), and "for my happiness" (אֲשֵׁר), and called the sons Gad and Asher. So clearly defined and so distinctly drawn is Leah's character, which is the more unmistakable if compared with that of her sister: the justice of God is described as manifestly active, inculcating grave lessons, profound in principle, and fraught with momentous consequences for practical life.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—גַּד (ver. 11, instead of זָבֻל, as חֲסִיד, viii. 22; זָבֻל, iv. 14, etc.) "in happiness," like אֲשֵׁר (in ver. 13). Sept., *ἐν εὐχῇ*; Vulg., *feliciter*.

In Arab., *جَد* is *fortunate*; in Syr., *גַּד* *lucky*; and *גַּד גַּד* *prosperity*. The Keri has גַּד גַּד; about half-a-dozen manuscripts offer the same reading; and several ancient translators have rendered accordingly, "happiness is come" (*Onkelos*, etc.); others define גַּד nearer as a lucky star

(*Jonath.*, *Rashi*, מַלְאָךְ מַלְאָךְ; comp. *Isai* lxx. 11), or as the Babylonian Jupiter, who was the god of fortune (!); while others take it in the sense of יְהִי (xlix. 19): "a host of children comes" (גַּד גַּד, Samar.; *ἡκεῖ σπάρτυμα*, Venet.). It is not impossible that the original reading was גַּד גַּד, which was later changed into גַּד גַּד, in order to bring it into symmetry with the following אֲשֵׁר; and if that was the case, the sense would be as *Onkelos* renders (גַּד גַּד גַּד).

14—24. But in order to display the difference of disposition of the two sisters still more strikingly, a test is chosen, which dispels every doubt. Love of progeny, which forms one of the strongest feelings among primitive nations, at an early period, directed their attention to the medicinal properties of plants supposed to be conducive to fruitfulness. And as children are blessings of God, and everything that nature yields is produced by Him for the use of man; the application of such means is, according to Biblical notions also, in no way objectionable. Like every complaint or disease, sterility may be cured by all remedies placed by Providence within the reach of man. But it was the end of *Mosaicism*, though acknowledging the grandeur of nature, to raise man above her dominion, to lead him to the Creator instead of the creature, and to substitute an intelligent Will for an unchangeable Necessity. Though nature supplies the plants, God blesses their effects; and though man is not only justified but bound to exert his own energy and intelligence, God accom-

in the field, and brought them to his mother Leah. And Rachel said to Leah, Give me, I pray thee, of thy son's mandrakes. 15. And she said to her, *Is it too* little that thou hast taken my husband, that thou wouldst take my son's mandrakes also? And Rachel said, Therefore he shall lie with thee to-night for thy son's mandrakes. 16. And Jacob came from the field in the evening, and Leah went out to meet him, and said, Come to me; for surely I have hired thee with my son's mandrakes.

plishes what He desires according to His wisdom. This is the Biblical doctrine. And how did Leah and Rachel act? Reuben, the eldest son of Leah, finding in the fields certain fruits (*Dudaim*, or mandrakes), believed to possess the power of promoting conception, brought them to his mother, who had for some time been afflicted with barrenness. Her first impulse was to employ them for its removal. She, therefore, replied to Rachel, who begged them of her, with a certain indignation, mingled, however, with faithful love for her husband (ver. 15). But she was far from attaching a decisive or essential value to the fruits; and when, therefore, her sister, with her usual tenacity, insisted upon obtaining them, she readily ceded them to her, relying for fruitfulness upon the mercy of God rather than the powers of nature; a sentiment which she distinctly expressed when she gave birth to her fifth son (ver. 18). Rachel, still enslaved by pagan superstitions, as she later stealthily carried away the idols of her father (xxx. 19), and, purchasing the mandrakes with a certain sacrifice, expected from them a deliverance from her sterility; but she had still to learn that offspring are granted by the beneficence of God alone, and that the products of nature are unavailing without His aid. In due time, and in accordance with His own plans, "God remembered Rachel, and God listened to her, and opened her womb" (ver. 22); at last she bore a son, Joseph, by whom she believed her reproach was removed; and, wandering with her thoughts into the

future, as was natural in her position, she broke forth in the ardent hope that God might give her another son.

Such being the important lessons implied by the introduction of the *Dudaim*, we may the less regret our inability of fixing the precise fruit intended. The Hebrew name (דִּדָּיִם) seems indeed to be generic, signifying a *love-fruit*; and in no cognate language has a similar botanical name as yet been discovered. But the almost unanimous authority of the ancient translations is in favour of *mandrakes* (see the Philol. Rem.). The *Mandragora vernalis* has, like the other species, narcotic properties, both in the root, and in the fruits; and was, therefore, according to Galenus, Avicenna, and Dioscorides, used as a means for allaying pains; but was, according to the latter authority, also called *Circæa*, because it excites the passion of love; Venus herself was denominated *Mandragorites*; the Arabs call it "devil's apple" (*tufah-al-sheitan*); further, Pythagoras describes it as changing man (*ἀνθρωπομόρφος*); and it was said to cause rage in men and animals; the root, when eaten boiled, certainly produces madness, and, if taken in greater quantities, causes death; but though at first stimulating, it has later a soporific or depressing effect. It grows still in some parts near Jerusalem, and more abundantly in a valley below Nazareth, at the Carmel and Tabor, and south of Hebron. The root is white, mostly forked, but straight and thick, having some resemblance to the human form, about four feet long, unwholesome, and of repulsive smell; the leaves are of

And he lay with her that night. 17. And God listened to Leah, and she conceived, and bore to Jacob a fifth son. 18. And Leah said, God hath given me my hire, because I gave my maid to my husband: and she called his name Issachar. 19. And Leah conceived again, and bore to Jacob a sixth son. 20. And Leah said, God hath pre-

a lively green, oval, about one foot long, four to five inches broad, with an undulating border; the flowers are small, whitish-green, bell-shaped, blossoming in spring, and exhaling a strong but fragrant odour (comp. Cant. vii. 14); the fruit is yellow, of the size of a small egg, pleasant both to sight and smell, filled with seeds, and ripens in the month of May, in the time of the wheat harvest (see ver. 14; comp. on Exod. ix. 31, 32). It is freely eaten by the natives as wholesome, genial, and exhilarating, is believed to strengthen affection, and employed for the preparation of love-philtres.

Though daughters are not generally introduced in genealogical accounts, Dinah is mentioned, not only because she became later conspicuous in the domestic history of Jacob (xxxiv.), but, perhaps, to enumerate twelve children born to the patriarch in Mesopotamia.—That Jacob had other daughters besides Dinah, is certain from later allusions (comp. xxxii. 1; xxxvii. 35; xlv. 7, etc.).

We have before followed, with admiration, the exact ethnographic statements of Genesis, and pointed out the gradual advance of the descendants of Eber; how they migrated from the Armenian highlands into the plains of Mesopotamia, and how one branch of them from there proceeded westward beyond the Euphrates and the Jordan (see p. 322). But as if to enjoin again, and with still greater force, these most valuable historical facts regarding the origin of the Abrahamites, or *Hebrews*, the immediate founders of the twelve tribes are, with one exception, born in Mesopotamia, and from mothers who had never left that country; and they also journey westward, till they arrive in the land promised to Abraham. The voice of

tradition could not possibly speak more distinctly, and it would be idle scepticism to doubt its veracity. But the other deductions which have been made from our narrative, especially with regard to a successive settlement of the twelve tribes in Palestine, according to the relative age of Jacob's sons, are the visions of over-critical minds, which, in one instance, refuse to acknowledge in the Bible any historical kernel at all, and, in another, insist upon declaring even the husk a part of the kernel.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—The Septuagint renders מַנְדְּרֵגֶן by μήλα μανδραγόρων, and, in Cant. vii. 14, by μανδραγόραι (comp. *Joseph*. I. xix. 7); Onkelos and the Syriac translate מַנְדְּרֵגֶן, which is identical with mandrakes; for Persian writers explain the latter word by

یسروح; Seadiah renders لافاح, which term denotes the fruit of the root and flower

یسروح; the Vulgate has *Mandragora*; Kimchi (who likewise mentions the resemblance of the root to the human form) מַנְדְּרֵגֶן; Ebn Ezra מַנְדְּרֵגֶן (comp. *Castelli*, *Lex.* col. 1591; *Mariti*, *Trav.* ii. 195).—There are three principal kinds of *Mandragora*; namely, 1. *M. vernalis*, or *M. mas*, the male; 2. *M. autumnalis*, or *effcinarum*, the female; and, 3. *M. microcarpa*, or *belladonna*. As the two latter species blossom in the beginning, and as their fruits ripen towards the close of autumn, they cannot be the *Dudaim* of the Old Testament. For, among the few criteria that can guide us in this matter, are, that the *Dudaim* blossom in spring, and that the flowers emit a strong fragrance (Cant. vii. 14); that the fruit ripens in May, at the time of the wheat-harvest (ver. 14); and that they were believed to possess

sented me *with* a goodly present; now will my husband dwell with me, because I have born him six sons: and she called his name Zebulun. 21. And afterwards she bore a daughter, and called her name Dinah.—22. And God remembered Rachel, and God listened to her, and opened her womb. 23. And she conceived, and bore a son; and

aphrodisiac powers in a peculiar degree. But another criterion has generally been neglected, namely, that the Dudaim, as regards their fruits at least, are *rare* in Mesopotamia; for else the sisters would not have contended so seriously about their possession. This circumstance is as much in favour of the Mandragora, which seems but exceptionally to occur in Mesopotamia, as it is against some of the other conjectures which have been freely ventured, partly without any proof or authority; as the *violet* or *lilies* (*Tabn.*, Sanhedr. 99, b. סִינְלִין; *Luther*); or *jassin*; or *mushrooms*; or *beautiful flowers*, or *flowers* in general. Others have supposed, without sufficient reasons, the *citron* (*Bochart*, *Calmet*, and others); or the *sidra*, the fruit of the lote-tree (*Celsius*, Hierob. i. 20); or *cherries* (*Hiller*); or the *plantain*, the *figus Indica*, the *maux* of the Syrians (*Ludolf*, Hist. Æth. i. 9); or *melon*, *cucumis Dudaim* (*J. E. Faber*, *Sprengel*, *Bertoloni*); or *cucumis Shamam* (Persa. Vers.; *destembjeih*, i. e., odor suavis in manu; *Rosenmüller*).—Few only of the numberless fables invented in connection with the Mandragora, its shape, and its extraordinary effects, are based upon experience regarding its natural properties (see *D'Herbelot*, Bibl. Orient., sub Asterenk, and Abusanam; comp. *Galen*, De Simpl. Med. Fac. vii. 12; *Theophrast.*, Hist. Plant. vi. 12; *Avicenna*, p. 187, ed. Rom.; *Dioscor.* iv. 76; *Plin.*, H. N. xxv. 94; *Lucian*, Tim. 2; *August.*, C. Faust. xxii. 57; *Hesych.*, s. v.; *Athenæus*, Deipnos. i. 31; *Simonis*, Arcan. Form. ii. 679; *Duglæi*, Analect. i. 35; *Michael*, Suppl. 410, et seq.; *Oedmann*, Verm. Sammlung, v. 94; *Paulus*, Samml. i. 80; *Pfeiffer*, Dub. Vex. i. 173; *Sprengel*, Hist. Rei Herb. i. 38, 82; *Burckhardt*, Trav. i. 441; *Hasselquist*, Trav., p. 183; *Bertoloni*, Com-

mentar. de Mandragoris; *Gesen.*, Thesaurus i. 325; *Winer*, Real-Wörterbuch i. 48; *Kitto*, Cyclopædia i. 586, etc.). The word מַדְאִים is the plural of מַדְאִי (as מַדְאִי, plur. מַדְאִים), *poma amatoria*.—The four first sons of Leah (*Reuben*, *Siméon*, *Levi*, and *Judah*) were born in rapid succession, say within three years and a half (from the eighth year after Jacob's arrival); then a pause may have intervened of about one year and a half, during which period *Dan* and *Naphtali* were born by *Bilhah*, and *Gad* and *Asher* by *Zilpah*; at this time, *Reuben* was, therefore, between four and five years; and within the next two years, *Leah* gave birth to her two other sons, *Isaachar* and *Zebulun*. The birth of *Joseph* falls into the fourteenth year of Jacob's stay with *Laban*; and may, in point of time, nearly coincide with that of *Zebulun* and *Dinah* (see p. 519). The young *Reuben* might have accompanied the labourers to the harvest-fields, and there have found the *Dudaim*, which a son more advanced in years could scarcely with propriety have offered to his mother.—וְלָקַחָהּ (ver. 15), instead of וְלָקַחָהּ (see on xv. 16, הַלִּילָה הַזֶּה (ver. 15), instead of הַלִּילָה (analogous to הַיּוֹם *hodie*), and בְּלִילָה הַזֶּה (ver. 16), instead of הַיּוֹם (as in xxxii. 23).—The relative pronoun אֲשֶׁר (ver. 18), refers to the suffix שָׁכַר, "the Lord has granted the reward to me who have given my maid-servant to my husband," so that אֲשֶׁר, like the Latin *quippe qui*, has here the causal meaning of *since*.—יִשְׁכַּר is either equivalent to שָׁכַר "there is reward" (comp. Jer. xxxi. 16); or to יִשְׁכַּר "he will receive reward" (comp. ישָׁכַר, Ps. xxiv. 5); or to יִשְׁכַּר "he will be rewarded"; in the latter case, the masoretic orthography would show an old trace of the application of a double consonant



she said, God hath taken away my reproach: 24. And she called his name Joseph, saying, The Lord may add to me another son!

25. And when Rachel had born Joseph, Jacob said to Laban, Send me away, that I may go to my place, and to my country. 26. Give *me* my wives and my children, for whom I have served thee, and let me go: for thou knowest my service which I have served thee. 27. And

instead of the *dagesh forte*. — The name of Zebulun is introduced with the words **וְזִבְלֹנִי אֱלֹהִים אֹתִי וְכָר טוֹב**, the sense of which is certain, since the root **זכר** means undoubtedly, “to present with something,” and **וְכָר** is a *present* or *gift* (Sept., *δέδωκεται ὁ θεός μοι δῶρον καλόν*; Vulg., *dotavit me Deus*; *Onkel.*, יָהֵב, etc.); and the Old Testament mentions many proper nouns derived from, or compounded with, that root (for instance, **וְכָר**; **וְכָר** and **וְכָר**; **וְכָר**; **וְכָר**; **וְכָר** and **וְכָר**, etc.; comp. *Gesen.*, *The.* p. 401). — **וְכָר** is pleonastically added after **וְכָר**. — As **ו** is sometimes changed into **ל** (for instance, **וְכָר** and **וְכָר**; comp. *Ὀδυσσεύς* and *Ulysses*; *midius* and *milieu*; *ibid.* p. 727), Leah continues **וְכָר** and **וְכָר**, so that **וְכָר** and **וְכָר** were regarded as similar in sound; but the latter word signifies evidently, *to live with somebody* (יִזְכֵּר, instead of עִמִּי, like יִנּוּךְ, in *Pa.* v. 5; comp. *Judg.* i. 17; *Ps.* cxx. 5; Vulg., *mecum erit*; *Onkel.*, “my husband’s dwelling will be with me”; Sept., more freely: *αἰπεύει με*; *Gesen.* (*The.*, p. 403): *cohabitabit mecum maritus meus* (comp. *Jerome*, *Quæst.* in loc.). — About **וְכָר** (ver. 22), see on xxi. 1. — **וְכָר** is, according to the explanation of the text, either contracted from **וְכָר** (comp. **וְכָר**, יִזְכֵּר, etc., and **וְכָר** in *Pa.* civ. 29), or formed from the regular *Hiphil* of **וְכָר**.

It has been observed above, that most of the Biblical names have an important and internal relation to the character and the destinies of the persons who bear them, and that they were, therefore, changed on decisive occasions (see p. 114). Such significance is evidently attributed to the names

of the founders of the Hebrew tribes. On the whole, it is not difficult to discover their import. Those of the four eldest sons of Leah belong to the most remarkable appellations, expressing in the strongest and precisest manner Leah’s affection and piety. The other names also are interesting; but their connection with the individuals is not equally clear, and they were partly suggested by a transitory thought, or an accidental event. Though Dan and Naphtali still point to the relation between Rachel and Leah, Gad and Asher describe quite generally joy or happiness; and though in the names of Issachar and Zebulun, the fond attachment of Leah remains faintly transparent, Joseph comprises the past and the future in almost undefined outlines. Yet all these names are much more appropriately chosen than many of those generally given to children in the East, and frequently derived from the most trifling incidents, from the words uttered by some person present at the time of the birth; from some animal which happened to pass or to be near; from the facility and speed of delivery; from the locality where it took place; and even from the weather and the temperature (comp. *Seetzen*, in *Zach’s Corresp.* xix. 214; *Gesenius*, on *Isai.* i. 303; *Bohlen*, *Alt. Ind.* ii. 14).

25—34. There is scarcely a passage, the moral value of which has been more discussed and disputed than the conduct of Jacob towards Laban. Let us try to arrive at a calm and impartial estimate of both characters. Their relative position, at the time of the transaction, was briefly this: Jacob had been promised, by his

Laban said to him, I pray thee, if I have found favour in thy eyes, *listen* : I have taken an augury, that the Lord hath blessed me for thy sake. 28. And he said, Appoint me thy wages, and I will give *them*. 29. And he said to him, Thou knowest how I have served thee, and what thy cattle hath become with me. 30. For *it was* little what thou hadst before I *came*, and it is *now* increased to a multitude; and the Lord hath blessed thee wherever I

mother, that she would send for him as soon as the abatement of Esau's enmity would permit a safe return (xxvii. 45). But fourteen years had elapsed, without his receiving any tidings from his parental house (xxxi. 41). He had passed the ninetieth year of his life and found himself still in the condition of a servant. He naturally longed to establish an independent household (ver. 30), and to acquire property of his own, which might raise his authority, and guarantee the prosperity of his increasing family. But he had, by right, nothing to demand from Laban; for he was bound, by compact, to serve him fourteen years for his two daughters; and yet, at the end of this period, he was grieved at his poverty, and desired to return to Canaan to secure his paternal inheritance. But this unfavourable state of things was partly the result of Laban's immorality. He had, by his fraud, forced Jacob to serve for two wives instead of one, to sell his strength for fourteen years instead of seven, and to sacrifice the labour of this long period which he might have employed in laying the foundation for future wealth. It is unnecessary to enquire how far Jacob *deserved* to be the victim of fraud for having committed a similar sin; for in no manner had Laban a right to assume the office of retribution. Thus, then, Laban's guilt was the first cause of the deplorable complication. Jacob seems to have submitted to this degradation as an atonement; for he acknowledged the *justice* of the contract which Laban concluded with him; but he endeavoured to obtain from his *generosity* what he could not claim by

right; he induced his father-in-law to make promises in his favour; and he strove to merit his liberality by increased labour and attention beyond the conditions of the contract (xxxi. 6). But Laban so little fulfilled his promises, that even his daughters felt deeply the meanness, and broke forth into loud accusations; he had treated them, they said bitterly, like strangers; he had sold them; and had arrogated to himself their own money and property (xxxi. 15). Thus stood matters at the end of the fourteen years. What was, then, the course which duty and piety would have dictated to Jacob? He ought to have continued to regard his humiliation as an instrument of Divine correction, and to have submitted to it as a means of reconciling offended morality, and of restoring his peace of mind; he ought to have acknowledged the mercy of God, who accepted his poverty alone as a full expiation, and to have summoned sufficient calmness of judgment to see that he could not *demand generosity*, that this gracious quality of the heart necessarily operates in *spontaneous* acts, and that its absence, though a defect, is no crime, and though indispensable by the highest standard of ethics, is beyond the pale of human jurisdiction. And how did Jacob act? It appears that he withstood all temptations for the full period of fourteen years; for after the birth of Joseph he intended to return to his native land, taking with him nothing but his wives and children, for whom he had served (ver. 26). Laban, conquered by Jacob's moderation, was, for a moment, inclined to greater liberality. Pitying the destitu-

went: and now, when shall I provide for my own house also? 31. And he said, What shall I give thee? And Jacob said, Thou shalt not give me anything: if thou wilt do this thing for me, I will again feed *and* keep thy flock. 32. I will pass through all thy flock to-day, and remove from there all the speckled and spotted cattle, and all the dark cattle among the sheep, and the spotted and speckled among the goats: and *of such* shall be my hire. 33. And my righteousness shall answer for me in future

tion of his daughters and grand-children, and feeling that he owed the visible increase of his wealth to Jacob's industry, and to the manifest blessing attending his steps (comp. xxxix. 5, 23), in a generous impulse, he allowed him to choose his compensation himself, before he departed (vers. 26—39). Thus an opportunity for a hearty and permanent conciliation between Jacob and Laban was once more offered; but it was converted into an occasion of increased animosity. Neither of the two characters possessed as yet that disinterested virtue which is the first condition of friendship. But, we must pronounce it distinctly, the greater share of the guilt falls upon Jacob. He replied to Laban's request with a proposal which, on his part, was dictated by lurking deceit, but which Laban might have construed as honest modesty. When Jacob made the proposal, his mind had already formed the whole fraudulent procedure by which he acquired his wealth, while Laban, in accepting it, might have anticipated the usual beneficence of God in favour of Jacob, and His supernatural assistance. The agreement was made. Laban, careful that the conditions should be faithfully fulfilled on both sides, singled out himself all the spotted and all the coloured among the sheep, and all the speckled among the goats, entrusted them to his sons, and separated them by a three days' journey from the other animals left in Jacob's charge. But now the latter, unchecked by honesty or conscience, began to carry out his unprincipled stratagems; he heaped new and

greater shame upon himself; well aware that a special Providence watched over him (ver. 30), but unable to use this goodness of God as a support and a guide, he turned it into a snare which entangled his mind; he did not blush to invoke righteousness and justice in his fraud (ver. 33), as he had before abused the name of God for a deliberate untruth (xxvii. 20). Consulting nothing but his own avarice, he appropriated to himself a very considerable part of the flocks. When Laban perceived this unwelcome fact, he thought himself free from all his promises and obligations; he was sure that his confidence had been ill-placed; he revoked his concessions; and now a true emulation of insidious deception commenced on both sides; Laban altered the stipulations repeatedly; but Jacob always found means of evading or defying them (xxxi. 8). The former was thus, for self-protection, drawn into a labyrinth of strife in which his morality necessarily went astray; he deceived and insulted Jacob, as he had been deceived and insulted by him; he "changed his wages ten times" (xxxi. 8); for, when the patriarch represented to Rachel and Leah the reprehensible conduct of Laban, they could advance no word of excuse for their father; and when he repeated it, with the same emphasis, a second time to Laban himself, the latter neither made a denial nor attempted a refutation, but tacitly acknowledged it (xxxi. 41—44). Thus Laban, who had commenced with an unjust action, in due time suffered the severest penalties; he had deprived Jacob of the fruit of seven

time, when thou comest to my hire to inspect it: every one that *is* not speckled and spotted among the goats, and dark among the sheep, that shall be *counted* as stolen with me. 34. And Laban said, Behold, may it be according to thy word.—35. And he removed that day the he-goats *that were* ringstraked and spotted, and all the she-goats *that were* speckled and spotted, every one that had *some* white in it, and all the dark among the sheep; and gave *them* into the hand of his sons. 36. And he set a three

years' labour by forcing Leah upon him; and he was now deprived of a great part of his property. With regard to *him*, the ways of Providence were, therefore, justified; but the sin of Jacob was of a darker dye; the stain was the deeper as he was from the chosen seed of Abraham; he had failed to contribute to the sanctification of God, had mocked the fundamentals of moral truth, repaid a want of generosity with calmly-planned deceit, and proved that his own wisdom appeared to him better than faith;—could he be astonished that sad trials and punishments awaited him? (comp. also on xxxi. 1—16).

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—The phrase נָחַשׁוּתִי הֵן בְּעֵינַי (ver. 27) is certainly elliptical (comp. xviii. 3; xlviii. 29, etc.); and a general term, as *listen*, easily omitted in emphatical speech, may be supplied. — Laban, the worshipper of idols (xxx. 19), may well be supposed, whenever extraordinary events surprised him, to have taken auguries from his gods. When, therefore, an unusual blessing was suddenly manifest in his household, he sought information from a source which he deemed unerring. This is the sense of נִחְשָׁתִי (ver. 27), “I have consulted the auguries,” or have taken an oracle (comp. xlv. 15; 1 Kings xx. 33). — יָדַעַתָּ מִן אִשָּׁר (ver. 29) gives to the following verb the character and meaning of a substantive in the accusative (comp. *Erzd.*, Gr. § 584, b). — לִפְנֵי (ver. 30), “before my arrival,” not *ἐναντίον μου* (Sept.). לְרַגְלִי (ver. 30) is more probably, “wherever I went,” than “after or on account of my coming into thy house,” which would imply a repeti-

tion of the preceding יָדַעַתָּ (comp. Is. xli. 2; Exod. xi. 8).

**35—43.** The nature of Jacob's fraud may thus be described. As generally the sheep are white, and the goats black (Cant. iv. 1, 2), he requested Laban to remove from the flocks all animals not possessing these normal colours, that is, the sheep either entirely black or marked with black spots, and the goats either entirely white or having white spots; and as the dark or spotted and speckled sheep, and the various-coloured goats, rare in themselves, are born in still smaller numbers, in flocks exclusively consisting of the normal animals, Jacob might almost justly say: “Thou shalt give me nothing,” and Laban could readily agree. Thus Jacob remained the shepherd of far the greater part of Laban's flocks; whilst the abnormal sheep and goats, under the care of Laban's sons, were driven to such a distance as to render a meeting or intermixture of the two flocks impossible. Now Jacob, in order to pervert the ordinary course of nature, devised a means of artificially changing the colours of the new-born animals. The ancients were universally acquainted with the influence which, under certain circumstances, the sight, by the mother, of some extraordinary object, may exercise on the formation of the fetus, whence, for instance, the Spartan women placed the pictures of heroes before themselves in the wish and hope to produce children resembling them in great qualities (comp. *Plin.*, Hist. Nat., vii. 10; *Jerome*, in loc.). Jacob took, therefore, sticks of various kinds of

days' journey between himself and Jacob: and Jacob pastured the rest of Laban's flocks.—37. And Jacob took for himself fresh rods of poplar, and of the hazel, and plantain tree; and peeled white strakes in them, making the white appear which *was* in the rods. 38. And he placed the rods which he had peeled into the gutters in

trees; peeled off portions of the bark in strakes or rings, so that partly the dark rind and partly the white wood might be visible; and placed them in the gutters before the wells, whither the flocks were led to drink. The sheep and goats, in their heat and eagerness, were struck with the unusual objects; and the consequence was that those which conceived gave birth "to cattle ring-streaked, speckled, and spotted." But Jacob, not satisfied with this stratagem, and wishing to carry it out more systematically, "mixed his own ring-straked cattle and dark sheep with the flocks of Laban" (ver. 40); and the consequence was that he gradually obtained normal animals also, namely, white sheep and black goats; and *this latter cattle* he separated, in distinct flocks, from those of Laban; since the abnormal sheep and goats could easily be discovered among Laban's cattle. Thus the rather obscure text finds, we believe, an intelligible explanation.—But not yet contented, Jacob added a third device equally efficient and equally cunning. As Laban would at once have detected and prevented the stratagem, if his large flocks had not increased at all in normal cattle, Jacob shrewdly abstained from applying his artifice with the rods equally upon all sheep and goats; and as he was eager to secure the young of the strong animals chiefly, he withdrew the sticks when the weak ones conceived, and left their young, being of the usual colours, to his father-in-law. This he repeated annually twice during the six years: and as Laban saw each time an increase in his own flocks, he had for a long period no ground either for suspicion or jealousy.

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—The thirty-second verse, which is most important for

the correct understanding of Jacob's stratagem, but which, in itself, is obscure and almost unintelligible, can only be explained by the aid of the thirty-fifth verse. Viewed by the light of the latter, it is evident: 1. That הָיָה is the imperative addressed by Jacob to Laban (corresponding with יָסַר in ver. 35), who was to remove the animals himself, in accordance with the compact (for Laban is the subject in ver. 35 as in ver. 34). 2. The black or dark sheep (שֶׁה חֹמֶם), though one-coloured, were also to be separated from the flocks. 3. The words והיה שכרי contain a considerable ellipsis, most aptly supplied by the English Version: "and of *such* shall be my hire"; for all the abnormal sheep and goats were entrusted to the sons of Laban (ver. 36), and removed to a great distance; the normal animals alone remained to Jacob; while the beasts of the former description, which might be born by the latter, should be his hire. — Hence follows, 4. That בְּיוֹם מָחָר (in ver. 33) signifies, not "to-morrow," but, as in some other passages, "at a later day," or "in future time" (see note on Exod. xiii. 14), when the flocks would have thrown their young. — Numerous other interpretations of these verses have been advanced; but they have mostly increased rather than diminished the difficulties: אָעֵבָר (ver. 32) needs not to be changed into an imperative (Vulg. *gyra*); for הָיָה cannot here be employed instead of לְהָסִיר; the words וכל שֶׁה חֹמֶם וְכ (ver. 32) to בְּעֵזִים do not belong to the following words והיה שכרי, but to the preceding part of the verse; just as in ver. 33 all the words from כל שֶׁה חֹמֶם וְכ to בְּבָשִׁים belong together; for the sake of brevity, the 33rd verse omits the "speckled and spotted," and the 39th the "dark" sheep. Thus understood, the pas-

the watering troughs, whither the flocks came to drink, before the flocks. And they conceived when they came to drink. 39. And the flocks conceived before the rods, and brought forth cattle ringstraked, speckled, and spotted. 40. And Jacob separated the lambs; and he set the faces of *Laban's* flocks towards *his own* ringstraked, and all *his*

sage is freed from intricacies, declared by many as insolvable.—Four sorts of animals were to be removed; and the adjectives by which they are described, are: 1.  $\text{קָדָה}$ , simply dotted (from  $\text{קָדָה}$  to furnish with points or dots). 2.  $\text{מִצְחָה}$ , marked with larger spots (from  $\text{מָצָה}$  to patch; *Onkel.*,  $\text{רָקוּעַ}$ ). 3.  $\text{עֹקֶרֶת}$  (vers. 35, 39), covered with rings or bands, especially round the feet (from  $\text{קָרַע}$  to bind, xxii. 9; *Sym.*,  $\text{λευκόποδες}$ ; *Onkel.*,  $\text{מִלְּיָהּ}$ , etc.). 4.  $\text{חֹמֶה}$ , black or brown (from  $\text{חָמָה}$ , kindred with  $\text{חָמָה}$  to be warm; hence, sunburnt, or of a dark colour).—The Septuagint does not render these words with uniformity; it seems to have understood the three first as  $\text{βαρρός}$ ,  $\text{φαῖος}$ , and  $\text{διάλευκος}$ ; and expresses the fourth generally also by  $\text{φαῖος}$  (ver. 33); but all these terms are used so promiscuously, that either the translation is inaccurate, or the Greek text corrupted.—Laban gave the abnormal part of his flock to his own, not to Jacob's sons; for even Reuben was, at this time, not much older than six years (see p. 539); but as the flocks tended by his sons belonged to him, the singular  $\text{בִּינִי}$  (ver. 36) is employed instead of  $\text{בָּנָיִם}$  contained in the Samaritan codex, and expressed by the Septuagint ( $\text{ἀνὰ μέσον υἱῶν}$ ); but the former offers here so many unwarranted additions and alterations, that it can claim no authority (comp. *Gesen.*, *De Pent. Samar.*, p. 46).—The sticks which Jacob used (ver. 37) were of the following three kinds of trees: 1.  $\text{לָבָן}$ , the poplar (from  $\text{לָבָן}$  to be white; thus *Vulg.*, *Engl. Vers.*, and others); it is, in *Hosea* (iv. 13), mentioned together with the oak and the terebinth; and denotes, therefore, more probably the poplar than the *storax* (described in the Comment. on *Exod.*, p. 568; thus, the *Sept.*, *Saad.*, *Kimchi*, and others). 2.  $\text{אֶשְׁכּוֹל}$ , the hazel-tree

(*Sept.*, *Kimchi*, *Rashi*, *Luther*, etc.); this seems preferable to the *almond-tree* (*Amygdalus communis*; *Vulg.*, *Saad.*, etc.), as Jacob, no doubt, took for his experiments the most common and least valuable trees. 3.  $\text{עֹרֶבֶן}$ , the *plantain*, as the word is, with very few exceptions, rendered by the ancient authorities (comp. *Ezek.* xxxi. 8; *Cels.*, *Hierob.* i. 513). The Rabbins understand, however, the *chestnut-tree*, an interpretation adopted by the English Version.— $\text{מִצְחָה}$  (ver. 37) has obviously a collective meaning; and  $\text{חֹמֶה}$  (fresh, green) belongs to all three nouns.— $\text{יִחְמָקָה}$  (ver. 38, from  $\text{חָמָה}$ ) is the *feminine* of the third person plural (instead of  $\text{יִחְמָקָה}$ ), derived in regular analogy from the masculine, and corresponding with similar forms in the

kindred dialects (*Arab.*  $\text{يَحْمِلُ}$ , etc.), and occurring, besides our passage, in 1 *Sam.* vi. 12, and in *Dan.* viii. 22, where both forms are used (comp. *Gesen.*, *Lehrg.*, pp. 276, 462).— $\text{יִחְמָקָה}$  (ver. 39), instead of  $\text{יִחְמָקָה}$  (comp. *Jud.* v. 28:  $\text{אֶחָדָה}$ ).— $\text{יָחָם}$  (ver. 41) is the inf. Piel of  $\text{יָחַם}$ , equivalent to  $\text{חָמָה}$ .—About the form  $\text{יִחְמָקָה}$ , see *Ewald*, *Krit. Gram.*, p. 112.—The 40th verse cannot mean: Jacob set the faces of the flocks upon the spotted and all the dark in Laban's flock; for the latter was separated from the former by a journey of three days (ver. 35). The verb  $\text{יָתַן}$  must, therefore, be again supplied before  $\text{חֹמֶה}$ , and the difference in the construction (the first time with  $\text{אֶל}$ , the second time with  $\text{בְּ}$ ) is accounted for by the context (see *Exod.* ix. 14). The sentence is indeed, elliptical; but may be understood in the manner above proposed.—It has been asserted that, as the sheep lamb twice every year, and as the young produced in the spring are stronger than those thrown

dark *he set* to the flocks of Laban: and he put his own flocks by themselves, and did not put them to Laban's cattle. 41. And it was whenever the stronger cattle conceived, that Jacob laid the rods before the eyes of the cattle in the gutters, that they might conceive among the

In the autumn (comp. *Plin.*, Hist. N. viii. 47 or 72; *Varro*, Re Rust. ii. 2; *Aristot.*, Hist. Anim. vi. 18, 19), Jacob applied his stratagem only in the former season, and not in the latter; even several ancient translators have entertained this view; for מַשְׁכֵּם (from שָׁם to bind; therefore, well-knit, strong) is rendered by Aquil. *πρώμα*; by the Vulg., *quando primo tempore ascendebant oves*, etc.; while עֲמֹם (from עָמַם to cover, to be weak) is translated by Aquil., *δψμα*, the Vulg., *ea quæ erant serotina*, etc. But if we consider Jacob's plan of carrying on, unsuspected, his practices as long as possible, it is not probable, that he should have appropriated to himself *all* the young cattle regularly in every spring, and should have left to Laban the whole increase in each autumn. Such striking circumstance would soon have led Laban to the discovery of Jacob's frauds. We prefer, therefore, the explanation above adopted, which alone is distinctly expressed in the text (Sept., *ἐπίσµα* and *ἀσµα*; comp. *Hom.*, Od. ix. 221, 222).—Onkelos and Symmachus render מַשְׁכֵּם טַבְּרִית *firstborn* (בְּכֹרִית, *πρωτόγονα*).

The three chapters xxix., xxx., and xxxi., closely connected in their contents, must be considered together as regards their authorship. They comprise the whole history of Jacob in his relation to Laban; and it must be asked, how far they are attributable to the ancient source, or the Elohist, and how far to the Jehovist. The decision does not appear to us difficult, if we but remember the following points: 1. A clear and obvious unity prevails throughout the section; all parts, subordinate to a comprehensive plan, offer the most perfect consistency, as we have endeavoured to prove in the general remarks on these chapters. But, 2. It is equally unmistakeable, that the narrative contains

some episodes, though not indispensable, yet illustrating or adorning it. We may specify:—a. The account of Jacob's arrival at the well before Haran, his exploit there, and his meeting with Rachel (xxix. 1—13), almost exactly parallel with the corresponding parts of the 24th chapter and here, added by the Jehovist.—b. The introduction of the mandrakes, which are without the least influence both on Leah's and Rachel's conception. We ascribe, therefore, this portion also to the Jehovist (xxx. 14—16).—c. The accounts given of Jacob's deception with the sticks at the troughs, not containing any name of God, but commencing with some verses which twice offer the name יְהוָה (vers. 27, 30). Hence this section also may, with probability, be attributed to the Jehovist (xxx. 25—42); whereas the Elohist seems to have been content with simply recording the increasing wealth of the patriarch (ver. 43), but doing this in a few words more comprehensively than the Jehovist who speaks of the acquisition of sheep and goats only.—3. While the thirty-first chapter, as a whole, undoubtedly belongs to the Elohist, since it contains the name אֱלֹהִים in almost every part (in vers. 7, 9, 11, 16, 24, 42, 50), the Jehovist, in order to connect with it his own history of Jacob's fraud, has premised a few introductory verses (1—3), as he has done in more than one case (comp. xxi. 1, etc.). Hence it will be evident that the Elohist already had described the dishonesty of Laban and the artifice of Jacob (xxi. 7—12, 41), but the later author developed especially the second subject in greater detail.—4. Some single verses may be easily recognised as additions of the Jehovist namely—a. The second explanation of the name Joseph, יוסף יְהוָה לִי בֵן מֵרֶרֶךְ (xxx. 24; comp.

rods. 42. But when the cattle were feeble, he did not put *them* in: so the feeble were Laban's, and the stronger Jacob's. 43. And the man increased exceedingly, and had much cattle, and maidservants, and manservants, and camels, and asses.

ver. 23, and v. 29); and *b*. The etymology of Gilead and of Mizpah, together with the heaping up of the *pile of stones*, after the *pillar* had been erected (xxx. 46—53, we refer to the note on xxx. 44—54, *sub finem*). But we must here again observe, that those episodes, so far from being inappropriate or unmeaning, have been inserted by the Jehovist with deliberate design, intending to embody therein religious ideas of the highest moment, or historical facts of the greatest interest. It is, further, to be remembered, that although these insertions belong, *in the present form*, to the later Jehovist, we are not justified in concluding that the subjects themselves were not alluded to in the older document. Though the account of the birth of the four first sons (xxix. 31—35) belongs, in our text, indisputably to the Jehovist (the name יְהוָה occurs four times); it must, of course, have been recorded by the Elohist also. The motive which prompted the Jehovist to those additions appears to have been his desire of representing Leah's loving and pious character with the greatest possible force; of showing the superiority of internal qualities over external attractions, especially in contradistinction to Rachel; of illustrating God's justice, and of thus impressing the important lessons

which we have above pointed out.—With as little certainty can the use of the name אֱלֹהִים in all cases be taken as a proof of the authorship of the Elohist; for if the Jehovist carried out a brief allusion of his predecessor, he would naturally adopt, together with the matter, the Divine name also.—Therefore, to sum up these remarks, it may be asserted, that in the three chapters under discussion, the older document was very copious, but that the Jehovist inserted, from different sources, additions and complements calculated to illustrate still better the patriarch's history. For we attribute to the Elohist xxix. 14—30, which though not containing any name of God, were indispensable in the first narrative; xxx. 1—18, in which section אֱלֹהִים occurs three times; vers. 16—23, with five times אֱלֹהִים; ver. 43; xxxi. 4—45, 54. To the Jehovist are traceable xxix. 1—13; 31—35; xxx. 14—16, 24, 25—42; xxxi. 1—3, 46—53. We leave to the critical reader the conclusions to be drawn from this result, especially regarding the relative notions of both writers, and the progress in the narrative of the Jehovist. Other opinions may be found in *Tuch*, Genesis, p. 439—442; 454—455; truth and error are mixed by *Hengstenberg*, *Authent.* i. 374, 375.

## CHAPTER XXXI.

**SUMMARY.**—When Jacob, on account of his increasing property, was regarded by Laban with distrust and envy, he secretly left Mesopotamia, with all his wealth, to return to Canaan. He was urged to this step by the command of God, and executed it with the consent of his wives, who admitted the ungenerous conduct of their father towards Jacob. When they departed, Rachel, without the knowledge of her husband, furtively took with her the Teraphim of Laban. The latter, informed of Jacob's escape, pursued him, and overtook him in the district of Mount Gilead. However, warned by a vision of God, he abstained from violence; but censured severely Jacob's unworthy flight, and the theft of the Teraphim.



When an artifice of Rachel rendered his search after the idol fruitless, Jacob most vehemently complained of the illiberal manner with which his conscientious and unremitting services had been requited. But on Laban's proposal a conciliation was effected, a covenant concluded and ratified by sacrifices and feasts, and as a witness of it, monuments were erected, to remind both parties of the solemn vows of friendship there exchanged.

1. And he heard the words of Laban's sons, saying, Jacob hath taken away all that *was* our father's; and of *that* which *was* our father's, he hath acquired all this wealth. 2. And Jacob saw the countenance of Laban,

1—16. At last the astute schemes of Jacob were discovered. But in this respect also, a marked progress is traceable. After the first few births of the cattle, Laban might indeed have been surprised at the great number of abnormal sheep and goats; but he might attribute it to the interposition of God in favour of Jacob; he might regard it as a hint, how unjust, from an ordinary point of view, the compact was which he had concluded with his son-in-law; and he could not censure Jacob for that which was a silent but powerful rebuke to himself. However, though he was able to understand, he was unwilling to profit by, the lesson: had he been honest and candid, he might easily have arrived at a just arrangement; for he had not agreed to allow the abnormal cattle to Jacob *for an indefinite period*; he might, when the latter had obtained a fair and sufficient amount of property, in equity have declared the contract as fulfilled; and if but his conscience was satisfied, he might have enforced his resolution, even against the will of Jacob; for he was certainly the stronger of the two (ver. 29). But he was far from acting in such spirit. Bewildered at the extraordinary increase of Jacob's various-coloured cattle, his first impulse was to alter the contract, forgetting, that he was the cause of Jacob's poverty, and abandoning, for the gratification of his avarice, the virtuous intentions before conceived (xxx. 28). As he had neither a knowledge nor a suspicion of Jacob's fraudulent artifice, he was bound to recognize the hand of God in Jacob's blessing. Such a Divine interposition is, indeed, recorded in the text (vera. 9—12);

and though, at first sight, appearing to be in total disharmony with the preceding narrative, which represents Jacob as the sole responsible agent of the stratagem, it is, in reality, a most interesting addition, forcibly illustrating both Jacob's character and his relation to God. After the patriarch had entered into an agreement prompted by the most fraudulent motives, God appeared to him in a dream; he supposed he saw that all the rams which approached the sheep, were spotted and ring-streaked; and he heard the voice of God inviting his attention to the sight before him, and adding: "for I have seen all that Laban doeth to thee." What was the end of the dream? To assure Jacob of God's assistance and bounty; to convince him, that he might confidently leave the issue to His own protection; and, above all, to exhort him, not to imitate the deed of Laban, nor to repay fraud with fraud. God, knowing the deceitful propensity of Jacob's heart, and seeing that he was again bent upon an abject scheme, wished to warn and to save him—but the communication of the future events was again to him a cause of moral degradation. As the oracle received by Rebekah, concerning his spiritual birth-right, had led him to deceive his aged father and to blaspheme God Himself; so the prophecy of the dream induced him to accomplish its realisation by base means; too feeble in faith to confide the matter to God, he relied entirely on his own uncontrolled shrewdness; and the mention of Laban's injustice, so far from calling forth virtuous resolves, was construed by him as an admonition to retort and to retaliate. It is, therefore, a most serious mistake to

and, behold, it *was* not towards him as in former days. 3. And the Lord said to Jacob, Return to the land of thy fathers, and to thy native country; and I shall be with thee. 4. And Jacob sent and called Rachel and Leah into the field to his flock. 5. And he said to them, I see your father's countenance, that it is not towards me as in former days; but the God of my father hath been with me. 6. And you know that with all my power I have

suppose, that our text approves of Jacob's dishonest devices, or seals them with the Divine sanction: this would not be less objectionable than to assert, that the prediction: "the elder son will serve the younger" (xxv. 23), implied the permission of God for the disguise and deception of Jacob with regard to the paternal blessing. The promises, perhaps intended as trials, proved to Jacob occasions for fatal temptations. The reason why the dream, which occurred at the beginning, is, in our narrative, recorded at the end of the six years, and immediately before Jacob's departure, seems to be, to let his stratagem appear in all its meanness; since, if it preceded, the imposition might be mistaken for an act authorized by God—as, indeed, Jacob mistook it.—The mutual position and conduct of Jacob and Laban were, therefore, these: God would have increased the prosperity of the former, even without his unlawful co-operation, while the latter did not acknowledge the direct will of God in that growing wealth; the one was deficient in patience and submission, the other in the belief of the working of Providence; the one wished to give effect to a Divine prophecy by natural means, the other recognised nothing but nature and chance. When, therefore, Laban saw in one instance nature working against his interest, he desired to change the conditions of the stipulation. This act, though in itself arbitrary, was not seriously resisted by Jacob, because his fraud had furnished him the means of gaining on any condition, whether the dotted animals alone were to be his property, or the speckled, or the ring-straked, or the normal ones alone—

it appears, indeed, that Laban tried every possible change; but still Jacob was the conqueror; he became a wealthy man, and applied his abundance of sheep and goats to the acquisition of other useful animals, and of numerous servants. Thus Laban might at last have been forced to acknowledge God's manifest government. But it appears that the third fraud of Jacob opened the eyes, first of his sons, and then of himself. The former, who were his herdsmen, saw at the end of six years, with astonishment, that their own flocks consisted mostly of weak and small, those of Jacob of strong and fine, animals. This fact, too remarkable not to arouse their suspicion, probably led to the detection of all the artifices of Jacob. Thus only they could justly say: "Jacob hath taken away all that was our father's" (ver. 1); thus only are Laban's words intelligible, which he later addressed to his son-in-law: "these cattle are my cattle, and all that thou seest is mine"; and thus only can we understand Laban's violent intentions against Jacob (ver. 29); for the flight, though denounced as "silly" (ver. 28), could not be regarded as a criminal offence.

When Jacob heard Laban's sons speak openly of his fraud, and saw Laban's mistrust expressed in his face: did his conscience feel a pang, or his heart an emotion of repentance? If, indeed, such sentiments rose within him, they were quickly subdued and silenced by another vision of God, who commanded him to return to his native country, promised him His perpetual protection (ver. 3), and assured him that He to whom he had consecrated

served your father. 7. And your father hath deceived me, and changed my wages ten times; but God did not suffer him to wrong me. 8. If he said thus, The speckled shall be thy wages; then all the cattle bore speckled: and if he said thus, The ringstraked shall be thy wages; then all the cattle bore ringstraked: 9. Thus God hath taken away the cattle of your father, and hath given *them* to me. 10. And it was at the time that the cattle conceived, that I lifted up my eyes, and saw in a dream, and, behold, the rams coming upon the cattle *were* ringstraked, speckled,

a monument and offered vows at Beth-el, would watch over him in future as He had guarded him up to that time (ver. 13; comp. xxviii. 19—22). Jacob interpreted the Divine apparition as a sanction of all his transactions; full of confidence and self-assurance, he sent for his wives, whilst he was tending his flocks in the field; accused their father in the strongest terms; and boldly complained of the frequent alteration of the contract, as if it had made the least difference in his own unlawful gain. He freely represented God as the author of all his wealth, and he mentioned Him more than once as the protector of his rights. He then, evidently for the first time, related to his wives the dream in which God had, six years before, foretold him the increase of his flocks; but though, to himself, the meaning of the dream ought, even at that earlier period, to have been perfectly clear, it could scarcely convey any distinct notion to his wives, who, unacquainted with the perverse steps to which it had misguided him, and apparently in perfect ignorance of his stratagems and frauds, naturally regarded his wealth as an evident reward of his virtues. They were so entirely under their husband's influence, and their hearts had been so completely estranged from their father, that they looked upon the latter with exactly the same invidious eyes as Jacob himself, and spoke of him with severity and coldness bordering on disrespect. They urged, that they had not to expect any more portion or inheri-

tance in their father's house — as if married daughters in the East had ever any such claim where there are sons; that they had been heartlessly sold by him, which term, however harsh it is, expresses no more than the usual Oriental custom; that they had been treated by him like strangers, whereas he later proved his true and deep affection; and that he had "quite eaten up their money," by applying the value of Jacob's services entirely to his own uses, whereas he had given a maidservant to either of them; and though generosity would have prompted him to marry them to his kinsman without compensating labour, he maintained them, with their increasing families, during seven years. So perfect was the effect of Jacob's consummate cunning, that his wives considered the vast losses of their father as a matter of congratulation and as a proud triumph, whereas, had they known the secret of their husband's dishonest schemes, they would have indignantly turned their hearts from him. From whatever side we view the subject, Jacob is blameable beyond excuse: disregarding the Divine warning, he unblushingly executed the frauds suggested by his fertile invention, and then abused the authority of God in covering or justifying them. Compared with these offences, the fault of Laban was trifling; for it consisted principally in his unwillingness to acknowledge the increase of Jacob's property as the gift of God; nor was he, on the one hand, en-

and dotted. 11. And the angel of God said to me in a dream, Jacob: and I said, Here I *am*. 12. And He said, Lift up now thy eyes, and see, all the rams coming upon the cattle *are* ringstraked, speckled, and dotted: for I have seen all that Laban doeth to thee. 13. I *am* the God of Beth-el, where thou hast anointed the pillar, *and* where thou hast vowed a vow to Me: now rise, go out from this land, and return to the land of thy birth. 14. And Rachel and Leah answered, and said to him, Have we still any portion or inheritance in our

tirely wrong in this feeling, and it would, on the other hand, be unjust, to apply to Laban the same standard of morality as to Jacob, who was invested with a sacred mission.

But why did, after the sixth year, the Divine vision check the course of Jacob's incipient repentance? (ver. 3). Why was he not left to face still longer the displeasure of Laban and his sons, if it might lead to his internal correction? The reply to this question exhibits the wise economy of our text in the strongest light. True repentance would have induced Jacob to give up the flocks deceitfully acquired by him; but this would have been inappropriate under two important aspects. First, it would have left Laban unpunished for his fraud in forcing Leah upon Jacob; and yet it was indispensable that such retaliation should be exercised before Jacob's departure, which marked the permanent separation of Laban's house from the history of the patriarchs. And secondly, the abuse to which Jacob had turned God's promises could not destroy their efficacy; he had been destined to leave Mesopotamia laden with blessing and wealth; whence he might justly say: "God did not suffer Laban to do me wrong" (ver. 7), or "God hath taken away the cattle of Laban and hath given it to me" (ver. 9); but that he quitted the land laden with guilt also, was another stone in the scale of his transgressions, with which he was doomed soon to balance the scale of his misery.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—כָּבֵד (ver. 1, from כָּבַד, to be heavy) is *wealth* (Onkel. כְּבֵדָה), as Nah. ii. 10; Ps. xlix. 13, etc.; and is, in other passages, coupled with עָשָׂה and עָשִׂים (1 Kings iii. 13; Eccl. vi. 2).—About שְׁלוֹם see note on Exod. p. 69. — Since Rachel was the favourite of Jacob, as he was himself the favourite of Rebekah (for the three characters have many points of resemblance), she is almost constantly mentioned before her elder sister Leah (vera. 4, 14; comp. Ruth iv. 4).—About הָתַל (ver. 7, Hiph. of תָּלַל) see on Exod. viii. 25).—Ten times (ver. 7) means *frequently* (comp. Numb. xiv. 22; Job xix. 3); as sometimes *seven* also is used to express a considerable, but undefined, number (Deut. xxviii. 7; Judg. xv. 7, 17, etc.). The Sept. renders עֲשֶׂה כְּנִים strangely by τὴν δίκην ἀμυνῶν; the origin of which translation has not yet been discovered. —The eighth verse, so far from being contradictory to the statements of the preceding chapter (vers. 32, 33), contains a new and clear illustration of the narrative. Laban had originally allowed to Jacob *all* the various-coloured animals, both the spotted, and the speckled, and the ring-straked (vera. 10, 12); but it appears that when he saw them to be exceedingly numerous, *he limited his promise to one species*, allowing to Jacob the speckled alone; but then all the births of the sheep and goats were speckled; he next tried it with the ring-straked only; and all the new-born animals were ring-

father's house? 15. Are we not regarded by him as strangers? for he hath sold us, and hath also entirely eaten up our money. 16. Indeed, all the wealth which God hath taken from our father, it belongeth to us and to our children: and now, whatever God hath said to thee, do.—17. And Jacob rose, and set his sons and his wives upon

straked; and thus "he changed the wages many times," but uniformly with the same unfavourable result. Therefore, that verse needs neither to be taken as a rhetorical phrase; nor as an inaccuracy; nor is it necessary to read, like the Sept. and Vulg., עֲקָרִים instead of לְבָנִים (*λευκά, alba*; so also *Clericus*, and others).—מִקְרָיִם (ver. 9) instead of מִקְרָיִן (see on Exod. i. 21, and ii. 17).—קָרָד (ver. 10, 12, from קָרָד *hair*), with white spots resembling hail, for which, in the preceding chapter (vera. 35, 39) מְלֵאִם is used (see p. 545); comp. Zech. vi. 3, 6; Septuagint σποδοειδὲς παντοί; Vulg. *respersi*. The same root occurs in the kindred dialects, especially the Arabic and Syriac, and is applied in a similar sense (comp. *Gesen.*, *Thea* p. 237).—הָאֵל (ver. 13), though in the status constructus, has the article, because the sense of the following בֵּית אֵל is: "I am that God who appeared to thee in Bethel" (thus *Onkelos*, comp. xxviii. 10—22); while simply אֵל בֵּית אֵל is used where no special allusion to that event is intended (xxxv. 7); analogous instances are: הַמִּצְבָּח בֵּית אֵל (2 Kings xxiii. 17); הַמֶּלֶךְ אֵשׁוּר (Isai. xxxvi. 8); compare אֵל הַאֲהֵלָה (xxiv. 67; see p. 473).—The *angel* who appeared to Jacob (ver. 11) was God Himself (ver. 13); see p. 382.—In אֵל אֵל נָם אֵל the infinit. absol. is employed after the verb finite, to express a greater intensity of the action, as in xlv. 4; Isai. xxii. 17, etc. (comp. *Gesen. Gr.*, § 128. 3, note 1).

17—21. It seems, that Laban had intended to allow Jacob the abnormal flocks during seven years, to compensate him for his seven years of forced servitude. But the discovery of his deception totally altered the relative position of both; and his flight naturally destroyed the agreement.

Thus we may account for his not attending the festivities of sheep-shearing, to which generally all relatives and friends were invited, and at which certainly the chief shepherd could not be forgotten (comp. xxxviii. 12; 2 Sam. xiii. 23). Jacob, shrewdly profiting by the absence of Laban and his sons, made unobserved the preparations of his escape. But in every step we meet with deeds proving how distant the characters introduced in this narrative still were from that faith and moral excellence which it was the end of Mosaism to enforce; and so complicated are the offences, that it requires the most undivided attention and the most unbiassed judgment, to estimate them with nicety and justice. Jacob had taught his wives to despise their father; the ill-feeling seems gradually to have become reciprocal between Laban and his daughters; for they also did not participate in the pastoral rejoicings; and Rachel finished by robbing her father. We need not to observe, that this trait is in perfect harmony with the other features of Rachel's character previously alluded to; she was passionate and envious; she relied on the powers of nature rather than the love of God; and now she considered herself more efficiently protected by the idols of her father than by the God of her husband (see p. 534). She stole the Teraphim, either, as has been advanced, because she wished to prevent Laban's consulting them on the direction of their flight, or to secure their guardianship for a journey apparently fraught with difficulties and dangers. The value of the precious metal of which the idol might have been made, was certainly a temptation subordinate to the superstitious motive. The example given by Jacob with regard to the worship of God, had manifestly exer-

camels; 18. And he carried away all his cattle, and all his property which he had gained, the cattle of his acquisition, which he had gained in Padan-aram, to go to Isaac his father, into the land of Canaan. 19. And Laban had gone to shear his sheep: and Rachel stole the Teraphim which *belonged* to her father. 20. And Jacob deceived the

cised a greater influence upon Leah than upon Rachel; though both, therefore, acknowledged, in Jacob's blessing, the will and favour of God, and urged him to follow the Divine directions (ver. 16), Rachel continued to attach a high value to dumb images, and regarded herself safe only under the guardianship of her own gods (comp. xxx. 14–16).

Our knowledge concerning the shape of the Teraphim is very limited. They resembled the form of man (1 Sam. xix. 13), either consisting of the entire human body, or only of head and breast. They were made of various materials, and not unfrequently of silver, two hundred shekels of which were employed for one statue (Judg. xvii. 4). Our information is more accurate respecting the use and nature of the Teraphim. But we must distinguish between the earlier and the later history of the Hebrews. The origin of the Teraphim seems to have been in Mesopotamia or Chaldea, a supposition probable from our passage, and from a later allusion in which the Babylonian king is related to have consulted them (Ezek. xxi. 26). Although no doubt comprised among the idols which Jacob is recorded to have removed in Shechem (xxxv. 4), they long remained in favour among his descendants; and while the Hebrews were always conscious of their crime whenever they worshipped other gods, they do not seem to have regarded the adoration of the Teraphim as equally reproachful. On this point, the history of Micah is highly instructive (Judg. xvii.; xviii.). It shows clearly, that the Teraphim were considered as tutelar deities, fully compatible with the homage solely due to the Lord; that they were used, by many, as oracles, like the Urim and Thummim, or like the Ark of the Covenant (1 Sam.

xiv. 18); and that they were deemed sacred and lawful, if but a descendant of Aaron performed the ministerial functions: they implied a transgression of the second, not of the first commandment (comp. Judg. xvii. 3, 13; xviii. 5, 6, 24, 30, 31). Thus we account for the fact, otherwise most strange, that the prophet Hosea enumerates the Teraphim among the boons of which the disobedient Israelites would be deprived (iii. 4); he threatens them with the dissolution of national and of family life; he predicts, that princes and sacrifices will disappear, and together with them their own domestic gods, the Teraphim, who, therefore, have there a political and social rather than a religious import. The prophet does not hesitate to mention them, because they were evidently in his time still considered as the mildest and most harmless form of idolatry. But gradually, when the pure doctrines of Moses began to be enforced with greater rigour, the Teraphim were naturally included among the objects of religious aversion; even the author of the Book of Judges, who wrote in the latest times of the monarchy (xviii. 30), inserted in his truthful narrative a remark of disapproval: "in those days there was no king in Israel, every one did what was right in his own eyes" (xvii. 6); when king Josiah established the strict worship of monotheism, he destroyed, among the other idols, the Teraphim also (2 Ki. xiii. 24); and, perhaps, exactly because they were considered as almost innocent images, the later writers were extremely severe in denouncing them: the crime of obstinacy against the Divine will is compared to the idolatry of the Teraphim (1 Sam. xv. 23); they are classed among the "detestations and abominations" (נְלוּלִים וּשְׁקוּצִים) (2 Kings xiii. 24); their oracles are described

heart of Laban the Aramæan, in that he did not tell him that he fled. 21. And he fled, he and all that he had; and he rose, and passed over the river, and turned his face *toward* the mount Gilead.—22. And Laban was told on the third day that Jacob was fled. 23. And he took his kinsmen with him, and pursued after him a seven

not only as falsehood, but as wickedness; they lead astray those who consult them like sheep which have no shepherd (Zech. x. 2); and they are attributed to the Babylonian monarch together with his other absurd modes of divination, as the *angurica* taken from "looking in the liver" (Ezek. xxi. 26, 28).—These remarks will suffice to explain the motives of Rachel in stealing the Teraphim, and the eagerness of Laban for recovering them (comp. Judg. xviii. 24).

As the southern part of Palestine was the goal of Jacob's journey, he crossed the Euphrates, and took then a south-western direction, till he reached the "mountain of Gilead" (ver. 21). There exists still, in the south of the river Jabbok, a mountain-chain, called *Jebel Jelad* (جبل جلعاد), which has been identified with our Gilead. But two objections render this supposition improbable. First, Jacob was, at that time, still in the *north* of the Jabbok, which he crossed only after the occurrence in Mahanaim (xxxii. 23); and, secondly, the *Jebel Jelad* extends from west to east, whereas, according to clear Biblical statements, the "mountain of Gilead" runs from south to north; for it commences in the north of the river Arnon, perhaps near the district of Heshbon; proceeds northward, to the province of Bashan, probably to the vicinity of the river Hieromax or Yarmuk; and eastward, to Hauran (Auranitis); and traverses, therefore, the territory of Reuben, Gad, and the southern part of Manasseh (Deut. iii. 12, 13; compare Judg. vii. 3, 24, 25). The difficulty which Judg. vii. 3 seems to imply, has been happily removed by a judicious interpretation (see *Winer*, *Real-W.* i. 429). The sides of the mountain are covered with excellent

flocks and the richest pastures (Cant. iv. 1; vi. 5; Jer. l. 19). The *land* and the *town* of Gilead will be noticed in their due places (Josh. xii. 5, etc.; Hos. vi. 8).

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—תְּרָפִים (ver. 19) instead of יִצְחָק (xxxviii. 15).—Almost numberless absurdities have been advanced with regard to the Teraphim; ancient Rabbinical writers assert, that their worship was connected with atrocious customs of murder, and with ludicrous efforts to elicit divinations (see *Targ. Jonath.*); that they were horoscopic or astrological instruments of brass (*Rashi*, on 1 Sam. xix. 13); that they were automata to indicate the hours, or to suggest prophecies.—Equally strange are the later opinions, that the Teraphim are *Sileni* or *Satyræ* (*Michael*, *Lengerke*; comp. *Pausan.* VI. xxiv. 6); or that they are something like *donkeys* (*asininum quid*; *Crenz.*, *Symbol.* iii. 208); or *fructifying penates* (*ibid.*, p. 340); or *nourishers* and supporters; or all strength-giving powers personified in one deity.—The ancient translations throw no light upon this subject; the Sept. renders αἰδωλα; *Aquil.*, μορφώματα; *Joseph.* (Ant. XVIII. lix. 5), ἑταῖροι θεῶν; *Onkel.*, מְנַדְּלָי; *Jonath.* (in Judges), מְנַדְּלָי, etc. The etymology of the word is uncertain: it has been conjecturally derived from תְּרִיבָה *terribitas*; and from תָּרַל *to be weak* (that is, either powerless gods, uttering vague prophecies; or slackening the hands of men); it has been regarded as identical with the Egyptian *Serapis* (from תָּרַל *to heal*; *θεραπεύειν*), or with the Hebrew *Seraphim* (שֶׂרָפִים), or with the frightful Assyrian images with lynx head and human body, found at Khorsabad in secret cavities near the threshold of one of the courts (see p. 295; *Bonomi*, *Nin. and its Pal.*, pp. 158—160); it has been traced to the Syriac

days' journey; and he overtook him in the mount Gilead. 24. And God came to Laban the Aramæan in a dream by night, and said to him, Take heed that thou do not speak to Jacob either good or bad. 25. And Laban reached Jacob: and Jacob had pitched his tent in the mount: and Laban with his kinsmen pitched in the mount of

תַּרְפִּי to ask or consult (*Dale, De Orac.*, p.

659), or to the Arab. تَرَف to live in ease and comfort; the etymological *auger* have gone so far as to compare תַּרְפִּי with ἀνθρακός. The most plausible of all these opinions appears to be, that the Tephrahim are the images or representatives of the Seraphim, who were extensively worshipped as tutelary powers; or, if we may add another conjecture, we should connect תַּרְפִּי with the root צָרַף to melt or purge by fire, whence צֹרֶף goldsmith (*Isai. xl. 19*); so that תַּרְפִּי would simply be the images or statues, or idols (*Sept., εἰδωλα*); and the Hebrew text calls them indeed פֶּסֶל מִיֶּדָה פֶּסֶל וּמַסַּכָּה (*Judg. xvii. 3, 4; xviii. 17, 18, 31*). — נָנַב לֵב means literally: "to steal the heart" of somebody; that is, either (as in *vera. 20, 26*) to deceive and to act treacherously, or (as in *2 Sam. xv. 6*, וַיִּנָּב אֶבְשֶׁל וְכ) to cajole by flattery or hypocrisy; and, in the latter meaning, it is synonymous with נָנַב, used in Rabbinical writings; like the Greek κλέπτειν νοῦν (whence the eloquent Mercury is called *ἐλεψίφρων*); comp. *Hom.*, *Il. xiv. 217; Hes.*, *Theog.*, 613, etc. Sometimes, נָנַב alone is employed in the same sense (*ver. 27*), like κλέπτειν (*Arist. Rhet. 3*).

22—30. Laban learning the flight of Jacob on the third day, appears to have set out in pursuit of him on the fourth; and since, unencumbered as he was, he could proceed at a quicker rate, he overtook him on the seventh. He was in a high state of excitement and exasperation; he felt vehement indignation at the double wrong, the clandestine escape and the theft of his gods; for the first time, the superiority of his strength suggested to him measures of violence against his

astute son-in-law; he was eager to satisfy his wrath—but in the night before he arrived at the mountain of Gilead, God appeared to him in a dream and solemnly warned him. Awed by this supernatural admonition, he once more looked upon Jacob with respect and reverence. However, his anger was silenced but not conquered, checked but not appeased, and though freed from the virulence to injure by rash deeds, it was still sufficiently strong to sting by words. A most animated scene of recrimination, invectives, and upbraiding ensued. Laban, meeting his son-in-law near their respective encampments, at once gave vent to his passion in an impetuous address, in which, it must be confessed, the right appears all on his side. Nobody has denied that it is pervaded by a certain generosity of feeling. But those who are determined to represent Laban's character as absolutely base, say simply, all this is mere hypocrisy; he felt nothing whatever of all he uttered. But where does the text give the least allusion that it wishes to have this construction given to his words? Does it not, on the contrary, even anticipate a significant term of rebuke employed by Laban: "And Jacob stole the heart of Laban" (*vera. 20, 26*)? And could a gentle conduct be expected towards the man who, defrauding him of his wealth, escaped without a reconciliation or a compromise?

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—The dream of Laban may be compared with the vision of Abimelech (*xx. 3—7*), which, under similar circumstances, proved equally effectual.—דָּבַר מְטוֹב עַד רַע (*ver. 24*) is a proverbial phrase signifying to interfere, or to oppose (*comp. xxiv. 50: דָּבַר רַע אִו מוֹד; 2 Sam. xiii. 22*). The



Gilead. 26. And Laban said to Jacob, What hast thou done, that thou hast deceived my heart, and carried away my daughters, as captives *taken* with the sword? 27. Wherefore didst thou flee secretly, and deceive me, and didst not tell me, that I might have sent thee away with mirth, and with songs, with timbrel, and with harp? 28. And hast not suffered me to kiss my sons and my daughters? Thou hast now acted foolishly. 29. It is in the power of my hand to do you injury: but the God of your father spoke to me yesternight, saying, Take heed that thou do not speak to Jacob, either good or bad. 30. And now, thou didst go and depart, because thou hadst

Sept. renders, therefore, simply μήποτε λαλήσας κρυπτά, and the Vulg. *ne quidquam aspers loquaris*.—Since after עָקַב (ver. 25) אֶת אָהָלוֹ is to be supplied, the following words אֶת אָחָיו אֲנִי can only mean “with his brothers”; the Sept. translates, therefore, wrongly: ἐστῆσε τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ; and Onkel. אֲשֶׁר יֵת אֲחָיו; similarly Syr., Saad, and others.—וְתִנְנָב אִתִּי “and thou hast deceived me” (see *supra*); not “thou hast robbed me.”—The custom of accompanying friends at their departure with music and song, is still observed in the East (see *Rosenm.*, Morgenl., i. 155; comp. xviii. 16).—About the *timbrel* (תֶּבֶל) see on Exod. p. 277, and about the *harp* (כִּנּוֹר) *supra*, p. 152.—נִחְבֵּאת לְכֹרֶת (ver. 27), and הִסְכַּלְתָּ עָשׂוֹ (ver. 30) are constructions like the Greek λαμβάνω ποιῶν, etc.; comp. xxvii. 20, מְדַרֵּת לְמַעַן; Joel ii. 20, הִנָּדִיל לְעֹשׂוֹת, etc.—About עָשׂוֹ instead of עֲשׂוֹת see on Exod. xviii. 18; comp. אֲכֹל יֶשְׁתִּי in Isai. xxii. 13; *Ewald*, Gr., § 371. 2.—אֵל, in some instances, retained its original meaning of *strength, power*; therefore יְדִי אֵל signifies “it is in the power of my hand”; literally, “it is *for*, or adapted *to*, the strength of my hand”; or “my hand is equal.” Sept. *τοῦ ἐν τῇ χεὶρ μου*; Vulg. *valet manus mea*, etc.; comp. Mic. ii. 1; Prov. iii. 27. Those words certainly do not mean “my hand is my God” (similar to Job xii. 6; Hab. i. 11; *Virg.*, *Æn.* x. 773); nor is אֵל to be read אֱלֹהִים, so that יְדִי אֱלֹהִים

would, by a pleonasm analogous to יְדִי אֵל, be equivalent to בְּיָדִי (see *Genes.*, Thea., p. 48).

31—42. Jacob replied in an able and powerful speech. But not even then, when his conscience was assailed from so many sides, and when he ought to have felt humbled rather than excited, did his usual cunning forsake him. With astonishing dexterity he entirely shifted the ground of the dispute; for, feeling himself innocent in one single point, the theft of the Teraphim, he threw upon that alone the chief stress. To the first accusation, the treacherous flight, upon which Laban dwelt with such force and passion, he answered with a few words, almost incoherent, and certainly very feeble: “I was afraid; for I thought, perhaps thou wouldst take by force thy daughters from me” (ver. 31). Then abruptly passing to the other subject, he demanded a scrutinising and open search, and permitted Laban to punish the offender with death. The search, fruitless in the tents of Jacob, Leah, and the two maid-servants, was concluded in the tent of Rachel. In faithful consistency with the character before assigned to her, covering theft by subtlety and untruth, she feigned a disorder which rendered her impure, forbade the father to approach her, and during which it would have been the height of impiety to sit on the holy image of the deity (comp. Lev. xv. 19—24). But when

indeed a strong longing after thy father's house: *yet* wherefore hast thou stolen my gods?—31. And Jacob answered, and said to Laban, Indeed I was afraid; for I said, Perhaps thou wouldst take by force thy daughters from me. 32. With whomsoever thou findest thy gods, let him not live: before our kindred search what is with me, and take *it* to thee. (For Jacob did not know that Rachel had stolen them.)—33. And Laban went into the tent of Jacob, and into the tent of Leah, and into the tent of the two maidservants, but he did not find *them*. And he went from Leah's tent, and entered into Rachel's tent. 34. And Rachel had taken the Teraphim, and put them into

the stolen status was not found, Jacob, summoning his whole energy of speech, poured out upon Laban his indignation and wrath; he had gained a triumph, and was resolved to turn it to the greatest possible advantage; it is impossible not to acknowledge in the first part of his words a certain verbosity, and in the latter part a certain self-glorification; and representing himself as perfectly guiltless, he threw the whole weight of the opprobrium upon his father-in-law. He was misled into this haughty assurance by two circumstances, the forbearance of Laban and the intercession of God: for the former had made no allusion whatever to the frauds by which he had appropriated to himself the flocks; and God had, by the vision of Laban in the preceding night, proved His protecting care for his welfare (ver. 42). He persuaded himself that his deceptions were *approved* by God, as he had imagined before that they were *suggested* by Him (see p. 548). Elated by this fancied innocence, he praised, in emphatic terms, his vigilance, his unwearied anxiety for Laban's flocks, his patient endurance of all hardships in the field, and of all the vicissitudes of the atmosphere; he, further, pointed to the assistance of God which never forsook him; during the whole period of twenty years his sheep and goats had been fruitful; and he was so certain that no animals had either been torn, stolen, or lost, that he

even then declared his readiness to restore them; but with greater power still, he charged Laban with having arbitrarily changed his hire many times; and concluded that it was to God alone, who had yesterday given witness for him, that he owed the reward for all his toils and troubles.—Praise was, indeed, due to him for his untiring industry; but as regards the tenfold change of the hire, the fault was both in him and in Laban, and his was by far the greater guilt.

Rachel was in her tent, sitting in the "litter of the camel" (כִּרְהֵן הַבָּמֶלֶךְ). For the greater comfort of ladies or children performing long journeys on camels, a kind of couch or large chair is fastened on the saddle of the animal, and often one on each side; and in order to secure protection against wind, rain, or the rays of the sun, the couch is appropriately overhung with curtains, so that it is not unlike a curtain-bed, while Arabic writers compare it to a house or a palm-tree; the light is let in by openings at the side; and as it is very commodious for reposing, it is not unfrequently used in the tents at times of encampment. The couch itself is generally made of wicker-work, and has, therefore, the appearance of a basket or a cradle. Here Rachel could conveniently conceal the Teraphim, and, as she pretended illness, her resting on it roused no suspicion. — If an animal of the flocks or herds was torn by a wild beast, the

the litter of the camel, and sat upon them. And Laban searched all the tent, but he did not find *them*. 35. And she said to her father, Let it not displease my lord that I cannot rise before thee; for the manner of women *is* upon me. And he searched, but did not find the Teraphim. 36. And Jacob was angry, and quarrelled with Laban: and Jacob answered and said to Laban, What *is* my trespass? what *is* my sin, that thou hast pursued after me? 37. That thou hast searched all my utensils? what hast thou found of all the utensils of thy house? put *it* here before my kindred and thy kindred, that they may judge between us two. 38. These twenty years I *have been* with thee; thy ewes and thy she-goats have not cast their young, and the rams of thy flock I have not eaten. 39. That which was torn *by beasts* I did not bring

shepherd was generally obliged to bring to his master a part or member of it, to verify the fact; if he neglected to do so, he was responsible for the loss. Jacob alludes to this custom in the words: "that which was torn I brought not to thee" (comp. Amos iii. 12; and note on Exod. xxii. 12).—The great and sudden change of temperature which at sunset takes place in many countries of the East during a great part of the year, is most severely felt by those who are obliged to pass the night in the open air, by travellers, watchmen, and shepherds. While the days are oppressively warm, and often little shelter is afforded against the scorching rays of the sun, the nights are moist with the abundant dew, or cold and dreary. It requires a strong organization and an undaunted power of endurance to stand the effects of these abrupt changes; and Jacob might, therefore, exclaim with a pardonable complacency: "in the day the drought consumed me, and the frost by night" (comp. Jer. xxxvi. 30; see p. 509).

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—נָגַד אֲחִינוּ (ver. 32) belongs to the following, not to the preceding words: Jacob required an open and searching examination. — בָּרַב (ver. 34, from כָּרַב *to go round*), *lectica*, from its round shape more probably than from its *running* (comp. בָּרַב a circular ves-

sel); Sept. τὰ σάγματα τῆς καμήλου; Vulg., *stramenta cameli*; Onk. and Syr., עֲבִיטָא (saddle); Rashi and Kimchi מַרְרֵעַת הַנֶּמֶל; Luther, incorrectly, "die Streu der Kamele"; and *Ebn Ezra*, still more questionably, refers to Isai. xvi. 1 (comp. *Zohar*, Moall. 7, 8; *Lebid*, 13; *Amrulkais*, 11; *Kaempfer*, *Amoenitt. exot.* p. 724; *Rosenm.*, *Morgenl.* i. 152). That Rebekah's camel was not furnished with such litter does not appear from xxiv. 64. — נִשְׁיָם (ver. 38), see on Exod. xxiii. 26; and about מִרְפָּסָה (ver. 39), on Exod. xxii. 30.—נִנְבְּחָתִי (ver. 39), a more archaic or poetical stat. constr. instead of נִנְבַּחַת; comp. Deut. xxxiii. 16 (שָׁכַנִּי); Isai. i. 21 (מִלְאֹתַי מִשְׁפָּט); Psalm cxvi. 1 (קוֹלִי תַחֲנוּנִי); Gen. iv. 18 (מִלְכִּי); and אָחִי and אֲחִי in אֲחִי וְאֲחִי, etc. But this ' of the stat. constr. must not be confounded with the ' paragogicum, which is sometimes, for greater euphony, added to participles and adjectives; for instance, לִנְשֹׁן עִירָה, אֲסָרִי לִנְשֹׁן עִירָה (Exod. xv. 6); מִשְׁפָּטִי, מִשְׁפָּטִי (Pa. cxiii. 5, 6, 7); comp. Isai. xxii. 16; Ps. cxiv. 8.—About the termination י as stat. constr., see on i. 24, p. 80.—אֲחִינֹחָה (ver. 39) instead of אֲחִינֹחָה (comp. xx. 6); as אֲחִינֹחָה (Ruth

to thee; I will bear the loss of it, of my hand mayest thou require it, *whether* stolen by day, or stolen by night. 40. *Thus* I was; in the day the drought consumed me, and the frost by night; and my sleep departed from my eyes. 41. I have been these twenty years in thy house; I served thee fourteen years for thy two daughters, and six years for thy cattle: and thou hast changed my wages ten times. 42. Had not the God of my father, the God of Abraham, and the fear of Isaac, been with me, indeed thou wouldst now have sent me away empty. God hath seen my affliction and the labour of my hands, and rebuked *thee* yesternight.—43. And Laban answered and said to Jacob, The daughters *are* my daughters, and the children *are* my children, and the cattle *are* my cattle, and all that thou seest *is* mine: and what can I do this day

i. 14), instead of וַיִּזְכֹּר.—The auxiliary verb הָיִיתִי (ver. 40), emphatically precedes the regular verb finite: "I was continually—in the day I was consumed by the heat," etc.—פֶּחַךְ יִצְחָק (vers. 42, 53) "the fear of Isaac"; that is, God, whom Isaac fears and worships as the Omnipotent Lord; for פֶּחַךְ denotes sometimes the person or object which *causes* fear (Ps. xxxi. 12; Prov. i. 26); *Onkel.*, קִרְחָל לִית יִצְחָק (comp. Isai. viii. 13).—כִּי (ver. 42), *indeed*; comp. xviii. 20, etc.

43. When Jacob's angry recriminations seemed to render a friendly settlement impossible, it was effected by Laban's unexpected moderation. The appeal to the vision which appeared to confirm, that the wealth of Jacob was the immediate gift and blessing of God; the allusion to his own repeated tergiversations; the remembrance of Jacob's hardships and faithful services: all this made an irresistible impression upon him. He was certainly aware, that by human right he could claim all the flocks of Jacob (ver. 43); but, abandoning the ordinary standard of justice, and deciding in accordance with the higher right based upon the Divine mercy, he spontaneously ceded all to his son-in-law: "what can I do this day to these my daughters, or to their children whom they have born?" was

his pathetic reply. Who, then, is the nobler, the more virtuous of the two? Who is the conqueror in this struggle? Jacob, callous and more hardened by every new beneficence of God; or Laban, moved and reformed by the harsh rebuke of his deceiver? But it will be asked with astonishment: Was this contrast so unfavourable to Jacob in the author's plan and intention? We reply, that we should despair of the morality of the whole Book of Genesis, were we not convinced that the author despised the artful practices of Jacob as deeply as every unsophisticated reader has done in all ages; that he denounces them as plainly as he condemns Jacob's machinations to secure the paternal blessing (xxvii. 35, 36), since both deeds belong to the same order; that deceit and dishonesty in the common transactions of life were regarded with abomination in the writings of the Hebrews (Deut. xxv. 13—16; Prov. xx. 10, 23, etc.); that we are, therefore, entitled to pursue Jacob's offences in all their consequences of moral complication and external punishment, as we have hitherto attempted to do. It is in the design of the text to show, that though Laban was capable of forgiveness and generosity, he remained an idolator; that, therefore, even if his conduct

to these my daughters, or to their children, whom they have born? 44. And now come, let us make a covenant, I and thou; and let it be for a witness between me and thee. 45. And Jacob took a stone, and set it up *for* a pillar. 46. And Jacob said to his kindred, Gather stones; and they took stones, and made a pile: and they ate there upon the pile. 47. And Laban called it Jegar-sahadutha [Pile of Witness]: and Jacob called it Gal-ed [Pile of Witness]. 48. And Laban said,

were irreproachable, its excellence could not be guaranteed, because it grew from a sickly root, and flowed from a poisoned source; but that Jacob, though misunderstanding God, never wavered in believing in Him; and that although, therefore, his individual acts were still degraded by cunning and insincerity, there lived within him a faith and a conviction which, like a purifying fire, would necessarily free his mind from all debasing alloy. The Biblical writers, by fully acknowledging the merits of heathens, and truthfully according to them their due praise, show, that they sincerely fostered the beautiful hope of a future unity of all nations under the wings of a universal faith; a hope which in itself proves, that they believed all mankind capable of the highest moral impulses.

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—The Elohist seems, indeed, at first sight, simply to relate that God appeared to Jacob in a dream, promised him His blessing, and granted it; and that Jacob later constantly and justly referred to this Divine pledge; but that Laban, not recognizing it, regarded Jacob's property almost as a theft, and, in order to avert his own loss, frequently changed the stipulation. But if the same author had not known Jacob's schemes also, how could his dream, in which all the rams appeared ring-straked and speckled, have been intelligible to Jacob? (vers. 10—12). It is, therefore, unquestionably evident, that when Laban allowed the patriarch to make his own proposal (xxx. 28), the latter had already fully planned the dishonest artifice with the sticks (for else he could not have

made the proposal at all), and that God tried, by that vision, to keep him from the execution of the stratagem. Jacob's guilt is, therefore, certain, even according to the Elohist; and though there but intended and contemplated, is immoral and reproachful. Hence it is equally inadmissible to suppose that the Jehovist regarded the cunning of Jacob as shrewdness deserving of praise and admiration; and that he looked upon his adroitness as a gift of God, by which Jacob was to acquire wealth. As the author represents that conduct as despicable craft, he cannot have referred it to the will of the Deity.—The words of Laban: "the daughters are my daughters, and the sons are my sons," do not intimate that since Jacob came single into his house as a servant, he ought to leave it single, without wife and children (Exod. xxi. 3): such was certainly not the intention of the law, if a free-born servant married the *daughter of his master*, and served for her during the usual number of years; for this would have broken the most sacred ties of matrimony.

**44—54.** Laban, desirous to strengthen and to cement the reconciliation, proposed the conclusion of a covenant as a perpetual witness between him and Jacob. It is scarcely possible to doubt, that an important historical fact is concealed in this part of the narrative; the monument erected was consecrated by sacrifices and convivial repasts (vers. 46, 54); it received both a Hebrew name from Jacob, and a Chaldean appellation from Laban (ver. 47); it was placed under the protection both of the God of Abraham, and of the gods of Na-

This pile *is* a witness between me and thee this day: therefore was its name called Galed; 49. And Mizpah *is a witness*, for he said, May the Lord watch between me and thee, when we are absent one from another. 50. If thou dost ill-treat my daughters, or if thou dost take *other* wives besides my daughters, no man *is* with us, see God *is* witness between me and thee. 51. And Laban said to Jacob, Behold this pile, and behold *this* pillar, which I have erected between me and thee. 52. This

hor (ver. 53); Jacob swore by the fear of his father Isaac, and Laban by the gods of his fathers (ver. 53); the former was pledged never to pass with hostile intentions beyond that place towards Chaldea, and the latter never towards Canaan (ver. 52); God Himself was invoked as witness and avenger, if Jacob should ill-treat or grieve Laban's daughters (ver. 50); and the place where the covenant was concluded, was called Mizpah (מִצְפָּה), because Laban said, "may the Lord watch between me and thee, when we are absent one from another" (ver. 49). It is, therefore, most probable that, during a certain period of Hebrew history, Mizpah in the mountain of Gilead formed the boundary between the territory of the Aramaeans and that of the Hebrews; that that town, though marking the political separation of both nations, was ardently wished to form a social link between them; that it was intended to recall to both their common origin and descent, and thus to restrain them from inimical invasions: a warning which involved not only the national prosperity, but the very political existence of the Israelites.—Mizpah was situated in the district of Gilead (Judges x. 17; xi. 11, 29); it became later celebrated not only by the exploits and domestic calamity of Jephthah, who there resided (Judg. xi. 34), but still more by the sanctuary of God erected here (Judg. xi. 11). The latter circumstance alone is significant enough to account for the conspicuous introduction of Mizpah in the history of the patriarchs. But it is not improbable that Mizpah is identical with "Ramoth in Gilead" (רַמֹּת בְּנִלְעָר, Josh.

xxi. 36; 1 Ki. xxii. 3), which is also called "Ramath Hammizpeh" (רַמַּת הַמִּצְפֶּה, Josh. xiii. 26), belonging to the tribe of Dan (Deut. iv. 43; Josh. xx. 8). This was a Levitical town and a city of refuge (Josh. xxi. 36), and thus in a double sense bore a holy character; but under the reign of Solomon it obtained political importance also, as it became one of the centres of internal administration (1 Kings iv. 13); and though later taken by the Syrians, in whose hands it remained in spite of the determined efforts of the kings of Israel (1 Kings xxii.), it was at last restored to the sceptre of the latter (2 Kings ix.). If really Mizpah is the same town as Ramath Hammizpeh, the narrative of our text assumes a still more emphatic meaning; and *Galed* (גָּלֵד) would then be synonymous with *Ramoth* (רַמֹּת or רַמַּת).—Stones, usually oblong blocks with round heads, are still frequently raised in eastern lands as memorials of great events; they give the names to many villages; and the erection of a stone, called "the witness," marks the conclusion of peace between belligerents (see *Dr. Hooker*, *Himalay. Journ.* ii. 321).

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—The word גָּלֵד is doubtlessly to be traced to the Arabic root جلد, signifying *hardness*; the "mountains of Gilead" are, therefore, "a rough and rocky chain," and the land of Gilead points to the stony character of its soil. But our text, by an adaptation not unusual in the Bible (see p. 321), transforms the foreign word into a Hebrew term containing all the consonants of the original root, but designating not the

pile is witness, and *this* pillar is witness, that I will not pass over this pile to thee, and that thou shalt not pass over this pile and this pillar to me, for evil. 53. The God of Abraham, and the gods of Nahor, may judge between us; the gods of their father. And Jacob swore by the fear of his father Isaac. 54. And Jacob offered sacrifice upon the mountain; and called his kindred to eat bread: and they ate bread, and remained over night on the mountain.

mountain or the country of Gilead, but "a monument erected as witness" in that locality (עֵדָה). That the land of Gilead did not receive its name from Gilead the son of Machir, who first conquered it (Numb. xxxii. 40; Josh. xiii. 21), is now generally acknowledged; while it is scarcely necessary to reply to the strange objection, that the Hebrews were unacquainted with the Chaldean dialect before the time of the exile (comp. Isai. xxxvi. 11).—The Samaritan codex, instead of וְהַמִּצְבָּה (ver. 49), offers וְהַמִּצְבָּה, from which it has been inferred that the original reading was either וְהַמִּצְבָּה or וְהַמִּצְבָּה מִצְפָּה (comp. Ewald, Compos. der Genes., p. 64). But there is no reason to question the received Hebrew text, for the words עַד בְּנֵי וְכִיִּן must be supplied from the preceding verse, after וְהַמִּצְפָּה, and אִשָּׁר has the meaning of *for, because* (comp. xxxiv. 13).—The simplest interpretation of the words אִשָּׁר כִּי נִסְתָּר מִרְעֵהוֹן (ver. 49) is, "if we are absent [literally, concealed] one from another" (comp. Isai. lviii. 7, תַּחְלֹעַם).—The conjunction אִם (ver. 52), after a protestation or an oath, means *that not* (see on xiv. 23); but for greater emphasis לֹא is here added, because the oath is only *implied* in the words עַד הַנֵּל הַזֶּה וְכִי. Too artificial is the construction of Schumann, who renders וְאִם אִתָּה and אִם אֲנִי "sive ego sum," and "sive tu es"; and it is unnecessary to regard אִם לֹא, with Rashi, employed instead of אִשָּׁר לֹא (comp. xxiv. 33).—לְרַעָה (ver. 52), the word on which the chief stress lies, is placed at the end (comp. Exod. xx. 5).—Laban supposed (ver. 53) that Abraham, who was a mem-

ber of the family of Terah, though worshipping the God who had appeared to him, had not ceased to acknowledge the ancestral deities; therefore, 1, he uses the plural of the verb (יִשְׁפֹּטוּ); 2, he adds, by way of apposition, "the gods of their father," viz., Terah (אֱלֹהֵי אִתָּה), which is the only correct reading; hence, 3, it is expressly added, that Jacob swore, not by these gods, but by that one God whom alone his father Isaac feared and adored. These remarks will throw light upon another disputed point also. It seems strange that two monuments, the pillar *and* the pile of stones, were employed to commemorate the event: Jacob erected the pillar (ver. 45), while Laban and his sons heaped up the stones (ver. 46); the pillar was, therefore, "the witness" on the part of Jacob, while the pile was the monument for both Jacob and Laban; hence the meal which generally accompanied the conclusion of treaties was consumed at the pile sacred to both parties (ver. 46), or later again on the mountain (ver. 54); and hence Jacob swore never to pass as an enemy "the pile and the pillar," whereas Laban was bound only by the pile (ver. 52). The worshipper of the true God and the idolator could not form an alliance on the same basis (Exod. xxiii. 32). These were the notions of the *Jehovist*; he therefore inserted the account regarding the heaping of the pile, the etymology of Gilead, and the oaths (ver. 46—53); while the Elohistic document simply stated that Jacob erected the pillar (ver. 45), and confirmed the treaty by a sacrificial feast (ver. 54; comp. xxvi. 30; Exod. xxiv. 5, 11; see also p. 547).

CHAPTERS XXXII., XXXIII.

**SUMMARY.**—Laban returned to Haran; whilst Jacob, proceeding from Mizpah towards Shechem, was met by a host of angels, and called the place where he saw them Mahanaim (xxxii. 1—3). He then sent messengers to his brother, to inform him of his return and his wealth (vers. 4—6). But when he heard that Esau advanced towards him with four hundred men, he was overwhelmed with fear; and in order to avert or to mitigate the dangers he anticipated, he arranged his property so that at least one half might be saved; sought the assistance of God by a fervent and humble prayer; and endeavoured to propitiate his brother by a very liberal present of cattle (ver. 7—22). In the night he crossed the river Jabbok; and an extraordinary encounter occasioned the change of his name from Jacob into Israel, to indicate that he had conquered God and men; and gave rise to the custom of the Israelites, not to eat the *nervus ischiadicus* of animals. — Esau approached, and seeing his brother, welcomed him with the most affectionate cordiality; accepted the present prepared for him only after repeated solicitations; and proposed to accompany Jacob to the place where he intended to take up his abode, or at least to send with him some of his men for protection: but Jacob, unable entirely to banish his apprehensions, declined the offer, and continued his way to Succoth, while Esau returned to the region of Mount Seir (xxxiii. 1—17). The patriarch proceeded, and arrived safely near Shechem, encamped before the town, and on a piece of ground purchased from the sons of Hamor, he erected an altar, and invoked the Lord in prayer (vers. 18—20).

1. And Laban rose early in the morning, and kissed his sons and his daughters, and blessed them: and Laban departed, and returned to his place. 2. And Jacob went on his way, and angels of God met him. 3. And when Jacob saw them, he said, This is the camp of God: and he called the name of that place Mahanaim [Double

1—3. From the town marking the eastern boundary of the promised land, and later distinguished by peculiar religious and political importance, Jacob proceeded in a south-westerly direction towards the future centre of the Hebrew commonwealth. The soil on which he then trod was destined to contain both the palace of the Hebrew kings and the temple of the Hebrew God; and, though the inheritance of the tribes of Israel, it was the gift of the Lord. This double fact is represented by the angels of God meeting Jacob after his separation from Laban. Their appearance reminded him that his descendants would be required to combat for the land of Canaan; but that God, if not fighting *for* them, would certainly fight *with* them; and that their own army would be strengthened and encouraged by an invisible host from

above; or that their own camp would be joined and inspired by a camp of angels. — He, therefore, at once hallowed by purer thoughts and raised to nobler sentiments, called the name of the place Mahanaim, or the *two camps* (comp. xxviii. 16, 17). Mahanaim (מַחֲנַיִם) was situated south-west of Mizpah, in Gilead, in the north of the Jabbok (ver. 23). It belonged to the territory of Gad, though it lay on the boundary line between Gad and Manasseh (Josh. xiii. 26, 30). It derived its chief interest from the fact that it was one of the Levitical towns, which sanctity is here foreshadowed by the vision of the angels (Josh. xxi. 36; 1 Chron. vi. 65; and perhaps Cant. vii. 1). It was later the residence of Ish-bosheth during his short and unhappy reign over Israel (2 Sam. ii. 8); the refuge of David when he fled before Absalom (2 Sam. xvii. 24,



Camp].—4. And Jacob sent messengers before him to Esau his brother, to the land Seir, the country of Edom. 5. And he commanded them, saying, Thus shall you say to my lord Esau; Thus saith thy servant Jacob, I have sojourned with Laban, and stayed *there* until now: 6. And I have oxen, and asses, flocks, and menservants, and womenservants: and I have sent to tell my lord, that I may find grace in thy eyes.—7. And the messengers returned to Jacob, saying, We came to thy brother Esau; and he cometh also to meet thee, and four hundred men with him. 8. And Jacob was greatly afraid and dis-

27; 1 Kings ii. 8); and received, under Solomon, a certain administrative importance (1 Kings iv. 14).

4—6. We have hitherto pointed out the most perfect consistency in the delineation of Jacob's character, and the strictest connection between all parts of his history; his fluctuations and failings; his relation to Esau and to Laban; the nice balance between *guilt* and *compensation*, manifesting the just rule of Providence. The succeeding narrative admirably continues the patriarch's history with regard to the two chief points alluded to, and exhibits the further development of his character, and the ultimate retribution for his transgressions; and it does far more than vaguely show how God protects His favourites, and turns every danger to their advantage. Let us calmly follow the text.

From Mizpah in the district of Gilead Jacob sent messengers to his brother Esau, to the land of Seir, to announce to him his return from Mesopotamia. What was the motive of this step? It is impossible to suppose that it was suggested by Jacob's apprehension of a plundering attack of the rapacious Edomites. The message would have occasioned rather than removed that danger: it would have acquainted the lawless robbers with what otherwise might have escaped their notice; for there is a considerable distance between Mizpah and the central abodes of the Idumeans; and it would have been an

imprudence, quite at variance with the usual shrewdness of Jacob, to tempt their avarice by informing them that "he had oxen, and asses, flocks, and menservants, and maidservants." The progress of the story renders it obvious, that Jacob began to feel more deeply the wrong which he had done his brother, of which he had, from the beginning, never been insensible, and which he implicitly acknowledged by his flight to Mesopotamia. When he surveyed the past, he found at every step the mercy and favour of God; he had become a rich emir; Laban had been warned not to touch him; and a host of angels had but just indicated future and greater benefits. His heart could not be so hardened as not to be reminded of his faults, or to be impressed with a feeling of his unworthiness. The first effect of awakening conscience is fear; the next, humiliation and contrition. Jacob began with feeling the first, but soon advanced to the other and nobler stages. He knew the generous qualities of his brother's heart, on which Rebekah had confidently relied (xxvii. 45); he hoped that the interval of twenty years would have cooled down his anger, if it had not entirely effaced from his mind the memory of past injuries. But as prudence demanded that he should seek certainty, he sent some of his men with a message, in which some degree of apprehension designedly was not concealed, and which breathed unaffected humility; which, by alluding to his protracted sojourn in a

tressed: and he divided the people that *was* with him, and the flocks, and herds, and the camels, into two camps; 9. And said, If Esau cometh to the one camp, and smiteth it, then the other camp which is left may escape. 10. And Jacob said, O God of my father Abraham, and God of my father Isaac! O Lord who saidst to me, Return to thy country, and to the land of thy birth, and I will do well to thee: 11. I am too little for all the mercies, and for all the truth, which Thou hast shown to Thy servant; for with my staff I passed over this Jordan, and now I have become two camps. 12. Deliver me, I pray Thee, from

foreign land, and under a strange roof, appealed to feelings of home and early youth; and which, with natural but pathetic anxiety, prayed for a conciliatory reply from the offended brother. Jacob had shown no such fear at the pursuit of Laban; he faced him even with a bold assurance, although he was aware of the physical superiority of his father-in-law; because he knew that the latter had *commenced* the fraud, and he thought that his own deception was but the just retaliation; whereas, in the case of Esau, he had not even this excuse, for he had committed the wrong alone, and his brother had from the beginning been the only sufferer.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—**וַיִּפְּץ** (ver. 5), future Kal of **פָּצַח**, instead of **פָּצַח** (**פָּצַח**), like **וַיִּפְּץ** (Mic. iv. 8), instead of **וַיִּפְּץ**; comp. *Ewald*, Gr. § 397.

**7—13.** Esau had, in the mean time, grown into a mighty chief; the blessing of his father had begun to be realised; and he was strong by his valour and the terror of his sword (xxvii. 40). The messengers arrived at Seir; Esau heard their commission — and, without a word of reply, suddenly marched out with four hundred warriors towards Jacob. What were his intentions? How was his haste to be interpreted? Were his old wounds at once re-opened? and did he burn, at last, to take sanguinary revenge? The messengers, perceiving his sudden impetuosity, were seized with consternation. In breath-

less quickness they returned to their master; and informed him of the strong impression produced upon Esau by the mention of his name, and of his approach, accompanied by a formidable army. What else could Jacob suppose, but that his brother's mind was bent upon bloodshed and destruction? His excited imagination saw his wives and children murdered (ver. 12), his ill-gotten flocks destroyed, and himself struck by the fatal blow, or chained in ignominious fetters: agony and fear overpowered him;—*but that agony was his atonement; it was a suffering commensurate with his guilt; it was at once his retribution and his justification.* But though it was a torture to his heart, it did not unbend his energy; all his faculties, feelings, and affections, were roused to their utmost power, and his whole nature was quickened into vigorous activity. His first impulse, after receiving the disastrous news, was a measure of precaution; his second was prayer. That the latter did not occur to him as the first emotion, was a remnant of his weakness, and in admirable harmony with his character. Adopting an arrangement frequently resorted to in cases of sudden attack, he divided his people and his flocks into two parts or "camps," to save at least one by flight, while the other encountered the enemy. But his prayer is as powerful as it is significant; it indicates unmistakably that internal change of Jacob's mind to which we have alluded; it is the bridge which

the hand of my brother, from the hand of Esau: for I fear him, lest he will come and smite me, the mother with the children. 13. And Thou saidst, I will surely do thee good, and make thy seed as the sand of the sea, which cannot be numbered for multitude.—14. And he stayed there that night, and took of that which came to his hand a present for Esau his brother; 15. Two hundred she-goats, and twenty he-goats, two hundred ewes, and twenty rams, 16. Thirty milch camels with their young, forty cows, and ten bulls, twenty she-asses, and ten foals. 17. And he gave *them* into the hand of his servants, every drove by itself; and said to his servants, Pass over before me, and put a space between drove and drove. 18. And he commanded the foremost, saying, When Esau

leads from Jacob the worldly schemer, to Jacob the pious believer. It is entirely woven out of the elements of that faith, of which he had hitherto proved himself but little capable, and the want of which had caused all his moral aberrations. This prayer, in which reliance is placed, not in human strength or merit, but solely in Divine assurances and Divine mercy, is the negation of all natural claims; and while acknowledging the unworthiness of the afflicted man, cheers and encourages him by the infinite love and truth of God. In this supplication breathes the soul of Abraham, whose purity and humility we recognise. At last, the grandson had, for a moment at least, felt the flame of faith in all its celestial glow; misfortune, experience, and internal struggles, had, by a long circuit, brought him to the piety which seemed innate in Abraham. But while faith was, in the latter, a simple obedience; it was, in Jacob, an acquired and self-chosen virtue; and in this respect the character of Jacob exhibits a higher phase of development; Abraham and Jacob are like unstained childhood and conquering manhood; like unbroken tranquillity and peace through war and victory; if the former is the happier, the latter is the more imposing condition; if the one requires a more harmonious

mind, the other decidedly demands a stronger will.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—The words וְעָלְךָ כָּל־בְּרִיתְךָ (ver. 12), are a proverbial phrase to express the total extirpation of a family, or of a community regarded as one large family (comp. Hos. x. 14). The preposition עָלְ is here used in the meaning of *besides*, or *together with*; comp. on xxviii. 9.

14—21. Jacob, desirous to free himself at once from the double offence, that which he had committed against Esau and against Laban, resigned himself to lose half of the flocks so ignobly acquired (vers. 8, 9), and selected, as a present for his brother, 550 head of cattle, forming, as it were, an *expiatory offering*, and sealing the contrition of the heart with an act of self-denial and repentance. We admit that this idea is implied rather than expressed in the text; but it is required by the principle of justice everywhere manifest in the narrative, and indispensable for the moral regeneration of Jacob. However, the *immediate* end of the gift was to reconcile Esau. Though Jacob had just, in a most fervent prayer, placed himself entirely under the merciful protection of God, he did not neglect to prepare all in his power that might possibly avert the danger. How completely he

my brother meeteth thee, and asketh thee, saying, Whose *art* thou? and whither dost thou go? and whose *are* these before thee? 19. Then thou shalt say, *They are* thy servant Jacob's; it *is* a present sent to my lord Esau: and, behold, he *is* also behind us. 20. And so he commanded the second, and the third, and all that followed the droves, saying, In this manner you shall speak to Esau, when you find him. 21. And say, Behold, also, thy servant Jacob *is* behind us. For he said, I will appease him with the present that goeth before me, and afterwards I will see his face; perhaps he will accept me.—22. And the present passed over before him: and he himself stayed that night in the camp. 23. And he rose in that night, and took his two wives, and his two women-

preserved his self-possession, is made evident by the nature of the present; for the proportion of the male and female animals fixed by him is in exact accordance with that shown by experience to be necessary for their breeding, and with that stated by ancient authorities (*Varro*, *De R. R.* ii. 3; comp. *Job* i. 3; *xlii.* 12). As the milk of camels is peculiarly refreshing and wholesome, milch-camels were doubly valuable.—Jacob, entrusting the different species of animals to different servants, ordered them to follow one another in certain intervals. The reason of this arrangement is obvious. It is not only because, by such separation, the present appeared much more considerable; but the oftener Esau heard the same humble reply, "This cattle belongs to thy servant Jacob, and it is a present sent to my lord Esau," the more his anger was likely to be assuaged. Jacob, further, repeatedly enjoined upon the servants not to forget to add, that he himself was following (vers. 19, 20); for he thought that this would convince Esau that he went to meet him with complete confidence, and without apprehension. Jacob might, however, send the gift, without rousing in Esau the suspicion of any special motive, as it is a prevailing custom in the East, not to pay visits, especially after a long separa-

tion, or to influential persons, without offering some present. To refuse it, is considered as an insult, or as a desire to break off the friendship, or, if done by superiors in rank, as a sign of disgrace.

22—24. But Jacob did not idly wait for Esau's arrival; from Mahanaim he continued his regular route in a south-western direction; and as, in the summer months, the days are too warm in Palestine to allow of travelling, he advanced in the night; but, in order always to be prepared for Esau's approach, he sent the men with the presents before him; and in a later part of the night he followed with his wives, his children, and his flocks. He crossed the Jabbok (פַּבְּי). This river, at present called Wady Serka (وادي سركا) or the *blue river*, comes from the mountains of Bashan, between Rabbath-ammon (Philadelphia) and Gerasa; and after a course from west to east, through a deep valley, abundantly covered with reeds, it discharges itself into the Jordan, opposite Shechem, at a point almost equidistant from the lake of Tiberias and the Dead Sea. It was originally the northern, and after the conquests of the Hebrews, the south-western boundary of the land of the Ammonites, as it still marks the frontier between the provinces of Moerad

servants, and his eleven sons, and passed over the ford of the Jabbok. 24. And he took them, and brought them over the brook, and brought over that which he had.—25. And Jacob was left alone: and there wrestled a man with him until the rising of the morning dawn. 26. And when He saw that He did not prevail against him, He

and El-Belka. The Jabbok has frequently, even in recent works, been confounded with the greater and more northern river Yarmuk or Hieromax (comp. Numb. xxi. 24; Josh. xii. 2; Judg. xi. 13; *Seetzen*, in *Zach's Corresp.* xviii. 427; *Winer*, *Real-Wört.* i. 519; *Ritter*, *Erdk.* XV. ii. 1041).

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—Allusion is made to the *sons* only (ver. 23); Dinah, and the other daughters of Jacob, are not mentioned, in accordance with the usual manner of the Bible.—בְּלִילָה הַזֶּה (ver. 22) instead of בְּלִילָה הַזֶּה; comp. xxx. 16.

25—33. In the affliction of his heart, Jacob sought retirement and solitude. The next dawn might fearfully close his life. Serious and busy thoughts crowded upon him. The past was stained with sin and deceit. Remorse preyed upon his conscience. He had conquered men; he had gained inglorious victories over Isaac, and Esau, and Laban; but could he “conquer God,” who delights in purity of the heart, and abominates guile? He was sincere in his repentance; he made solemn vows, and formed earnest resolutions of virtue; and he strengthened these sentiments by grave meditations in the loneliness of the night. He thereby reconciled God, who is ever ready to accept true repentance. In spite of his former transgressions, he now secured for himself and his descendants the Divine protection; he “conquered God,” as he had conquered men. But though sins are pardoned, they cannot remain entirely unpunished; man is not only a child of God, but a link in the social chain; his *heart* belongs to God and is weighed in heaven, but his *deeds* are judged on earth; every transgression disturbs the equilibrium of the social fabric,

which can be restored only by the counterpoise of punishment. This unavoidable Nemesis of guilt, which no philosophy or religious system can with safety overthrow, is strictly carried out in the Scriptures (Exod. xxxiv. 7; Numb. xiv. 18; Nah. i. 3, etc.). Though, therefore, Jacob had effected a thorough reconciliation with God, and had purified his mind, his unjust deeds could not remain unvisited; he was doomed to suffer for them *through his children*; and thus to pay his debt to Providence. His next child, Benjamin, cost him the life of his beloved Rachel; he saw his eldest son commit an infamous crime; he reaped grief and disgrace from Dinah; he witnessed the violent deeds of Simeon and Levi; he was mortified by the ignominy of Judah and Tamar; and his anxieties and cares connected with the history of Joseph threatened to bring him with sorrow into the grave. This two-fold idea, we believe to be embodied in the marvellous occurrence here narrated. In that lonely night of remorse and penitence, Jacob wrestled with God, and he prevailed; he obtained forgiveness; his past life was to be so entirely forgotten, that, with a significance to which we are accustomed, his name was changed from *Jacob* into *Israel*; but yet he did not come out of that struggle without an external suffering; his thigh was injured and displaced, and he halted. Now, the thigh (יָרֵךְ) represented the power of generation (xxiv. 2); and children are more than once described as “those who come forth from the thigh” (יָרֵךְ יִצְחָק, xli. 26; Exod. i. 5; Judg. viii. 30). This is the *spirit* of the tale; all the rest is its *form*. We shall not be surprised, therefore, to find, as in the Creation, the Fall, the Deluge, and other portions,

touched the hollow of his thigh; and the hollow of Jacob's thigh was brought out of joint as He wrestled with him. 27. And He said, Let me go, for the morning dawn riseth. And he said, I will not let Thee go, unless Thou bless me. 28. And He said to him, What is thy name? And he said, Jacob. 29. And He said, Thy name shall no more

analogous narratives in the religious books of other ancient nations; we shall be able to understand the belief of Hindoos, that the spirits undertake their earthly combats in the mysterious hours of the night, but retire at the approaching morning-dawn (ver. 27); or the Greek fiction that Jupiter wrestled with Hercules, but, unable to conquer him, was at last compelled to desist from the combat (comp. *Bohlen*, Alt. Ind. i. 225; *Bauer*, Hebr. Mythol. p. 251; *De Wette*, Kritik, p. 133). Such strange myths were current among most eastern nations; they were known, and perhaps popular, among the Hebrews. The tradition, here narrated, seems especially to have taken deep root among them; it gave rise to the custom of abstaining from a certain sinew in the thigh of animals (ver. 33, see *infra*); but we see in our tale nothing of a struggle undertaken against a giant, or an evil demon, or any other being arrogating to itself power in opposition to the Divine omnipotence. In order to divest the legend of its superstitious elements, to bring it into harmony with the purer notions of Mosaism, and to endow it with a new and instructive meaning, the text uses it to symbolise a deeply interesting crisis in the life of the patriarch, and to show the reformation of his mind and the retribution which awaited him. Or is any one, indeed, seriously disposed to understand this occurrence literally? "A man" comes to Jacob and wrestles with him in the night (ver. 25). This man is *God* (ver. 29, 31). But God cannot subdue his human antagonist (ver. 26); and He is compelled to have recourse to a petty artifice; He dislocates his thigh, and makes him lame (vers. 26, 32); but He yet remains entirely in the man's power (ver. 27);

and is at last obliged to acknowledge Himself conquered (ver. 29; comp. Judg. xiii. 17, 18). How can these crude views be reconciled with the refined Biblical notions of the incorporeality of God? Or do the Biblical writings, like incoherent fragments, overthrow in one place what they teach in another as a fundamental doctrine? We have had many opportunities of proving that the thread which leads safely through the labyrinth of general eastern or ancient traditions, historical reminiscences, and mythical reflections, many of which found their way into the mental life of the Hebrews also, is the pure and uncompromising notion of God as Creator and Ruler of the Universe, of His unchangeable attributes as Judge and ever-watchful Providence. Interpretations, overlooking this principle, confound the letter of the narrative with the spirit; the garment with the idea which it embodies; the vehicle with the truth which it conveys. It is impossible to understand the wrestling of Jacob as a dream, which is against the tenour of the whole portion (comp. vers. 24, 25), or a "struggling in prayer"; nor was the angel sent by God to console and to encourage him; neither was he an assassin hired by Esau (!): all these opinions are not less preposterous than the proposition to take the angels of Mahanaim as a number of travellers who informed Jacob of an approaching enemy. It is, in conclusion, important to observe, that when Jacob asked God to bless him (ver. 27), his request was granted *by the change of his name* (vers. 27, 29). It is, therefore, evident that the alteration of "Jacob" into "Israel" was regarded as a great and peculiar blessing. The import of the two names is, indeed, widely different; while Jacob means the

be called Jacob, but Israel: for thou hast obtained the mastery with God and with men, and hast prevailed. 30. And Jacob asked *Him*, and said, Tell *me*, I pray Thee, Thy name. And He said, Wherefore dost thou ask after My name? And He blessed him there. 31. And Jacob called the name of the place Peniel [Face of God]: for, *said he*, I

*second*, Israel implies the *first* (see p. 498); while the former may be understood as the *deceiver* (xxvii. 36), the latter denotes the *conqueror*: the victory which he had formerly gained over man was now sanctioned and ratified by the victory obtained over God; the birthright, which he had before coveted by unlawful means was now granted to him, as the gift of God; his sins were covered and forgiven, and he began a new life of hope and promise.—Israel became, therefore, henceforth his holy or theocratical name; and the term “children of Israel” is almost invariably used to denote the chosen nation or the people of God; in this sense, Jacob is but rarely employed in poetical parallelism (xliv. 7; Ps. xxiv. 6). The *Israelites* are the warriors destined, like their ancestor, to conquer men, and to obtain, by their piety, the blessing of God. But in all worldly relations, the patriarch is, as hitherto, called Jacob, as a reminiscence of the struggles to which his character and mission exposed him, but which, at last, purified and redeemed his nature.

The place where the event happened, is Peniel or Pennel (פְּנִיֵּל, פְּנִיֵּל). According to our text, it must have been situated in the *south* of the Jabbok (vers. 23, 24); for it is improbable that Jacob, after having brought over the river his wives, his children, and all his property, should have returned, in order to pass the night alone in Mahanaim; we find him the following morning, when the sun had risen above the horizon, *passing by* Peniel (פְּנִיֵּל, ver. 32), continuing his way towards the Jordan, and in the midst of his family (xxxiii. 1). It lay further south or south-west of Mahanaim; north-east of Succoth (Judg. viii. 8), which was also situated on the east-side of the Jordan

(Judg. viii. 4). It was, from early times, fortified by a tower or castle; but Gideon destroyed the latter, and massacred many of the inhabitants, to punish their insulting conduct (Judg. viii. 17). By this misfortune, the town was materially weakened, till Jeroboam, appreciating the advantages of its natural position, enlarged and again fortified it (1 Kings xii. 25).

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—The name of the river פְּנִיֵּל (effusion) is evidently derived from פָּנָה, to empty, or to pour out. Whether our text intends to bring it into connection with פָּנָה, to wrestle (on the arena, from פָּנָה, dust; Sept. *ἐπάλαυν*; comp. *κόνη* and *συγκοινοῦσθαι*, *πάλη* and *παλαίω*; etc.), is not certain from vers. 24, 25, though פְּנִיֵּל may form an alliteration both with Jabbok and with Jacob. —Although פְּנִיֵּל seems literally to signify “God governs” (from פָּנָה to be the chief or prince; comp. מִשְׁלָט, government, like שָׁמַע, God hears, etc.); it is here explained (ver. 29), “he combats with God” (comp. Hos. xii. 4). But it is impossible to understand it, as is usually done, “he who combats *for* God,” the warrior of God; for פְּנִיֵּל could never have this meaning. פְּנִיֵּל (Judg. vi. 32) cannot be adduced as an analogy; for פָּנָה or פָּנָה is construed with the simple accusative in the sense of combating *against* somebody (for instance, Job x. 2, תִּרְיֹבֶנִי; Isai. xxvii. 8; Hos. iv. 4); so that פְּנִיֵּל means “he who fights against Baal” (פָּנָה). The name פְּנִיֵּל or פְּנִיֵּל appears to be synonymous with פָּנָה.—About the words “I have seen God face to face, and my life was preserved” (ver. 31), see on xvi. 13, p. 382.—To the wonderful struggle of Jacob is traced the custom of the Israelites, not to eat the פֶּתִיִּל הַיָּבֹק. This is the thickest

have seen God face to face, and my life is preserved. 32. And as he passed over Penuel, the sun shone upon him, and he halted upon his thigh. 33. Therefore the children of Israel do not eat of the sinew of the hip, which is upon the hollow of the thigh, to this day: because He touched the hollow of Jacob's thigh in the sinew of the hip.

of all sinews, the *nervus ischiadicus* (Arab.

نَسْل) which, being formed by a complex

of united sinews, begins in the thigh and goes through the leg to the ankle; and the impairing of which naturally causes lameness. The Sept. renders τὸ νεῦρον δὲ ἐνάρκησεν, and the Vulg. *nervus qui emarcuit*; whence some have derived נִשְׁתָּה from נִשָּׂה, to be paralysed, and explained גִּיד הַנִּשְׁתָּה, as the "*nervus tetani*" (see *Gesen. Thes.* p. 921).—But that custom is, in the dietary precepts of the Pentateuch, not enjoined as a law, though in later Judaism, it was strictly observed

as such (see *Talm.*, Tract. Chulin, vii.).—

The two chapters (xxxii. and xxxiii.) relating the history of the meeting of Jacob and Esau, are undoubtedly from the old Elohist document (the name עֵלֹהִים occurring seven times); but the Jehovist added the prayer of Jacob (xxxii. 10—13), to show the religious reformation of the patriarch, and his intention henceforth to trust to the Divine aid rather than to the measures suggested by his own prudence (comp. xxxi. 3; xxviii. 14). We see no reason to dismember this supplication and to attribute vers. 11 and 12 to the Elohist.

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

1. And Jacob lifted up his eyes, and looked, and, behold, Esau came, and with him four hundred men. And he divided the children to Leah, and to Rachel, and to the two handmaids. 2. And he put the handmaids and their children foremost, and Leah and her children behind, and Rachel and Joseph behind. 3. And he passed over

1—3. Prepared for every emergency, Jacob continued his journey. Though strengthened by faith and prayer, he had omitted nothing that prudence could devise. But cowardice had no share in his arrangements. Though naturally wishing to avoid a sanguinary encounter with his brother, he took a position which exposed his own person to the greatest danger. With calm judgment, he placed his wives and children in such manner, that those dearest to him followed last, and were, therefore, most protected; first, the hand-maids with their children; then, Leah with her offspring; and last, Rachel and Joseph; but he himself headed the caravan; and when he saw Esau at a distance, he advanced towards him,

awaiting with resignation his impending fate. He saw no hope, except in the forgiveness of his brother; how could he show that he implored it, but by a certain submissive courtesy? But this politeness was neither hypocrisy nor unmanly timidity. Esau, a master of the sword from his youth, approached with four hundred men, well armed, and skilled in warfare; the result of a hostile attack upon Jacob, who had always been a peaceful shepherd, could easily be foreseen; the least appearance of resistance might provoke the anger of the irritable man; and it was meritorious to avert, by every honourable concession, a possible carnage. But conscience no less than expediency impelled Jacob to



before them, and prostrated himself to the ground seven times, until he came near his brother.—4. And Esau ran to meet him, and embraced him, and fell on his neck, and kissed him : and they wept. 5. And he lifted up his eyes, and saw the women and the children, and said, Who *are* those with thee? And he said, The children whom God hath graciously given to thy servant. 6. Then the handmaids came near, they and their children, and they prostrated themselves. 7. And Leah also with her children came near, and they prostrated themselves; and afterwards Joseph came near, and Rachel, and they prostrated

adopt a conciliatory course; he began to feel his wrong-doings, and had no longer the boldness to deny or to cover them; his politeness was, therefore, not only another measure of precaution, but was dictated by that spirit of contrition which had begun to work within him. He showed his subjection to his brother by the highest mark of respect, a sevenfold prostration. He deserved, and willingly submitted to, this humiliation: though blessed with the most glorious promises, he was now obliged to yield to superior force; he had robbed Esau of the birthright, and was now compelled to commit himself to his mercy;—thus had the justice of heaven been reconciled.

4—11. But now the character of Esau appears in its most beautiful light; he is, throughout, the full and genuine *man of nature*; his heart overflows with true and impulsive kindness; he spreads a genial glow over the scene; the truthful simplicity of his mind stands out in pleasing relief against the complicated emotions which hitherto had kept Jacob in constant struggle and excitement. The sight of his brother at once, as if by magic force, wipes away all the animosity of the past; he is irresistibly attracted by the mysterious tie of relationship formed by nature; he hastens towards his trembling brother, and sheds tears of joy in a long and cordial embrace. Who does not feel the overwhelming pathos of the scene? Who has not portrayed to himself the hardy chief, careless, wild, but

uncorrupted in feeling, and generously forgiving, in the arms of the man of refined intellect, aspiring, scheming, at last repentant, and restored to his better self?—But it might be asked, whether Esau left Idumæa with hostile intentions, abandoning them when he saw his brother; or whether he was from the beginning resolved to meet the latter in a friendly spirit? The text leaves us in perfect doubt on this point. But the former supposition has far greater probability. Although his answer to the messengers was indistinct, it appeared to them ominous, and made upon them the impression, that an inimical attack was contemplated; Jacob understood it in the same sense; and hence his fears and precautions. Again, if Esau's intentions had been benevolent, it would have been unnecessary to march out with the strong escort of 400 men. Roused to a sudden impulse of revenge on being informed of Jacob's return, he proceeded with his men to satisfy it; but seeing his brother after such protracted absence, he was seized by an impulse of affection equally powerful; and as his mind, though untutored, had remained undepraved, the latter feeling prevailed. These sudden passions and ebullitions, in admirable harmony with Esau's character, are observable in all the principal transactions of his career. But however this may be, if Jacob was uncertain about Esau's intentions, *this doubt lay in the plan of the author*; since fear only could, in the interval between

themselves. 8. And he said, What *meanest* thou by all this procession which I met? And he said, *These are* to find grace in the eyes of my lord. 9. And Esau said, I have much, my brother; keep that which thou hast to thyself. 10. And Jacob said, No, I pray thee, if now I have found grace in thy eyes, then receive my present at my hand: for therefore have I seen thy face, as I have seen the face of God, and thou hast been gracious to me. 11. Take, I pray thee, my blessing which is brought to thee; because God hath been merciful to me, and because I have everything. And he urged him, and he took *it*.—12. And he

the return of the messengers and the arrival of Esau, effect those remarkable changes which we have above pointed out (p. 565).

Jacob urged and pressed his brother to accept the present prepared for him. Did this earnestness flow from the desire of being fully satisfied of his brother's conciliation, which would have been rendered doubtful by the refusal of the present, in accordance with Oriental usage and notions? But after the fervent and affectionate meeting, he could no longer question Esau's disposition towards him; the outburst of feeling had been so spontaneous and powerful, that it could not easily be doubted. However, Jacob added a remark, throwing a strong light upon the subject, and containing a welcome confirmation of the view above taken. He said: "for therefore I have seen thy face, as I have seen the face of God, and thou hast been gracious to me." These words, which have too often been quoted as a proof of Jacob's base flattery, are the most convincing symptom of his moral regeneration. He had immediately before "seen God face to face" (xxxii. 31); he had conquered God, and obtained His forgiveness as a reward of his sincere repentance (ver. 30); that ambiguous name, in which Esau especially had found the meaning of deceit, had been changed into another appellation, expressing high moral dignity (ver. 29): and he now *saw the face of Esau as he had seen the face of God*; he felt the same repentance with regard to

his brother, as he had felt with regard to God; he implored the pardon of the former, as he had obtained that of the latter; the hearty reception appeared to him like a guarantee that he had secured it; for he added: "and thou hast been gracious to me"; and his agitated mind was neither calmed nor satisfied, till he, whom he had so seriously injured, had accepted the gift, as an offering of thanks and expiation.—Thus he had made his peace with all whom he had offended: with Laban, with Esau, and with God.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—The letters of וִישָׁקוֹ (ver. 4), "and he kissed him," are marked with the *puncta extraordinaria*, because the Masorites seem to have considered Esau incapable of sincere affection (comp. Bereshith Rabbah on this passage): how unfounded this suspicion is, will be clear from the preceding remarks (see p. 513).—וְהָיָה (ver. 5) is construed with the double accusative: "which the Lord has graciously granted to thy servant"; comp. Judg. xxi. 22; Pa. cxix. 29. — מִחֲנֹנֶה (ver. 8) is *procession*, as in 1.9.—כִּי עַל כֵּן רִאִיתִי (ver. 10), "for therefore have I seen," instead of "therefore that," or *because* I have seen; see note on xviii. 5 (כִּי עַל כֵּן).—עֲבַרְתָּם.—About the form הִבָּאתָ (ver. 11) instead of הִבֵּאתָ, see on Exod. v. 16.

12—17. The angels of peace and of love seem to hover over the charm of the preceding scene; and the heart lingers with delight in contemplating the noble emulation of generosity and confidence.

said, Let us journey on, and let us go, and I will go at thy side. 13. And he said to him, My lord knoweth that the children *are* tender, and the flocks and herds *are* young with me: and if *the men* should overdrive them one day, all the flock will die. 14. Let my lord, I pray thee, pass over before his servant: and I will lead on in my *usual* slow pace, according to the cattle which *is* before me, and according to the children, until I come to my lord to Seir. 15. And Esau said, Let me, I pray thee, leave with thee *some* of the men who *are* with me. And

But is not this harmony too soon disturbed? Does not again a spirit of suspicion and reserve overshadow the mind of Jacob? Is he incapable of rising to the natural purity of his disinterested brother? Or does his keen intellect teach him how imprudent it would be unguardedly to rely upon the fallacious calmness of a passionate mind? Admitted even, that Jacob's apprehensions were, in this respect, exaggerated, his precaution was the result of a deep insight into Esau's character; the most insignificant circumstance might recall to his memory the events of the past; his rage might be re-kindled; and, though perhaps later bewailing his rashness, he might, by his superiority, be misled to deeds of cruel revenge. When, therefore, Esau wished to accompany Jacob, for protection, through the regions with which his excursions had made him familiar, the latter cautiously declined the offer; he refused even the garrison or guard which Esau proposed to leave him; but he promised, of his own accord, to visit him in his home in Seir; for he knew, that the sacred rights of hospitality would there protect him, even against an outbreak of passion. But though the objections of Jacob may have been as many evasions, they were not untruths; he could certainly not, without great danger, follow with his encumbered caravan, the march of Esau; and the latter seemed to acknowledge the justness of the remark; but he opposed the second offer with the simple question: "Wherefore do I thus find grace in the

sight of my lord"? He invented no fictitious pretext; he thus almost exposed himself to the danger of arousing his brother's suspicion; but he had banished deceit from his heart; and he preferred risk to falsehood. Whether he really paid the promised visit to Esau in Idumaea, is not recorded in the following narrative. But it suffices to know, that such was his sincere intention; and we find later the two brothers united in friendship and love (xxxv. 29; comp. xxxvi. 6, 7).

Esau now returned to his adopted country, whilst Jacob proceeded from Peniel in a western or south-western direction, till he arrived in the neighbourhood of the Jordan (comp. xxxii. 11). Here, permitting himself a short interval of rest, he built a house for himself, and erected for his cattle tents or booths (נִסְכֹּת), whence this place was called Succoth. As in this journey of the patriarch, so, in the later history of the Hebrews, the towns Peniel and Succoth are connected with each other. When Gideon, in pursuit of his enemies, had crossed the Jordan, he first asked the assistance of the inhabitants of Succoth; and, when treated by them with spite and disdain, he advanced to Peniel, where, however, he met with no more friendly reception. Both towns felt, a little later, the severe revenge of the victorious general (Judg. viii. 4—16). Our remarks on the relative position of Minpah, Mahanaim, and Peniel, make the situation of Succoth certain. It must necessarily be sought in the south of the Jabbok, in a valley very near the Jordan (1 Kings vii.

he said, Wherefore do I thus find grace in the eyes of my lord? 16. And Esau returned that day on his way to Seir. 17. And Jacob journeyed to Succoth, and built for himself a house, and made booths for his cattle: therefore the name of the place is called Succoth [booths].—18. And Jacob came in safety to the city of Shechem, which is in the land of Canaan, when he came from Padan-aram; and he pitched his tents before the city. 19. And he bought the piece of the field, where he had spread his tent, at the hand of the children of Hamor, Shechem's father, for a

46; Ps. lx. 8); and it also belonged to the tribe of Gad (Josh. xiii. 27). The opinions of those, therefore, who place it so far northward as Bethshan or *Scythopolis*, which name is said to be a corruption of Succoth (see p. 241), or on the western side of the Jordan, are at variance with the Biblical notices.

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—The construction of the thirteenth verse is: "I know that the children are tender... and if they are driven on (וַיִּדְפְּקוּם) *too much* one day, then," etc.; so that וַיִּדְפְּקוּם stands instead of וְהָיָה כִּי יִדְפּוּ (compare xlii. 38, וַיִּקְרְאוּ), and וַיִּדְפְּקוּם is used impersonally, "one drives them on." — עָלָה (ver. 18), part. fem. Kal of עָלָה *to suck*, is *sucking*, *young*, as in 1 Sam. vi. 7, 10; Isai. xl. 11; Ps. lxxviii. 11 (comp. עָלָה *a sucking child*, Isai. xlix. 15; lxv. 20). — לְרִנָּה (ver. 14) seems here to be employed in the same sense as the more usual לִפְיָה "in accordance with," or "in proportion to" (comp. Exod. xvi. 16): "as the cattle and the children will permit."

**18—20.** At last Jacob passed the Jordan, and proceeded in a direction almost exactly west, to Shechem, the centre of the promised land, whither Abraham also had first repaired after his arrival from Mesopotamia, where he received the first promise on sacred soil, and where he built the first altar (xii. 6, 7; see pp. 331, 332). His grand-son followed his example in almost every respect. But Jacob had far greater reasons of deep gratitude than his sire had at that time. He had gone out as

a poor pilgrim, and returned as a wealthy emir; he had successfully combated against his adversaries and against his own evil inclinations; his return was, therefore, not the commencement of a promise, but the beginning of fulfilment; and, hence, the text declares with intended emphasis, that Jacob came back *in peace and safety* (וּבְשָׁלוֹם); he had been preserved to inherit the paternal blessing, and had been purified to deserve it; hence, further, Jacob did not merely encamp in or before Shechem, but he bought a piece of land as his own permanent property: whereas Abraham had acquired a *burial-ground* (xxiii.), and Isaac was but temporarily allowed to cultivate the field to which he had happened to roam as a nomad (xxvi. 12—17). Deeply impressed with the obligations he owed to God for all these mercies, he erected the first altar which bore the name of the God, not of Jacob, nor of Abraham and Isaac, but of *Israel*, and which, therefore, prospectively pointed into the future history of the *holy nation*.

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—וּבְשָׁלוֹם (ver. 18) is synonymous with שָׁלוֹם (in *peace* or *safety*) in xxviii. 21, to which passage this verse partially refers. It is inappropriate to take וּבְשָׁלוֹם here as Salem or Jerusalem (as in xiv. 18); for it is difficult to understand the meaning of "Jerusalem, the town of Shechem" (so Sept., Vulg., Luther, and others). — *Kesitah* (קְסִיתָה) is, in Job xlii. 11, mentioned together with "nose-ring (or ear-ring) of gold," which every friend presented to Job, in order to

hundred kesitahs. 20. And he erected there an altar, and called it El-elohe-Jisrael [The Omnipotent, God of Israel].

compensate him, in some measure, for his losses. The kesitah is, therefore, a coin, or a piece of silver, of some value, certainly more than the 20th part of a shekel ( $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ ), as some believe. If the field in Machpelah, acquired by Abraham for 400 shekels (xxiii. 16), was equal in value to the piece of ground purchased by Jacob for 100 kesitahs, one kesitah would be equivalent to four shekels, or about 10s. 6d. But it is evident, that this computation is merely conjectural, since the relative dimensions of the two fields are not stated. The etymology of the word קְסִיטָה is equally uncertain; it is rendered *lamb* (*Abulwal., Ebn Ezra*), and explained as a coin bearing the figure of a lamb (*Münter, De Kesita; comp. Plin., Hist. Nat. xxxiii. 3, s. 13*); or *pearl, or gem* (כֶּסֶת, *Targ. Jonath.*

and *Jerus.*); or *obolos* (פְּנִי, *δανάριον*; *Talm., Rosh Hash. 26 a*); or a silver vessel (Syr. כְּסִיטָה; *Harmer; comp. Elian., Var. Hist. i. 22*); or good and current coin (חֶלֶקֶט, *Onkel.*); or simply a weight (Arab. قِسْط; see, especially, *Gesen., Thes., p. 1241*). — In Acts vii. 16, the purchase of the field before Shechem is ascribed to Abraham instead of Jacob (see p. 455). — The altar which Jacob erected on his own property (ver. 20), was called “the all-powerful God of Israel” (אל אלהי ישראל); it received the name of the deity to which it was sacred, and bore thus a more strictly religious character (*comp. xxxv. 7; Exod. xvii. 15*).

## CHAPTER XXXIV.

**SUMMARY.**—Dinah, mixing among the Hivites, was seen and seduced by Shechem, the son of Hamor, the chief of the country. Jacob, informed of the ignominy, silently awaited the return of his sons, who were pasturing the flocks in the fields. The brothers were roused to profound hatred against him who had defiled the honour of their family. But Shechem loved Dinah, and induced his father to ask her to wife for him from Jacob and his sons. The latter expressed consent, but imposed the condition that Shechem and Hamor, and all their male subjects, should submit to the rite of circumcision. When this had been agreed to, both by the prince, and his son, and their people, on the third day Simeon and Levi made a violent attack on the defenceless town, killed all the males, and carried away immense spoil, to the consternation of Jacob.

1. And Dinah the daughter of Leah, whom she had born to Jacob, went out to see the daughters of the land. 2. And

1—4. The life of Jacob, the interest of which reaches far beyond that of an ordinary biography, and which, as a type, represents the history of a large genus rather than of one individual, admits of an unforced division into four chief periods. Firstly, *the sin and falsehood of an aspiring mind*, unscrupulous in the application of the means, trusting to the brilliancy of the intellect rather than the simplicity of the heart, and regarding as a merit and

a gain whatever is acquired by the activity of the brain. Secondly, *the purification by a sudden consciousness of guilt*; the better nature awakens; a swift ray of light at once points out to the humiliated pilgrim the path of truth and rectitude; the Divine spark is kindled; and the victories of the past appear like so many defeats full of reproach and shame. The *atonement*, by punishment, which then necessarily follows, forms the third period,

Shechem the son of Hamor the Hivite, prince of the country, saw her, and he took her, and lay with her, and used violence against her. 3. And his soul clove to Dinah the daughter of Jacob, and he loved the maiden, and spoke to the heart of the maiden. 4. And Shechem said to his

And if the purification has been sincere, and the atonement borne with humble resignation, the conclusion of life, or the last epoch, exhibits the *conciliation*, or the peace of mind, accompanied, if Providence grants it, by external prosperity. We have arrived at the third epoch in Jacob's life; we may be certain that the events composing it, will be melancholy and trying; for his sins were both numerous and grave; but we may, with equal confidence, anticipate a fourth stage, replete with true satisfaction and felicity; for though his chief offence, the deceit in the appropriation of the birthright and the blessing, must be profoundly abhorred, its source was a Divine, though misunderstood, oracle; and its aim was the acquirement of the noblest spiritual privileges.

The text has hitherto displayed most admirable consistency in portraying the *character* of Jacob, naturally prominent in the two first periods; let us see how his *destinies* are delineated, preponderating in the two last. It is true, that punishment was not withheld even from the former two epochs of his life; he paid for his *sins* the immediate penalty of exile and hardship; and he acquired his *purification* only in the midst of anguish and fear of death: this was necessary, for sin does not only occasion punishment, but is its own punishment; but other retaliation besides that necessarily incidental in the crimes, was required by the Divine justice; and Jacob drank deeply from the cup of misery.

Not without reason, had Dinah been mentioned previously among the children of Leah (xxx. 21); she was intended to be the first cause of her father's sorrow. An interval of six or eight years elapsed between the departure from Mesopotamia and the event here narrated (see *infra*);

Dinah had become a blooming maiden; she had reached that age when Oriental virgins attain the full charm of their beauty. During that long sojourn in Shechem, she formed friendships with the daughters of the natives, and had entered with them into social intercourse. Was this conduct culpable? Was it an offence deserving punishment? It almost appears that it was regarded as such; for she became both an object of violence and the cause of massacre; and, in Biblical history, there exists no misfortune without corresponding guilt. Dinah had not preserved in her mind the vocation of her family; she did not comprehend that a perfect separation was indispensable from idolatrous tribes, whose moral reformation could not be expected, whose pernicious example could only infect the Hebrews, and whose doom was sealed on account of their iniquity. She paid the full penalty of her carelessness. She suffered the fate which Sarah and Rebekah encountered in the land of Pharaoh and of Abimelech; she was seen and taken by the son of the prince; but no angel guarded her innocence; no Divine vision shielded her from disgrace; and she fell a victim to Shechem's passion. She did not require that immediate protection which her ancestors had enjoyed; she was a maiden, no wife; her father possessed a piece of land within which he was safe; and she belonged to a numerous family well capable of defending their rights. But Shechem was neither licentious nor frivolous; though he had been ensnared by passion, his heart was not debased, and he was ready to make the only reparation which the circumstances permitted; he loved Dinah; his soul clung to her; and he spoke to her heart (ver. 3; comp. 2 Sam. xiii. 15); he endeavoured to secure her affection, and wished to make her his legitimate wife;

father Hamor, saying, Take for me this girl to wife.—5. And Jacob heard that he had defiled Dinah his daughter—but his sons were with his cattle in the field—and Jacob was silent until they were come.—6. And Hamor the father of Shechem went out to Jacob to speak to him. 7. And the sons of Jacob came out of the field when they heard *it*: and the men were grieved, and they were very wroth, because he had wrought iniquity in Israel in lying with Jacob's daughter; and this ought not to be done.—8. And Hamor spoke to them, saying, The soul of my son Shechem longeth for your daughter: give her, I pray you, to him to wife. 9. And make you marriages with us:

he therefore asked his father to treat for him, and to secure the consent of her family.

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—When Jacob left Laban's house, Dinah was about seven years old (see on xxviii. 6—9); and in fact, his children were at that time described as delicate and young (xxxiii. 13). How long he stayed at Succoth, and especially how long in Shechem, we have no means of deciding. But Joseph, who was of about equal age with Dinah, was sold into Egypt when seventeen years old (xxvii. 2); a period of about ten years, therefore, had then elapsed since the arrival in Canaan; and we shall not be mistaken if we place the event of our chapter about six or eight years after Jacob's return, thus giving Dinah an age of thirteen to fifteen years. Those who are by all means determined to find everywhere inextricable difficulties and contradictions, prefer to assert that Dinah was *three* years old when Shechem loved and desired to marry her.—About the Hivites (ver. 2) see p. 272.—נָשָׂא (ver. 2) is construed with the accusative (נָשָׂא), like לָקַח; comp. Dent. xxviii. 30; Levit. xv. 18, etc.

5—7. Jacob soon heard of the shame of his daughter; he was alone when he received this distressing news, for his sons were with the flocks in the field: and what was his first emotion? "He was silent till they came" (ver. 5). The case

was, indeed, complicated. He had learnt, no doubt, together with Shechem's crime, his love and his proposal; he saw, therefore, strong and evident proofs of his earnest repentance; could he, after the varied experience of his own heart, disdain it? had he not himself felt its regenerating power and its efficacy? He saw, further, in Shechem's proposal, the only means, in an ordinary point of view, of restoring the honour of his daughter and of his name; should he refuse it? Why, then, did he hesitate? He, no doubt, appreciated the repentance; but he was reluctant to accept the proposal. He had begun to view the occurrences of life, not after their temporal expediency, but in connection with their moral value and their religious import; though Dinah was the victim of violence, she had occasioned it by a reprehensible neglect; and though Shechem was a liberal and generous man, he had disregarded one of the most sacred laws of morality; and, as a heathen, could never be the husband of his daughter. Dinah and Shechem were both excusable in one respect, and guilty in another; the decision of right and wrong was embarrassing, and the choice of the measure to be adopted difficult; Jacob was placed in a painful dilemma; and "he was silent."

But his sons were in the period of impetuous youth; their judgment was in their feeling; not balancing, with nice discrimi-

give your daughters to us, and take our daughters to you. 10. And you may dwell with us: and the land may be before you; dwell and trade therein, and acquire possessions therein. 11. And Shechem said to her father and to her brothers, Let me find grace in your eyes, and what you will say to me, I shall give. 12. Ask of me ever so much dowry and gift, and I will give as you will say to me: but give me the maiden to wife.—13. And the sons of Jacob answered Shechem and Hamor his father deceitfully, and spoke, because he had defiled Dinah their sister: 14. And they said to them, We cannot do this thing, to give our sister to a man who is uncircumcised; for that were

nation the wrongs and the excuses, they saw nothing but the disgrace of their sister, and the stain of their house; their grief soon assumed the vehemence of a passion and of wrath; and a sentiment of hatred and vindictiveness sank deep into their hearts. But the reason of their anger is very significantly stated: "Because Shechem had done iniquity in Israel"; he was the first who had desecrated and defiled the holiness of the chosen family; and they felt that this ought not be done, or if done, not to be tolerated.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—The phrase נבלה עשה בישׂראל (ver. 7) is used several times with reference to disgraceful sins, affecting the great principles of morality, and staining Israel as a community (see Deut. xxii. 21; Judg. xx. 10; Jerem. xxix. 23). The same words are here applied to the members of Jacob's house, and impart to the indignation of the brothers a peculiar solemnity and force.—נבלה originally *folly*, means also *wickedness*; for both notions were regarded either as synonymous or correlatives (see 2 Sam. xiii. 12; Job ii. 10).—לֹא יַעֲשֶׂה it is not usually done (xxix. 26), or ought not to be done.

8—12. Whilst such emotions were storming in their minds, Hamor and his son arrived to negotiate. The father, in broaching the proposal, simply stated the affection of Shechem for Dinah, asked her for his wife, and offered, as a compen-

sation, that the Hebrews and the Hivites should henceforth form one nation, in intermarriage, commerce, and acquisition of landed property. He made no mention, no remote allusion, to the infamy brought upon Dinah. The son, Shechem, prompted by love, hastened to confirm the proposal of his father, and assured his readiness to give any amount of marriage-money (מָלוּךְ), or of presents, that might be demanded; and he offered unreservedly to submit to the will of the father and the brothers (see p. 470). But though a confession of guilt might have been implied in that unlimited liberality, it was not made openly and frankly; it was covered and not discussed: and thus the rankling animosity on the part of Jacob's sons was nourished rather than extinguished.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—קָחַר (vers. 10, 21), construed with the simple accusative (קָחַרְתָּהּ), "to trade in a land," implying that the commerce is carried on in the whole extent of the country.

13—17. Jacob had scarcely time to advance a reply; for his sons eagerly availed themselves of their share of the influence generally allowed to brothers in the matrimonial arrangements of their sisters; and they acted with a zeal to which he thought he might safely trust the master. But he was doomed too soon to perceive his error. Though the impetuosity of the sons might have appeared fatal to moderate and prudent action, it could scarcely be expected



a reproach to us: 15. But under this *condition* we shall consent to you: If you will be like ourselves, that every male of you be circumcised; 16. Then we shall give our daughters to you, and take your daughters to us, and we shall dwell with you, and become one people. 17. But if you will not listen to us, to be circumcised; then we shall take our daughter, and depart. — 18. And their words pleased Hamor, and Shechem Hamor's son. 19. And the young man delayed not to do that thing, because he had delight in Jacob's daughter: and he *was* honoured more than all the house of his father. 20. And Hamor and Shechem his son came to the gate of their city, and spoke to the men of their city, saying, 21. These men *are* peaceable with us; therefore let them dwell in the land,

to be coupled with deceit and cold machination; however inordinate, it seemed, at least, the emanation of frank and generous minds. They deliberated on the reply which they should return; but their council was exclusively guided by the thought that their sister had been defiled (ver. 13), and they weighed no other circumstance. They were certainly right in disregarding the very considerable worldly advantages offered to them; they had it in their hands, to become at once, from strangers, or tolerated settlers, the independent allies and associates of a powerful tribe; they disdained these prospects of wealth and influence, because they would thereby have endangered more than by any other contingency that very principle of separation which they were then struggling to uphold; they remembered the prophecy given to Abraham, that they could inherit Palestine only "when the sin of the Amorites would be complete," and in the appointed season; it would have been against the will of Providence, had they acquired then already a part of the land as a *political community*; and they resigned, therefore, without hesitation, the *national* advantages, intent only upon defending their *domestic* dignity. What, then, was the reply they ought to have given to Hamor

and his son? They could never consent to a marriage between Shechem, the Canaanite, and their own sister. Had so many sacrifices been brought, and so great precautions been taken, to preserve the purity of Abraham's race, in order that now promiscuous alliances should be freely permitted? It was impossible to overthrow the foundation of the new faith. The brothers were, therefore, on principle, compelled firmly to reject Shechem's proposal; and either to consider his repentance and the burning wound of his disappointed love as sufficient punishments; or, if they could not control their passion, to revenge their sister openly and manfully. But they preferred a very different line of conduct. One simple expedient appeared open. If Hamor and the Shechemites adopted the religion of Jacob's family, they might, so it seemed, form with it one people; and a perpetual friendship might thus be expected. This view, however, was erroneous. For through the *seed of Abraham* only was the blessing of the world promised; whereas the tribes of Canaan contained within themselves the germs of political and moral dissolution; and the progeny of Shechem could never have participated in the future glory of the people of Israel. Yet that view was so natural, and appeared so near the

and trade therein; for the land, behold, *it is* large before them; let us take their daughters to us for wives, and let us give them our daughters. 22. Only under this *condition* will the men consent to us to dwell with us, to be one people, if every male among us be circumcised, as they *are* circumcised. 23. *Will* not their cattle and their property and all their beasts *be* ours? only let us consent to them, that they may dwell with us. 24. And all who went out of the gate of his city listened to Hamor, and to Shechem his son, and every male was circumcised, all that went out of the gate of his city.—25. And on the third day, when they were in pain, two of the sons of Jacob, Simeon and Levi, Dinah's brother's, took each his sword, and they came upon the city in safety, and slew all the males. 26. And

truth, that Shechem, the heathen, less familiar with the spirit of the Divine promises, at once adopted it, whilst the sons of Jacob were well aware of its fallacy; and this was the criminal *deceit* of their answer (כַּרְמוֹ).

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS. — אֲשֶׁר, in ver. 13, means *because* (comp. ver. 27; xxxi. 49).—נָאֻת (ver. 15) is evidently the first pers. pl. of fut. *Niphal* of אָוֹת "we shall consent" (like נָקֹם from קָם); the conjecture to read נָאֻת, which would be the Poel of אָוֹת (*Gesen.*, *Thea.*, p. 56), is, therefore, unnecessary.

18—24. Shechem, in accepting the stipulation, forgot that ceremonies are not faith, and that circumcision is not identical with monotheism; he was not moved by the truth of Jacob's religion, but induced by motives purely human. This is another guilt both of the brothers and of Shechem; of the former, because they thus profaned the holiest symbol they possessed, the sign of the covenant; and of the latter, because he abandoned his own faith without attempting to penetrate into the meaning of the religion he adopted. Circumcision, in itself but the modification of the grossest and most repulsive form of paganism, and retained among the Hebrews only because its neglect was regarded as a reproach and a shame (ver.

14), if not understood in the abstract spirit of Mosaism, is far more apt to foster than to correct superstitious notions (see p. 379).—The influence and eloquence of Hamor and Shechem easily gained the men of their town over to their plans; they dwelt chiefly upon the great material advantages which would accrue from such alliance; the men whose friendship they sought, were peaceable and industrious; they were active traders, sure to increase the resources of the land; but they were especially excellent breeders of cattle, a circumstance which would be of vast importance to themselves: and without alluding to their own individual case, they added that intermarriages with such people were highly desirable. The condition of the alliance was at once adopted and carried into effect.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS. — אָרַר (ver. 19), *Piel* of אָרַר to *tarry* (while in xxxii. 5, it is the fut. of *Kal*); comp. xxiv. 56 (where it has a transitive meaning, to *detain*); Ps. xl. 18, etc.—נָשָׂא (ver. 22) is the partic. *Niphal* of נָשָׂא, instead of נָשָׂא, as נָשָׂא is the infinitive *Niphal* of the same root; comp. p. 393.

25—29. The nefarious design of the brothers was maturing to its end. They were engaged in a holy cause, the honour of their sister, and they feigned to pursue

they slew Hamor and Shechem his son with the edge of the sword, and took Dinah out of Shechem's house, and went away. 27. The sons of Jacob came upon the slain, and spoiled the city, because they had defiled their sister. 28. They took their sheep, and their oxen, and their asses, and that which *was* in the city, and that which *was* in the field, 29. And all their wealth, and all their little ones, and their wives they took captive, and made it their spoil,

is by sacred means; but religion was but the cloak for violence and vindictiveness; and a false moderation ensnared the credulous victims. But not all the eleven sons were equally hardened. Though, in the first excitement of their passion, they might have been unanimous in swearing sanguinary vengeance to the defiler of their house, the interval of some days appeased the minds of the greater part; and two only, Simeon and Levi, full brothers of Dinah, persevered in their implacable rage. Entering the defenceless city, without meeting resistance, they ruthlessly massacred every male inhabitant; Hamor and Shechem were among the slain; and after having filled the town with blood and endless misery, they ransacked it, and returned to their homes with the curse-laden fruits of their iniquity. Dinah, who had remained in Shechem's house, apparently not against her will, and, no doubt, awaiting the decision of her father and her brothers (vers. 3, 4, 17, 26), was brought back to the paternal roof. Had Shechem deserved this untimely end? Had he been a Hebrew, and were the matter to be decided by the Mosaic Law, he would have been *bound* to marry Dinah (Deut. xxii. 28, 29): could his offence, then, be so unpardonable when he *desired* to make her his wife? As the principles adopted in the family of Abraham were peculiar, and, perhaps, not precisely known, their neglect on the part of strangers, though not to be tolerated, ought not to have been punished with unrelenting severity. But, further, why were the innocent inhabitants included in the carnage? Revenge, blind, cruel, and destructive, had satisfied its unholy

thirst, but the manes of the murdered survived to appear as fearful accusers.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—On the third day after the circumcision, the physical pain reaches the highest degree of acuteness; a severe fever generally seizes the patient; and adults, to whom the operation is often most excruciating, are on that day extremely weak, and confined to their beds. That time was selected by Simeon and Levi for their cowardly crime.

30, 31. With what feelings did Jacob regard the conduct of his sons? Though he could not applaud their violence, he, no doubt, saw their zeal and eager watchfulness with satisfaction; for they were to him cheering proofs, that they understood the mission entrusted to their family. When they agreed upon the proposal regarding circumcision, Jacob was evidently not in their council; he is not mentioned when their decision was announced to Hamor and Shechem (ver. 13); and when he heard of the flagitious bloodshed of Simeon and Levi, he was filled with pain, and uttered a sorrowful reproof. And though the reproach was but leniently expressed (ver. 30), he felt the crime in all its heinousness; and though he alluded mainly to the terrible revenge possibly impending from the powerful Canaanites, he was not the less deeply grieved by the immorality and wickedness of the deed. For he felt, that he had, as yet, no sufficient right to be a severe judge of virtue and vice; he had not long since also been guilty of "deceit" (xxvii. 35); he, therefore, put the stress chiefly on the external dangers, in which he could not expect Divine assistance, since they were merited. But later, when he had

and *they took* all that *was* in the house.—30. And Jacob said to Simeon and Levi, You have troubled me to bring me into ill-odour among the inhabitants of the land, among the Canaanites and the Perizzites: and I *am* few in number, and they will gather themselves against me, and will slay me, and I shall be destroyed, I and my house. 31. And they said, Should he deal with our sister as with an unchaste woman?

fulfilled the period of his expiation, he denounced the deed with a force, proving the profound internal horror with which he regarded it, and which he was unable to conquer even in the last moments of his life (xlix. 5—7); the swords of Simeon and Levi are designated as weapons of violence; their work is murder; the holy presence of God flies their impious assembly; their wrath is cursed, and their vehemence branded; homeless dispersion is their dreary lot.—This instance teaches us, at the same time, how we have to judge of Jacob's conduct in the house of Laban. Though the text does not always insert a formal judgment, its spirit is that of uncompromising morality; and the higher the standard, the severer the verdict.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—About the phrase וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁכַּח (ver. 30), see on Exod. v. 21.—Some details of the narrative contained in this chapter, are certainly of an extraordinary nature. True, the caprice of Oriental princes has demanded and obtained stranger things from their subjects

than that which Shechem required from the men of his town; it may, further, be granted, that Simeon and Levi were, under the circumstances, alone able to kill the whole male population of a large city, and to carry away all the cattle and every other property (for the text does not countenance the supposition that they were supported by a large number of servants): but what did the victors do with the captive women and children? Why did they not rather occupy the conquered town in which all the men had been destroyed, than migrate again southward in search of uncertain abodes? (xxxv. 1). An event similar to that here recorded, lived doubtless in the memory of the people; but traditions generally preserve the spirit rather than the details of occurrences; and the ideas here embodied are more important than the facts: unchastity is visited with fearful severity; and matrimonial alliances with idolators are abhorred as abominations.—Yet, this chapter belongs indisputably to the older source, or the Elohist.

## CHAPTER XXXV.

SUMMARY.—On the command of God, Jacob journeyed to Bethel; but before his departure from Shechem, he ordered his household to bury all their idols and other objects of superstition under a certain oak in the neighbourhood of the town (vers. 1—7).—Deborah, the nurse of Rebekah, died and was interred south of Bethel, under the “Oak of Weeping” (ver. 8).—God appeared to Jacob again, and re-iterated the former worldly and religious blessings; and the patriarch erected on the place of the vision a pillar, which he consecrated by libations of wine and oil (vers. 9—15).—Rachel giving birth to a second son, Benjamin, died, north of Bethlehem, where her grave was marked by a monument (vers. 16—20).—Reuben committed incest with Bilhah, near Migdal-Eder (vers. 21, 22).—The twelve sons of Jacob are again enumerated (ver. 23—26).—Jacob arrived in Hebron, where Isaac was then living (ver. 27).—The latter died, a hundred and eighty years old, and was buried in the cave of Machpelah by his sons Esau and Jacob (vers. 28, 29).

1. And God said to Jacob, Rise, go up to Beth-el, and dwell there; and make there an altar to God, who appeared to thee when thou fledst before Esau thy brother.  
 2. And Jacob said to his household, and to all that *were* with him, Remove the strange gods that *are* among you, and clean yourselves, and change your garments : 3. And

1—5. When Jacob, compelled by guilt and fear, left the land of his birth, he vowed at Bethel, where God had appeared to him, that if he returned in safety and happiness, he would consecrate the stone which he had erected, into a sanctuary of God, and would devote to Him the tenth part of his property (xxviii. 10—22). Now he had returned to Canaan “in safety” (xxxiii. 18); he had not only received “bread to eat, and garments to put on,” but he had become a man of wealth and power: and yet he seemed by no means anxious to fulfil his vow; for instead of proceeding to Bethel, he tarried at Shechem at least six or eight years: what is the reason of such palpable neglect, the more surprising, as Jacob’s mind had undergone a total reformation; as he had “wrestled, and conquered”? The answer is obvious. The consecration of the holy edifice at Bethel was not merely intended as an act of gratitude; it was designed to mark the full and perfect recognition of the God of Abraham by all the members of his house, and to form the foundation of that “house of God,” which was first to unite all the tribes of Israel, and then all the nations of the earth. But on his return from Mesopotamia, Jacob found his family far from prepared for such a life of religious purity; his wives had deeply imbibed the idolatrous notions of their father; Rachel did not consider herself safe, except by the stolen image of the Teraphim; the servants which he had acquired in Aramæa, were heathens; and his sons might even, under such influences, have adopted questionable or dangerous views. His journey to Bethel would certainly have been premature before his family and household were willing and capable to embrace the truths to which he was himself so deeply attached. Isolated from every

connection with his pagan neighbours, living on a soil which he had acquired by purchase, he was resolved to wait till the spirit of his noble faith would pervade his family; and anxious to accelerate this desirable consummation, he erected, on his property, an altar, and called it significantly: “the Omnipotent, God of Israel” (xxxiii. 20); but when he hoped he was approaching his aim, he saw with sorrow the imprudence of his daughter Dinah, who entertained an injurious intercourse with a pagan tribe, endanger the work of reform; he could no longer with safety stay at Shechem, where sanguinary revenge threatened him; he was compelled to leave his acquired property before his plans were matured; the conduct of his daughter as well as of his sons proved to him too clearly how little his admonitions had as yet taken root; and he saw himself once more obliged, not to depart, but to flee. When he was in this dilemma, God ordered him to proceed to Bethel, and to erect the altar which he had promised (ver. 1). But this command imposed upon the patriarch the duty of increased energy; it was impossible to disobey it; yet he felt, that it involved obligations not solely depending upon his own will. He, therefore, employed the whole weight of his authority as the head of the house, to demand its purification from all heathen images and emblems; he knew well, that the spontaneous growth of truth from within would have been preferable, and that it would have afforded surer guarantees against a relapse; but he had at least the satisfaction of seeing the readiness with which his command was obeyed; he found the minds not quite unprepared for the doctrines of a better religion; — he had not tarried at Shechem in vain.

let us rise, and go up to Beth-el; and I will make there an altar to God, who answered me in the day of my distress, and was with me in the way which I went. 4. And they gave to Jacob all the strange gods that *were* in their hands, and the ear-rings which *were* in their ears; and Jacob hid them under the oak which *was* by Shechem.—

What place, then, does the massacre and the subsequent flight occupy in the history of the patriarch? Both the infamy and the dismay were certainly regarded as the first punishments for his *past* failings: but as they are not connected with them by any internal or causal relation, they must, at the same time, be the consequence of some more immediate offence; they are, indeed, the unavoidable result of his plans in Shechem. He had offered a sacred vow, which it would have been his duty to fulfil without delay after his safe return; but as he had grown in piety, he freely enlarged the scope of his promise, including in its sphere, besides himself, all the members of his household: and he was, hence, compelled indefinitely to postpone its realisation. This was an arbitrary change of the pledge; if it could not be interpreted as ingratitude or indifference, it certainly was a deviation from the strict spirit of his vow; and he had to bear its consequences, the hatred and revenge of the heathens. But as both his intentions and the means employed were noble and virtuous, God averted the impending danger; His fear checked the rage of the enemies; He prevented even their persecution; and He led Jacob and his household safely to Bethel.

But the patriarch had, besides, on his departure from the paternal house, offered the vow: “of all that Thou wilt give me, I shall surely give the tenth part to Thee” (xxviii. 22). Did he ever fulfil this promise? We believe, he redeemed it in the last act which he performed at Shechem. Collecting all the images and ear-rings found in his house, he buried them under a tree; these objects, mostly made of the precious metals, amounted, no doubt, to a very considerable value; they might well

be regarded as the tenth part of his property; and as there were as yet no priests, acting as the ministers or representatives of God, he could in no more appropriate way realise his promise than by removing all objects, however costly, connected with idolatry; for he thus literally brought a sacrifice for that God who had heard him in his distress, and shielded him in all his paths (ver. 3).—The “strange gods” given up to him by the members of his house, included, no doubt, the Teraphim (xxxi. 19), and perhaps other idols also, brought with them from Mesopotamia, or adopted in Canaan. But ear-rings, that usual ornament of both men and women, were very frequently used as amulets, believed to avert evil, or to operate as a charm; they were often covered with allegorical figures or mysterious sentences, and endowed with supernatural powers of very various description, according to the deities to which they were consecrated; and they formed, therefore, one of the ordinary instruments of superstitious usages, which even Christianity was able but very gradually to extirpate (see pp. 172, 464). That they are incompatible with the monotheistic doctrines, requires no proof; they are included among the “enchantments” so strictly interdicted (Deut. xviii. 10); and are enumerated by the prophet Isaiah among the objects ensnaring the faith of Israel (iii. 20).—As the removal of the strange gods and other dangerous objects was regarded as a religious covenant, implying the exclusive acknowledgment of the God of Jacob, it was attended by the ceremonies of external purification and change of garments (see on Exod. xix. 10, 14): and if these rites are not baptism, they are its basis, and spring from kindred principles.—Jacob concealed the idols and

5. And they journeyed: and the terror of God was upon the cities that *were* round them, and they did not pursue after the sons of Jacob.—6. And Jacob came to Luz, which *is* in the land of Canaan, that *is* Beth-el, he and all the people that *were* with him. 7. And he built there an altar, and called the place El-beth-el [God of Beth-el]; because there God had revealed Himself to him, when he fled before his brother.

the rings “under the oak” (הָאֵלֶךְ) which is by Shechem.” If these words entitle us to understand a certain famous tree generally known, we cannot hesitate to identify it with that oak near Shechem mentioned in the history of the usurper Abimelech as “the oak of sorcerers” (אֵלֶךְ מַעֲוֹנִים); Judg. ix. 37; see, however, *infra*).

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—The distress from which God delivered Jacob (ver. 3) includes especially the deserved enmity of his brother and the oppression of Laban; it will not occur to any unprejudiced reader that it points to that night when he slept before Bethel in the open field exposed to the attacks of robbers and of wild beasts (xxviii. 11). For what reason this latter opinion, so strange and improbable has been proposed, will appear from the note at the conclusion of this chapter.—About the oak where Jacob buried the idols (ver. 4) we observe:—1. The article in the Hebrew *הָאֵלֶךְ* does not *compel* us to understand one exact tree known to every one, since the Hebrew article is often employed without such exclusive meaning (comp. Exod. ii. 15, *הַבָּאָר*, etc.). 2. Though it may be the “oak of sorcerers” (Judg. ix. 37), it is not “the oak of the monument” (אֵלֶךְ מַעֲוֹנִים, Judg. ix. 6), where Abimelech was proclaimed king; for the latter was in Shechem (בְּשֶׁכֶם), whereas the tree mentioned in our passage was *near* that town (עַם שֶׁכֶם, ver. 4; comp. xxv. 11), where Jacob encamped on the field he had bought. But it is, 3, no more than an assertion that our narrative attempts to account for the name אֵלֶךְ מַעֲוֹנִים, said to have existed long before these events; for our tale would lead, with much more pro-

priety to the appellation, “oak of idols” or of “witchcraft” than of magicians or sooth-sayers. It is as arbitrary to identify our oak with that in Shechem, where Joshua addressed his last solemn admonitions to the assembled people (Josh. xxiv. 25, 26); for there was “a sanctuary of the Lord” (מִקְדָּשׁ), which would never have been erected at the place of idols.—*הַיִּירָתָאֱלֹהִים* (ver. 5) is to be taken literally: “the fear of God,” that is, the terror which He sends and with which He strikes the enemies, as the protector of His servant Jacob (comp. Exod. xxiii. 27). This acceptation is preferable to the indistinct meaning: “great or mighty terror.”

6, 7. Jacob, on his third flight, stopped at Bethel, as on the first, not to offer, but at last to realise vows. There he remembered with grateful piety the dangers he had escaped, and the love he had experienced: now that the hatred of his brother was soothed, and the protection of God was deserved and increased, he built an altar which he did not call simply that of his own God, but “the God of the *house* of God” (אֱלֹהֵי בֵית־אֵל), because the Lord and His angels had there appeared to him, and had completely fulfilled what they had promised (comp. xxxiii. 20).

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—The plural of the verb in the words כִּי שָׁם נִגְלוּ אֱלֹהִים (ver. 7) can in no way give offence, or justify the translation: “for here the *gods* had appeared to him”; for on the one hand, the אֱלֹהִים imply the angels who formed so essential a part of the vision here alluded to (xxviii. 12; hence *Onkelos* (סְלֵאֲמִי); and on the other hand, Jacob had but just purified his house from all

8. And Deborah Rebekah's nurse died, and she was buried beneath Beth-el under an oak; and its name was called Allon-bachuth [Oak of Weeping].

9. And God appeared to Jacob again, when he came out of Padan-aram, and blessed him. 10. And God said to him, Thy name is Jacob: *but* thy name shall not be called any more Jacob, but Israel shall be thy name: and He called his name Israel. 11. And God said to him, I

idols and objects of superstition, and it would be absurd to suppose the most grossly polytheistic notions immediately afterwards (see note on xx. 13). The Sept. and Samaritan have the singular of the verb (אָפִינָה and אָפִינָה).

8. Jacob, on his way homewards, traversed the length of the land from Shechem to the south; and the historian inserted, therefore, all domestic information which he could in any way bring into connection with the patriarch's journey, and for which no appropriate place offered itself either in the preceding or the following part of the narrative. The arrangement of the facts is, therefore, *geographical* rather than *chronological*. Now it is certain, that Isaac and his family had, during the twenty years of Jacob's absence, wandered in different parts of the land; for he was in *Beer-sheba* when his son departed, and he had settled in *Hebron* when the latter returned (ver. 27; xxviii. 10); he might, therefore, at one period of his migrations, have come into the neighbourhood of Bethel; here, Deborah, the nurse of Rebekah, apparently loved with almost filial affection, died (comp. xxiv. 59), and was buried under an oak, which hence received the name "Oak of Weeping" (comp. l. 11; 1 Sam. xxxi. 13). This event is, therefore, connected by a double thread with the chief subject of our chapter; it refers to the *home* to which Jacob hastened, and it has *local* relations to his journey.

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—These are reasons enough why it should be mentioned here; and it is as unnecessary as it is arbitrary to invent other motives, perfectly unsupported by the text; as, for instance,

to suppose a meeting between Isaac and Jacob at Bethel, or an errand from Rebekah sent to Jacob through Deborah. But it has even been asserted, that the "*Oak of Weeping*" (אֵלֶּן בְּכוּת) is identical with the *palm-tree* (תַּמָּר) under which Deborah, the prophetess, judged and addressed the people (Judg. iv. 5), and—that from that prophetess the name of Rebekah's nurse, not before mentioned, is borrowed! The only real coincidence is, that the oak is "beneath Bethel," and that palm-tree, likewise, "between Ramah and Bethel, in the mountain of Ephraim": but why an unknown heathen servant of Isaac's wife should be honoured with the name of one of the most glorious women in Israel, living more than five hundred years later, is no easy matter to explain; and it may be asked, whether the place of a burial regarded as impure by the Hebrews, would have been selected for the solemn utterances of a prophetess and the assemblies of the people?—אֵלֶּן is not, "*he* (Jacob) called," but "*one* called"; or "*it* was called," namely, from the time of the fact here noticed (see xvi. 14, etc.).

9—15. When Jacob had consecrated the altar in Bethel, God not only repeated the material promises before made to himself and to his ancestors; but chiefly confirmed the spiritual dominion which his seed should exercise; therefore, the significant change of Jacob's name into Israel is repeated; and this constitutes the principal "*blessing*" (see *infra*). To commemorate this new vision, Jacob erected a monument of stone, sanctified it by a libation of wine and an ointment of oil (comp. xxviii. 18; Exod. xxiv. 4; Josh.



*am* God Almighty: be fruitful and multiply; a nation and a multitude of nations shall be of thee, and kings shall come forth of thy loins; 12. And the land which I gave to Abraham and to Isaac, to thee I shall give it, and to thy seed after thee I shall give the land. 13. And God ascended from him on the place where He spoke with him. 14. And Jacob erected a pillar on the place where He had spoken with him, a pillar of stone: and he offered a libation upon it, and poured upon it oil. 15. And Jacob

xxiv. 27), and called the place — Bethel, just as he had before, on a similar occasion, given the same appellation to a spot equally remarkable (xxviii. 19; see *infra*; comp. *Ewald*, *Gesch. Isr.* i. 405).

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS. — God revealed Himself at Bethel to Jacob "again when he came from the plains of Aramæa" (ver. 9), as He had appeared to him at the same place, when he was on his way to Mesopotamia (ver. 7). The ninth verse has, therefore, no direct reference to the first. About the blessing, compare xvii. 5—8, which passage offers several instructive parallels with ours.

16—20. Jacob's journey to the south was, in the neighbourhood of Ephrath or Bethlehem, interrupted by an event at once happy and melancholy. Rachel, after an interval of about fourteen years, gave birth to another son; the wish which she had expressed in the name of her firstborn, Joseph, was at last fulfilled (xxx. 24). Jacob, in the transport of his joy, called the new-born child "son of my happiness" (יְהוֹשֻׁעַ). For one moment, delight and pride mingled in his breast; he was the father of *twelve* sons, destined to become the ancestors of a nation singularly privileged; and one son at least was born to him, not while in the condition of servitude, but of independence and wealth. But he paid for this blessing with the life of his beloved Rachel (comp. 1 Sam. iv. 20), who, feeling her strength vanish, and her end approach, called the child "son of my misery." Jacob's gratification was suddenly converted into grief and mourning. He marked her grave by a conspicuous mo-

nument long revered by the tribes of Israel (1 Sam. x. 2; Jer. xxxi. 15; Matt. ii. 18): but she lived in her husband's heart, who continued to love her fondly in the sons she had left him.—The locality of the grave and the monument is scarcely uncertain according to our text. It must be in the neighbourhood of Bethlehem, and in the north of this town, because it lies "on the way" to it for those who come from Bethel.—Bethlehem itself was situated six Roman miles south of Jerusalem, within the territory of Judah (comp. Josh. xix. 15); though built on a rocky elevation, its surrounding plains produce such abundant vegetation, that it received the name of the "fertile town" (בֵּית לֶחֶם), which is, in fact, nearly synonymous with its ordinary name "store-house of corn or bread" (בֵּית לֶחֶם). Though too small to be enumerated among the towns of Judah (Mic. v. 1), either in the Book of Joshua (xv.), or of Nehemiah (xi. 35—35), it has become one of the most celebrated cities within the boundaries of the Holy Land, as the birth-place of the founder of the chief royal dynasty of Israel and of the Christian faith. Though Rehoboam fortified it (2 Chron. xi. 6), it remained politically insignificant, and is at present a village rather than a town, bearing the ancient Hebrew name *Beit lahm*, inhabited by about 3,000 souls, mostly Catholic and Armenian Christians, but frequently visited by travellers on account of its historical reminiscences. Though the edifice now visible on the traditional site of Rachel's grave, about half an hour north of Bethlehem, is of later origin, there is no reason to doubt that it

called the name of the place where God had spoken with him, Beth-el [House of God].

16. And they journeyed from Beth-el, and there was still a distance of land to come to Ephrath: and Rachel travailed, and she laboured hard in her travail. 17. And when she laboured hard in her travail, the midwife said to her, Fear not, for thou wilt now have another son. 18. And when her soul was departing — for she died — she called his name Ben-oni [Son of my grief]: but his father called

occupies the place of the original monumental pile to which our text alludes, and which was evidently highly renowned in the author's time. Benjamin of Tudela, who visited the place in about 1160, describes the monument as consisting of eleven stones, covered by a cupola which rests upon four pillars; while Petachia, another Jewish traveller of the same century, like Edrisi, adds, that at the top is a twelfth stone on which Jacob's name is engraved. In the seventeenth century, the Mohammedans erected on the spot a small square building, or rather mass of masonry, supported by four pillars, forming open arches, plastered with white stucco on the outer surface, surrounded by a wall, and high enough to give the impression as if it enclosed an ancient pillar possibly found on the grave (see *Rosenmüller*, *Bibl. Geogr.* II. ii. 287; *Buckingham*, *Trav.*, p. 217, etc.).

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—The situation of Ephrath can, in fact, not justly be doubted; the obscure passage in 1 Sam. x. 2 (about which we refer to *Gesen.* *Thea.* p. 1275; comp. *Jer.* xxxi. 15) can in no way be used to assign to Rachel's grave a much more northern position (between Ramah and Gibeah), and to overthrow the traditional opinion which, from very remote antiquity, placed it in the neighbourhood of Bethlehem (comp. *Matt.* ii. 8). The assertion that the words "that is Bethlehem" are here (ver. 19) as in xlviii. 7, a later interpolation, is perfectly unfounded. The town Bethlehem is sometimes called, with a certain completeness, בית-לחם *אמרתה* (*Mic.* v. 1). It is, therefore, neither

necessary nor permitted to take the words כְּבֵרֶת הָאָרֶץ (ver. 16) and בְּדֶרֶךְ אֲמָר (ver. 19) in a sense so general and comprehensive as to imply the whole region from Bethlehem northwards to Jerusalem, and beyond it to Ramah.—The etymology and exact meaning of כְּבֵרֶת הָאָרֶץ (ver. 16; comp. xlviii. 7; 2 Kings v. 19), are alike uncertain. The most probable derivation appears to be from the root כָּבַר to be great or long, so that it would denote "a tract of land," which, though indistinct in itself, may have been an ordinary measure of distance. Saadiah and Kimchi take, however, בָּרָה to be the root, and כ in the meaning of *about*; but the former assumes for בָּרָה the sense of *mile*; the latter traces it to בָּרַח *to eat*, so that כְּבֵרֶת הָאָרֶץ would be the distance which travellers walk from the morning to the time of their chief meal. These conjectures afford as little light as the renderings of the ancient versions; the Sept. retains Χαβραθα (and in xlviii 7, κατὰ τὸν πρὸδρόμον Χαβραθα ἧς γῆς); the Vulgate has *verno tempore* (from בּוֹר to choose, "in the choicest season"!); Onkel. כְּרֹב אֲרֵעָא, an acre, from כָּרַב, to ear (Gr. ἀρουρα); the Syr. פֶּרְסָחָא (parasang); comp. *Gesen.* *Thea.* p. 658 (where, however, the distance between Jerusalem and Bethlehem seems to be confounded with that between the grave of Rachel and the latter town).—The name בְּנֵי־יִצְחָק is compounded of בָּן (like בֶּן, comp. *Prov.* xxx. 1), and יִצְחָק which, after the analogy of the Arabic *يَمِين* is used in the signification of *happiness*; the ordinary form בֶּן־

him Ben-jamin [Son of happiness]. 19. And Rachel died, and was buried on the way to Ephrath, which is Bethlehem. 20. And Jacob set a pillar upon her grave: that is the pillar of Rachel's grave to this day. — 21. And Israel journeyed, and spread his tent beyond Migdal-Eder. 22. And it happened when Israel dwelt in that land, that Reuben went and lay with Bilhah, his father's concubine: and Israel heard it. —

And the sons of Jacob were twelve: 23. The sons of Leah; Reuben, Jacob's firstborn, and Simeon, and Levi,

is employed in בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, a Benjamite (1 Sam. ix. 21, etc.); בֶּן alone was not unusual among the Hebrews as a proper noun (xli. 10; Neh. viii. 7); and is, therefore, perfectly equivalent to בְּנֵי (xxx. 13). — בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל written in two words is the name of several individuals (1 Chron. vii. 10; Ezer. x. 32). Ancient expositors explain the name "son of my old age" (בֶּן יִשְׂרָאֵל instead of בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, and so the Samar. Cod.; comp. xlv. 20, בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל), which is not so absurd an appellation for the patriarch's *last* son, as is often asserted, especially as the Chaldaism with *ana* may have been used in order to effect a greater resemblance of sound with בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל; and as an exulting language, on the part of Jacob, might even be deemed inappropriate when he saw the critical position of his wife.

21. Jacob, continuing his journey, passed Migdal-Eder. It has hitherto been vainly attempted to fix the situation of this place, which, however, if there are at all order and consistency in our narrative, must be sought for south of Bethlehem; here, indeed, tradition still points out a "Jacob's Tower"; and the hill on the eastern side of Mount Zion, bearing the same name (Mic. iv. 8), is, therefore, perfectly out of the question.

22. When the patriarch heard, with grief, the violence of his second and third son, he felt, that though their revenge was mean, its motive was noble, and its end virtuous; and he expressed his disapprobation in lenient terms: but when, nearly approaching his father's house, he was in-

formed that his eldest son, Reuben, had committed incest, an offence of death and horror (Lev. xviii. 8; comp. 2 Sam. xvi. 22), his speech failed him; he was overwhelmed and spell-bound by shame and sorrow: the purity of his house was defiled; but he bore this affliction also with resignation and submission; and it was counted to him for an atonement. However, by this misdeed Reuben forfeited his birthright; and he was doomed to bear the curse of his dying parent (xlix. 3, 4). [The addition of the Sept., *kai ποταπὸν ἐδάην ἑαυτοῦ αὐτοῦ*, is, therefore, as superfluous as the similar insertion in iv. 8].

23—26. When Jacob, who had left the paternal house as a solitary and helpless pilgrim, was about to re-enter it as the father of a numerous family and the master of a large household, propriety and gratitude demanded to survey once more at least his children; and therefore the list of his twelve sons is here introduced. They are arranged according to their mothers, but so that, with regard to the sons of the maid-servants, a *chronological* order is observed; for the sons of Bilhah, Rachel's maid, are enumerated before those of Zilpah, Leah's servant, because they were born first (vers. 25, 26; comp. xxx. 4—13). Although Benjamin was born in Canaan, he is yet mentioned among the sons with whom Jacob was blessed in Mesopotamia; perhaps because the whole period between his departure and his return to his father's house, is regarded as the time of his pil-

and Judah, and Issachar, and Zebulun: 24. The sons of Rachel; Joseph, and Benjamin: 25. And the sons of Bilhah, Rachel's handmaid; Dan, and Naphtali: 26. And the sons of Zilpah, Leah's handmaid; Gad and Asher: these *are* the sons of Jacob, who were born to him in Padan-aram.

27. And Jacob came to Isaac his father, to Mamre, to Kiriath-Arbah, which *is* Hebron, where Abraham and Isaac sojourned.

28. And the days of Isaac were a hundred and eighty

grimage, and comprised in the Mesopotamian journey (comp. 2 Chronic. ii. 1.)—[The singular *יָמָיו*, in ver. 26, is applied as in xlv. 22].

27—29. Jacob, at last, after so many migrations, was once more in the presence of his aged father; he could now step before him with calmer mind and purer conscience: when he departed from him he was turbulent, pretending, and impetuously bent upon a cherished aim; now he had secured it, reconciled with his injured brother, and at peace with himself. Whether his mother, Rebekah, survived to see her favourite again, we are not informed: Hebrew tradition relates that she died simultaneously with Deborah, immediately after having despatched the latter to invite Jacob home, in accordance with her promise given to him at the period of his flight (xxvii. 45). But she probably died in Hebron; and it is certain that she was buried in the cave of Machpelah where Abraham and Sarah were entombed before her, and Isaac, Leah, and Jacob after her (xlix. 31).—Jacob settled in Hebron and lived with his father a considerable number of years (ver. 28; xxxvii. 34). And as thus the historian had occasion to mention Isaac, but had no other remarkable circumstance to relate concerning him, he at once concludes his history, and records his death, though occurring at a considerably later period (see p. 476).—Esau arrives from his mountains and deserts of Seir, in order to render his father the last service of love (comp. xxv. 9).

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS. — We have in the preceding exposition made every effort to point out the connection between the various parts of which this chapter is composed; yet we know that we have but partially succeeded. And indeed it is only by a forced mode of interpretation that an artificial unity could be effected. For our chapter contains a variety of notices but loosely connected with the progress of Jacob's journey, and scarcely forming an organic whole. But let us see whether there are real and irreconcilable contradictions. The following points may be urged: 1. God appeared to Jacob, on the one hand, in Shechem, after he had stayed there between six and eight years (vera 1, 5, see p. 578); on the other hand, when he returned from Mesopotamia (ver. 9); 2. The words "and Jacob arrived at Luz *which is in the land of Canaan*" (ver. 6) seem to imply that he was coming from a part beyond the territory of the Holy Land (comp. xxxiii. 18); and yet he is supposed to have proceeded from Shechem (ver. 1); 3. Jacob was commanded by God to *stay* or to live in Bethel (ver. 1); but he left it after a very short time (ver. 16); 4. The name Bethel was long in existence (vera 1, 3; xxviii. 19); and yet it seems now only to have been given to that place by Jacob (ver. 15); 5. The patriarch's name had been changed at Peniel (xxxii. 29); but it would seem that he received the appellation of Israel now only at Bethel (ver. 10); so that the scene at Peniel appears

years. 29. And Isaac expired and died, and was gathered to his people, old and full of days: and his sons Esau and Jacob buried him.

to be identical with this last vision at Bethel; in which case the expression בְּבֵן טַפְדִּין אֲרָם (ver. 9) would be appropriate; 6. The stone which Jacob anointed (ver. 14) seems to be the same which he had before consecrated at Bethel (xxviii. 18; and *Ebn Ezra* takes, indeed, the verbs of the fourteenth verse as pluperfects); 7. The death and burial of Deborah are mentioned in the midst of the narrative concerning Jacob's journey, although she could not have been with him (ver. 8); 8. If it was necessary to enumerate the sons of Jacob, why was the list not inserted immediately after the birth of Benjamin, the twelfth and youngest son? (ver. 20); 9. Reuben is emphatically called "the firstborn of Jacob" (ver. 23), directly after the record of the deed by which he for ever lost his birthright (xlix. 3, 4); 10. Benjamin was born on the way to Bethlehem (ver. 16), and yet are all the twelve sons asserted to have been born in Mesopotamia (ver. 26).—In introducing these apparent discrepancies we have been even more severe than the most uncompromising fragmentists; but the attentive and unbiassed reader will readily see the insignificance of one part of these objections, while he will perceive that the refutation of the other part is implied in the preceding remarks. Though our chapter comprises a number of rather heterogeneous notices and therefore naturally appears somewhat incoherent, it is neither contradictory in its parts nor irreconcilable with the former portions. It is, like the thirty-fourth chapter, entirely from the pen of the Elohist (אֱלֹהִים is employed eight times); and we should

scarcely be able to account for the opinion of some critics, who declare the words "when he fled before his brother Esau" in vers. 1 and 7, in both of which the name אֱלֹהִים occurs, to be an interpolation of the Jehovist (*Gramberg, Shachelin, Tuck*, and others), did we not know their determined desire to represent the Elohist as wholly unacquainted with Jacob's offence to Esau, to make it appear a later addition of the Jehovist, and to describe Jacob's apprehensions at his return from Mesopotamia as proceeding from no other cause but the well-known rapacity of Idumean marauders (see p. 546).

A few observations will suffice on the chronology of Isaac's life. He was 138 years old when Jacob fled to Mesopotamia (see p. 519), and, therefore, 158 years when Jacob arrived again in Canaan (xxxi. 38); and as he reached the age of 180 years (ver. 28), he survived his son's return by 22 years; or as Joseph was at that time about 7 years old, and appeared before Pharaoh in the 30th year of his life (xli. 46), that is, after the lapse of 23 years, Isaac's death coincided very nearly with his grandson's elevation. But the notice of his demise, which took place about 14 years after Jacob's arrival in Hebron, is here already inserted, in accordance with a principle of anticipation, of which we have pointed out several instances (see on xi. 32, and xxv. 7). It is incredible into what confusion the ingenuity of hypercritics has contrived to throw this very simple computation (see, for instance, *Bohlen's Genesis*, p. 338; compare, however, *Hengstenberg, Auth. des Pent. ii.* 347—354).

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

**SUMMARY.**—The genealogy of Esau is introduced under the following six divisions:

1. His children from his three wives (vers. 1—8).
2. The *families* of his children (vers. 9—14).
3. The *dukedom*s arising from the families (vers. 15—19).
4. The descendants of Seir the Horite (vers. 20—30).
5. The *kings* of Edom (vers. 31—

39). 6. The dukedoms of the Edomites according to their *local* distribution (vers. 40—43). The following table embodies some of the principal sections of the chapter:—

ADAH	AMOLIBAMAH	BASEMATH
Eliphaz	Jeush, Jaalam, Korah.	Reuel
Teman, Omar, Zepho, Gatam, Kenaz, Amalek.		Nahath, Zerah, Shammah, Mizzah.
SEIR THE HORITE		
Lotan, Schobal, Zibeon,	Anah, Dishon,	Ezer, Dishan, Timna.
Hori, Hemam.	Ajah, Anah, Dishon, Aholibamah.	Uz, Aran.
	Hemdan, Eshban, Ishran, Cheran.	Bilhan, Zaavan, Akan.
Alvan, Manabath, Ebal, Shepho, Onan.		

1. And these *are* the generations of Esau, that is Edom.
2. Esau took his wives of the daughters of Canaan; Adah

1—3. The grand economy in the arrangements of the vast materials of the book of Genesis, the comprehensiveness of the conception, and the consistent unity of the composition deserve, indeed, the highest admiration, and stamp the book with all characteristics of a work of art. After the account of the Creation, the Fall, and the Deluge, begins the history of the nations which people the earth, and whose descent and relative abodes are recorded in a systematic table unparalleled in historical literature (ch. x.). But as the author has but the one aim of describing the election of Israel, he more and more contracts that gigantic circle; from the three chief groups of nations he segregates the Shemites; from the Shemites, the descendants of Arphaxad (xi. 10—25); and from the later, the family of Terah (xi. 26—32): among Terah's sons he devotes his care to Abraham alone, with the exclusion of his brother Nahor, and thenceforth imparts to the narrative a colouring more specifically religious; Abraham's elder son, Ishmael, gives way to the younger Isaac, the heir of the spiritual hopes; and Isaac's elder son, Esau, yields to the younger Jacob, who first acquires by his own shrewdness, and then obtains by Divine sanction, the precious privileges: but as Nahor, Ishmael, and Esau, yet belong to the chosen family of

Terah, and as they come later into frequent contact with the more favoured branch, they are not quite neglected, but their genealogies are introduced, disclosing, in the briefest form possible, their social and political relations. Nor is the place assigned to these collateral or secondary lists less significant. Nahor's descendants are mentioned when on the point of being interwoven with the domestic history of Abraham (xxii. 20—24); the ramifications of Ishmael's line, and of the other later sons of Abraham are stated, when Isaac is to come forward as the only or chief object of the Biblical narrative (xxv. 1—18); and precisely after this analogy, the propagation and growth of Esau's house are, in our chapter, embodied in ethnographic notices, in order to leave for ever this branch of Isaac's family, and henceforth to pursue, in an unbroken progress, the destinies and development of Jacob (xxxvii. 1, 2; comp. iv. 17—24; xxv. 19). The genealogies belong, therefore, to the most important parts of the Scriptures; they are the landmarks of the narrative; they at once connect and separate the various sections; and are, in themselves, generally most valuable relics of antiquarian knowledge. But there are few lists equal in regularity of arrangement to that of the present chapter; and it is, therefore, a matter of more than or-

the daughter of Elon the Hittite, and Aholibamah the daughter of Anah the daughter of Zibeon the Hivite; 3. And Basemath Ishmael's daughter, sister of Nebajoth.—4. And Adah bore to Esau Eliphaz; and Basemath bore Reuel; 5. And Aholibamah bore Jeush, and Jaalam, and Korah: these *are* the sons of Esau, who were born to him in the land of

dinary interest carefully to analyse it, and to deduce the historical lessons concealed in its unpretending form.

But we must confess, that it offers the greatest difficulties to the critical expositor; that it contains statements which seem to defy every attempt at conciliation; and that it almost compels to inferences of the most perplexing nature. As truth, unfettered by preconceptions, is our only end, we approach this subject without the least anxiety as to the result; we are too deeply impressed with the sublimity of the Biblical doctrines to dread historical discrepancies or chronological incongruities: that which is worth preserving, can never be lost; and that which does not stand the test of impartial scrutiny, no artifice can save.

The difficulties begin with the names of Esau's three wives, if compared with the preceding notices on the same subject (xxvi.34; xxviii.9; see pp.501,502). Two names are entirely different: here, Adah and Aholibamah; there, Judith and Mahalath; and the third, Basemath, though occurring in both accounts, is not perfectly identical in both; for, while here Basemath is the daughter of Ishmael, she is, in the earlier notice, the daughter of Elon, the Hittite. It avails, therefore, little to suppose, that Judith and Mahalath, in accordance with an eastern usage, possessed also, or received later, other names, Adah and Aholibamah. Further, the last-mentioned wife is here called, "the daughter of Anah, the grand-daughter of Zibeon, the Hivite" (ver.2); whereas she is, in a later part of this chapter, introduced as the daughter of Anah, the grand-daughter of Seir, the Horite (vers.20,25). Therefore, even the proposed but unauthorised change of *Hivite* (ver.2, הִיטִי) into *Horite*

(הֹרִי) would be insufficient to remove the divergence. Again, even granting that Judith is the same person as Aholibamah, she is, in our chapter, mentioned as the daughter of Anah (ver.2); while she is before called the daughter of Beeri (xxvi.34): the conciliation which a conscientious modern critic (*Hengstenberg*) has offered, namely, that Anah, discovering warm springs (ver.24), hence received the name of "the man of the well," that is, Beeri, (בְּעִיר), is illusory; for this Anah is the son of Zibeon (ver.24), whereas the father of Aholibamah is the son of Seir (see *supra*). Other more obvious objections have been pointed out in another place (p.502). From whatever side, therefore, we undertake to effect a harmony, we meet with difficulties, which can only be overlooked by negligence, and disregarded by uncritical indifference. We are obliged to confess that the Hebrew text, though containing several important coincidences, evidently embodies two accounts, irreconcilably different. But several other discrepancies which have been urged, are of little weight. All the three wives are said to be "daughters of Canaan," which means only, not from the chosen branch of Terah's family, and may, therefore, be applied to a daughter of Ishmael also. Anah is, both in ver.2 and in ver.20, a *man*; the words "the daughter of Anah, the daughter of Zibeon," do not compel us to understand it as a female name (for the second בַּת is *grand-daughter*; comp. ver.39; xxxii.1).

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS. —Many other attempts have been made to reconcile the contradictions in the names of Esau's wives; it has been conjectured that בשמט (the fragrant; comp. קציעה in Job xlii.14), was called, by Isaac and Rebekah, ערה (the refractory); or that

Canaan. 6. And Esau took his wives, and his sons, and his daughters, and all the persons of his house, and his cattle, and all his beasts, and all his wealth, which he had acquired in the land of Canaan; and went into *another* country on account of his brother Jacob. 7. For their property was more than that they might dwell together;

מחלת is identical with בשמת, and that the former name, signifying the sickly, was changed into the latter more auspicious appellation; or that Esau called מחליבמה intentionally יהודית (the Jewess), to deceive his father, as if she had renounced idolatry (*Rashi*); or that when Judith and Mahalath died without children, Esau married Adah and Aholibamah, so that he had *five* wives, and not three (*Nachmanides*); or that נַחֲמָנִידִים is to be read instead of בְּתֻלָּוִים (Sam., Sept., Syr.); or that a part of the original Horites emigrated more northwards, and mixed with the Hivites, so that Aholibamah, the grand-child of Zibeon, the Horite, could also be described as a Hivite by descent. It is obvious that few of these opinions are tenable in themselves, and that none meets the difficulty under discussion. (On this subject, and the other disputed points of this chapter, compare *C. B. Michaelis*, *De antiquissima Idumaeorum historia* (Halle, 1733); *Rosenmüller*, *Schol.*; *Ewald*, *Composition der Genesis* p. 251, *et seq.*; *Ranke*, *Untersuchungen* i. 243—251; *Hengstenberg*, *Authent.* ii. 273—302; *Drechsler*, *Einheit und Aechtheit der Genesis* pp. 150—160, 244—251).

4—8. The chapter consists of six distinct parts exhibiting a clear progress. The first verse describes succinctly its character; it is a genealogy of Esau (תולדות), not, however, representing merely a family or personal history; it is political and national; therefore, it is added: "Esau that is Edom"; the identity of the founder with the tribe itself is several times repeated (vers. 8, 19), and is on two occasions even more distinctly expressed by the terms: "Esau the father of Edom" (vers. 9, 43). The text systematically

shows the gradual growth and increase of the house of Esau. Through his three wives he became the father of five sons; Adah and Bashemath gave each birth to one son (Eliphaz the firstborn, ver. 15, and Reuel), and Aholibamah to three (Jeush, Jaalam, and Korah). These children were born to him in Canaan. But he could no longer stay in the land of his birth. His herds and flocks were too numerous to find room, by the side of those of his brother Jacob; and he emigrated spontaneously (comp. xiii. 6; *Isai*. xlix. 20). But this took place a very considerable time before the events related in the preceding chapter; for when Jacob returned from Mesopotamia, he sent messengers to Esau into Idumaea (xxxii. 4), and promised to visit him later in Seir (xxxiii. 14, 16). But this circumstance does not imply a contradiction. Our portion records the history of Esau as far as it relates to political power; it, therefore, goes back to the fortieth year of his life when he first married (xxvi. 34). He had then long sold his birthright (xxv. 29—34); he had, no doubt, heard the prophecy given to his mother, that to his younger brother Jacob, the inheritance of the blessings of Abraham was reserved (xxv. 23); when, therefore, his father Isaac advanced in years and became afflicted with infirmity, Jacob was regarded as the future head of the house, and as such obtained the superintendence over his father's property; the cattle of Isaac was, therefore, considered as that of Jacob; and it was within the thirty-eight years between his marriage and Jacob's flight, that Esau, at that time not inimical to his brother, left Canaan, thus willingly acknowledging the superior rights of Jacob, and spontaneously resigning his own



and the land wherein they were strangers could not bear them because of their cattle. 8. Thus Esau dwelt in mount Seir: Esau that is Edom.

9. And these *are* the generations of Esau, the father of the Edomites, in mount Seir: 10. These *are* the names of Esau's sons; Eliphaz, the son of Adah the wife of Esau, Reuel, the son of Basemath the wife of Esau. 11. And the sons of Eliphaz were Teman, Omar, Zepho, and Gatam, and Kenaz. 12. And Timna was concubine to Eliphaz Esau's son; and she bore to Eliphaz, Amalek: these *were* the sons of Adah Esau's wife. 13. And these *were* the sons of Reuel; Nahath, and Zerah, Shammah, and Mizzah: these *were* the sons of Basemath Esau's wife. 14. And these *were* the sons of Abolibamah, the daughter

claims upon the land. When Isaac, at the age of nearly 140 years, wished to bless his firstborn and favourite son, he sent for him to his new abodes; and Esau answered to the call, just as he came later to Canaan, at his father's death, to assist at the funeral duties.—Though Palestine was large and fertile enough later to support all the tribes of Israel, the envy of the Canaanites allowed to the family of Isaac but limited space for their nomadic pursuits, as the frequent animosities and altercations of the shepherds sufficiently prove (xxvi. 15—21); Canaan was to them not the land of their possession (אֶרֶץ אֲחֻזָּתָם, ver. 43), but the land of their sojourning (אֶרֶץ כְּנָעֲנִיתָם, ver. 7).

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—The explanation here offered regarding Esau's emigration to Seir, supersedes the precarious conjecture of Nachmanides, that he had proceeded to Idumæa before his brother's return from Mesopotamia with a *part* of his cattle, and had occupied the *low-lands* or *fields* of Seir (xxxiii. 14, 16); while, after Jacob's arrival, when he saw that there was not room for both in Canaan, he took to Seir the other part of his property also, and began to conquer the *mountainous* districts of this region (vers. 8, 9). — אֶרֶץ is rendered in the Samar. vers., by Targ. Jonath. and Jerus.,

גבלי, that is, Gebalene (Γεβαλίνη), the mountain-land (from جبل).—Esau went אֶל-אֶרֶץ (ver. 6), that is, into another land, as Onkel., Saad., and the Vulg. express it; while the Syr. renders: "into the land of Seir"; but the Samar. Cod. and the Sept. offer: "from the land of Canaan." The succeeding words עָקַב אֶחָיו must, therefore, be understood "on account of his brother Jacob" (comp. Judg. ix. 21); they cannot mean "*in the east* of Jacob," for the alleged parallel כָּל אֶחָיו (xvi. 12) is far from conclusive (see p. 381).

9—14. The five sons of Esau born in Canaan, increased in the mountain-land of Seir into thirteen families. This is the second great progress in the genealogy of Esau, and it is expressed in the text by a decided and clear antithesis (vers. 5 and 9). A new heading shows still more precisely the advancing development (ver. 9). A regard to lucidity of style demanded the repetition of the five sons, in order to add the more easily their offspring, although the sons of Abolibamah did not become the ancestors of new families. It is much to be deplored that our fragmentary knowledge of ancient ethnography does not enable us to identify many of the names here introduced.—The

of Anah the daughter of Zibeon, Esau's wife: and she bore to Esau Jeush, and Jaalam, and Korah.

15. These *were* dukes of the sons of Esau: the sons of Eliphaz, the firstborn *son* of Esau; duke Teman, duke Omar, duke Zepho, duke Kenaz, 16. Duke Korah, duke Gatam, and Duke Amalek: these *are* the dukes *that came* of Eliphaz in the land of Edom; these *were* the sons of Adah. 17. And these *were* the sons of Reuel, Esau's son; duke Nahath, duke Zerah, duke Shammah, duke Mizzah: these *are* the dukes *that came* of Reuel in the land of Edom; these *are* the sons of Basemath Esau's wife. 18. And these *were* the sons of Aholibamah Esau's wife; duke Jeush, duke Jaalam, duke Korah: these *were* the dukes *that came* of Aholibamah the daughter of Anah, Esau's,

eldest son of Eliphaz is **TEMAN** (תִּמְנָן). The Temanites formed the principal stronghold of Idumean power (Ezek. xxv. 13); they were renowned for undaunted valour (Obad. 9); and are, therefore, often expressly mentioned in the prophetic menaces pronounced against Edom (Am. i. 12). They enjoyed, besides, the fame of superior wisdom (Jer. xlix. 7; Bar. iii. 22, 23); and hence, no doubt, is *Eliphaz*, the *Temanite*, in the Book of Job, introduced as the wisest and the most experienced of the sufferer's friends (ii. 11; xv. 10, 11). As to the geographical position of Teman, the Bible offers neither direct nor indirect information, except that it once mentions it in parallelism with the mountain of Paran (Hab. iii. 3). In the time of Jerome, there existed, five miles from Petra, a little town, Teman, in which a Roman garrison was stationed (about *Tema*, see p. 483).—Besides five sons from his legal wife, Eliphaz had another son, **AMALEK**, from Timna, a wife of inferior rank (פְּתִילָה). There is no reason to assert, that this notice is an invention suggested by the national aversion later entertained by the Israelites against the Amalekites; nor is there occasion to doubt that it embodies some historical tradition regarding the origin and earliest destinies of the latter. Though the "*territory* of

the Amalekites" was mentioned in the history of Abraham (xi. 7), the *tribe* of Amalek might have descended from Esau, and the term "*Amalek is the head* (רֹאשׁ אֲמָלֵק) of nations" (Num. xxiv. 20), allude, not to the antiquity, but to the power of that people.

15—19. The third stage of progress in Esau's house was, that the families increased into clans or tribes. Each clan was headed by a sheikh or leader (הַיִּלָּף, *duke*, ἡγεμών); he was the chief of the tribe (φυλάρχης), and enjoyed princely power (נָשָׂא, xxv. 16; see p. 484). We naturally expect as many "*dukedom*s" as there were families; and this is, in fact, on the whole, the case. However, among those sprung from the sons of Eliphaz, we find **KORAH** (ver. 16), although he is one of the sons of Esau and Aholibamah, and is, accordingly, likewise mentioned in his due place among the descendants of the latter (ver. 14). But this circumstance offers no material difficulty. It will be observed, that the progeny of Esau are throughout this long genealogy carefully arranged according to the three wives who gave birth to them. Adah, Aholibamah, and Basemath, are, therefore, everywhere mentioned where the list proceeds to a new phase (vers. 10, 12, 13, 14, etc.); and their descendants repre-

wife. 19. These *are* the sons of Esau, and these *are* their dukes: that is Edom.

20. These *were* the sons of Seir the Horite, who inhabited the land; Lotan, and Shobal, and Zibeon, and Anah, 21. And Dishon, and Ezer, and Dishan: these *were* the dukes of the Horites, the children of Seir in the land of Edom. 22. And the children of Lotan were Hori and Hemam; and Lotan's sister *was* Timna. 23. And the children of Shobal *were* these; Alvan, and Manahath, and Ebal, Shepho, and Onam. 24. And these *are* the children of Zibeon; both Ajah, and Anah: this *was that* Anah who found the hot springs in the desert, when he fed the

sent, respectively, the Canaanite, the Horite, and the Ishmaelite elements of the Edomites. But it is not impossible that some branches of the family of Korah intermarried or otherwise associated, with some portion of the family of Eliphaz, and that they gradually rose to sufficient power and influence to form an independent clan; while the other part remained under the original division. The Samaritan text omits the words "the duke Korah"; it is uncertain, whether from the desire of avoiding the critical difficulty alluded to, or on account of a different reading in the Hebrew original. The former alternative is more probable, as it changes also the name of Basemath (ver. 2) into Mahalath, to bring it into a harmony with a former statement (xxviii. 9), and hazards, in this portion, some other alterations obviously from the same motive.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS. — In the enumeration of the *families*, נְעֻמֹת precedes נָפִי (ver. 11), while in that of the *tribes*, the former is placed after the latter (vers. 15, 16), which difference, however, is not of material importance.

30—30. When Esau and his sons immigrated into Idumæa, they found these districts inhabited by more ancient nations which either coalesced with, or were extirpated by the new settlers (Deut. ii. 12). As these aboriginal tribes were, therefore, of great importance in the history of the family of Esau, they are here inserted,

likewise in the form of a genealogical list. Their first ancestor was Seir (שֵׁיר) who was also the first of the HORITES (הֹרִי) or Troglodytes (see p. 352). Seir had seven sons, and, at least, one daughter, *Timna*, who is mentioned because she became famous as the mother of the Amalekites. Her name is later again inserted among the "dukes of Esau according to their families, after their places" (ver. 40); and it is not impossible that a district of Idumæa was, for some personal distinction, called with her name (see on vers. 40—43). The seven sons of Seir ramified into nineteen families, of which the first is that of the HORITES properly so called, undoubtedly a tribe as extensive as it is old. Zibeon, the third son of Seir, was the father of Ajah and Anah (ver. 24); while Anah, Seir's fourth son, begat Dishon and Aholibamah, the latter expressly mentioned as Esau's wife (ver. 25). This is the only interpretation of which the most regular arrangement of this part of the list admits; we cannot take Dishon and Aholibamah as the children of Anah, Zibeon's son, so that the other Anah, Zibeon's brother, would have no progeny at all, while the children of all the others are mentioned. As, therefore, there are two Anahs, the younger one, or the nephew, is, for better distinction, curiously described as "that Anah who found the warm springs (מְיָדִים) in the desert when

asses of Zibeon his father. 25. And the children of Anah *were* these; Dishon, and Aholibamah, the daughter of Anah. 26. And these *were* the children of Dishon; Hemdan, and Eshban, and Ithran, and Cheran. 27. The children of Ezer *were* these; Bilhan, and Zaavan, and Akan. 28. The children of Dishan *were* these; Uz, and Aran. 29. These *were* the dukes of the Horites; duke Lotan, duke Shobal, duke Zibeon, duke Anah, 30. Duke Dishon, duke Ezer, duke Dishan: these *were* the dukes of the Horites, according to their dukes in the land of Seir.

31. And these *are* the kings that reigned in the land of Edom, before there yet reigned a king over the children

he fed the asses of his father Zibeon" (ver. 24). In the east of the Dead Sea, and in other parts of the desert, are indeed hot springs, some of which possess a great medicinal power; those of Calirrhœ were especially prized, and much used for various complaints (see p. 276). That such valuable discoveries have frequently been made by chance, through the medium of animals, is well-known.—Among the descendants of Seir are two of the name of DISHON (דִּישׁוֹן) standing in the same relation as the two Anahs; and the youngest son of Seir is, besides, DISHAN (דִּישָׁן). We have no right to suppose here either an erroneous repetition or a corruption.—Uz (עֶזְרָא) is here the son of Dishon, while, in the great table of nations, he is mentioned among the Aramæans (x. 23), and occurs also among the sons of Nahor (xxii. 21). We may conjecture that a part of the Horites, who were chiefly nomads (ver. 24), roamed north and north-eastwards in the Arabian desert, and amalgamated with the tribe of Uz, which had spread in those tracts (see p. 450).—These families of Seir increased, like those of Esau, into clans or tribes, with that difference, however, that all descendants of each of the seven sons of Seir formed only one dukedom; and, from this reason the names of those seven sons are, at the conclusion of this part, once more repeated, with the title of duke, and the characteristic addition "these are

the dukes of the Horites according to their dukedoms in the land of Seir" (ver. 30; comp. vers. 20, 21).

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—דִּישׁוֹן (ver. 24), from the antiquated root דִּישׁ (ver. 24), from the antiquated root דִּישׁ to be warm (comp. דִּישׁ, דִּישׁ, Syr. דִּישׁ and דִּישׁ) means *warm springs* (Vulg., *aqua calida*). The other ancient explanations, as *giants* (like דִּישׁ, Deut. ii. 10; *Onkel.*, Samar.); or *mules* (*Saad.*, *Kimchi*, Pers., etc.); or certain useful *herbs* (*Maï*), are at present justly abandoned.—In ver. 25, עֶזְרָא is used, although one son only is mentioned; for the ordinary form in genealogies is: וְכִי אֵלֶּיךָ בְּנֵי (comp. xvi. 23). It is, therefore, neither necessary to read בֶּן (Vulg.), nor to change Aholibamah into a *son* (Syr.), nor to suppose the accidental omission of one or more names.—דִּישָׁן (ver. 30) means not only *dukes*, but the *tribes* of which they are the chiefs; hence, the Sept. renders: ἡγεμόνες ἐν ταῖς ἡγεμονίαις αὐτῶν (comp. on Exod., p. 274).

31—39. The list then returns to the descendants of Esau. Their third phase had been their extension into dukedoms (vers. 15—19); one step only remained for them to ascend on the ladder of greatness—and they accomplished it at a comparatively early period, long before the progeny of the elected line of Jacob advanced to a similar degree of political power; *kings* ruled in Edom "before there yet reigned a king over the

of Israel. 32. And Bela, the son of Beor, reigned in Edom: and the name of his city *was* Dinhabah. 33. And Bela died, and Jobab, the son of Zerah, of Bozrah, reigned in his stead. 34. And Jobab died, and Husham, of the land of the Temanites, reigned in his stead. 35. And Husham died, and Hadad, the son of Bedad, who smote Midian in the field of Moab, reigned in his stead: and the name of his

children of Israel" (ver. 31, לפני מלך, מלך לבני ישראל). Eight sovereigns are enumerated, and it cannot be denied, that this account makes the impression of a powerful and warlike state, enjoying wealth, unity, and fame. Was it, indeed, the intention of the Biblical author to draw the striking contrast between the early upstart power of the worldly Edomites and the slow but steady and progressive growth of the Israelites, who had first to pass through a long and almost hopeless period of exile, servitude, toil, and ignominy, before they were permitted to enjoy even liberty in the inhospitable and pathless desert, and who had there to undergo another period of hardship and trials before they were allowed to enter the promised land, there to commence the perilous and desperate struggle for existence and property? If this idea was indeed in the plan and composition of the writer, the much disputed and very difficult words, "before there yet reigned a king in Israel," would cause no embarrassment, as they would not necessarily point to a time later than Moses. However, this idea would here be poetical in the extreme. It would compare the power of the Edomites with the grass on the roofs of the houses, which, though suddenly sprouting up, never fills the hand of the mower, nor the girdle of the binder of the sheaves (Ps. cxxix. 6, 7); or with the reed which rapidly overtops the high and rocky pile, but which, as the roots are loose and weak, may as suddenly wither, and vanish without trace (Job viii. 11—18; comp. Ps. xxxvii. 2, 20, 35, 36, etc.). It is true, that though the promise of kings is included among the assurances given to the seed of Abraham (xvii. 6, 16; xxxv. 11), it is al-

ways removed into a distant future (comp. Deut. xvii. 14—20); and it is not impossible, that its realisation was intended and expected to take place considerably after the complete development of the Idumæan power; it may, further, be urged, that the chosen branches are almost invariably of later origin than the less spiritual lines; thus, Cain is older than Abel or Seth, Ishmael older than Isaac, Esau than Jacob, and, later, Manasseh than Ephraim; and as the heathen tribes were anterior in their existence, so they were precocious in their bloom and maturity: but it is highly questionable, whether such soaring and metaphorical language can be expected in the simple and purely prosaic enumerations of a genealogical table. Certain it is, that from very early times those words, "before a king yet reigned over the children of Israel," have given serious offence to many pious interpreters; they have been regarded, by some, as a later addition; induced others to reject the whole of this portion (vers. 31—39).—and have by others, who supposed they were written in the time of Moses, been given up as hopelessly lost to intelligible explanation (for instance, by *Spinoza*, *Vitringa*, *Rich. Sim.*, *Clericus*; see even *Ebn Ezra*). But those who start from the principle of prophetic inspiration, will have no difficulty in explaining that phrase; they will at once admit, that it points to the time of the Hebrew monarchy; they will insist, that this is the impression which the unbiassed examination of the text unavoidably produces; that an allusion to a Hebrew king may indeed prophetically be made even before the immigration of the Israelites into Canaan, and about four centuries before the time of Saul; but that, in a simple *historical* style,

city *was* Avith. 36. And Hadad died, and Samlah of Masrekah reigned in his stead. 37. And Samlah died, and Saul, of Rehoboth *by* the river *Euphrates*, reigned in his stead. 38. And Saul died, and Baal-hanan, the son of Achbor, reigned in his stead. 39. And Baal-hanan the son of Achbor died, and Hadar reigned in his stead: and the name of his city *is* Pau; and his wife's name *is*

such statement is not only preposterous, but impossible (see *infra*).

Seven of the kings are more exactly described with regard to their native places. But here a decided distinction is discoverable; some are mentioned with the addition: "and the name of his town was" (וְשֵׁם עִירוֹ); whereas others are introduced as "coming from" (מִן): the former class seems to comprise native Idumæans; the latter, though not in all instances, such foreigners who were admitted to the supreme power. For, as not one is the son of his predecessor, nor two take their origin from the same place, though all are expressly stated to have died a natural, no violent death (וַיָּמָת), it has been supposed with great probability, that the Idumæan monarchy was elective (comp. Isa. xxxiv. 12); to which we may add, that the choice was limited to a certain number of the more powerful tribes, from which perhaps a monarch was appointed by rotation; it is not impossible, that these were the dukedoms mentioned in the last portion of this chapter (vers. 40—43); and hence we may understand that, though the kingdom was elective, some could be said to belong to the "seed of royalty" of Edom (1 Ki. xi. 14), and might raise a legitimate claim to the throne (1 Kings xi. 14; comp. p. 488).—The first king was *Bela*, the son of Beor, "and the name of his city was *Dinhabah*." It appears, then, that the towns where the elected monarchs were born or had settled, were raised to the temporary capitals of the land; thus we have, besides, the residence-towns Avith (ver. 35), and Pau (ver. 39).—The second king, *Jobab*, was from Bozrah (בְּצֻרָה). An Idumæan city of this name is constantly mentioned by the prophets as possessing the greatest political impor-

tance; and if we compare the passages in which it is alluded to, it seems indisputable that it was situated in Idumæa Proper, or the mountain-land of Seir, the chief seat of Edom; it is once coupled with Teman (Am. i. 12); and we can, therefore, scarcely identify it with the principal town of Auranitis, between the rivers Hieromax and Jabbok, which, at one period at least, was subjected to the power of the Moabites (Jer. xlviii. 24), and called, by the Romans, Bostra of Arabia (comp. Isa. xxxiv. 6; lxiii. 1; Jer. xlix. 13, 22).—Rehoboth, on the river *Euphrates* (ver. 37; *Onk.* רְחוֹבוֹת רֵדְעַל פֶּרַת), has been identified, though without sufficient reasons, with "the town Rehoboth," mentioned among the settlements of Asshur (x. 11; see p. 261); and the king there born has the Shemitic name of Saul (שָׁאֹל). The last monarch, perhaps the contemporary of the author (for he does not, as in all other instances, add "and he died"), is described with particular accuracy as regards his family connections; for the name of his wife is recorded, together with that of her father and grand-father.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—The sense of *לפני מלך מלך* (ver. 31) is not different from *לפני מלך-מלכים* or *המלכים* (comp. Ruth i. 1); and Michaelis translates therefore: "these are the kings who reigned in the land of Edom, *before yet a king is reigning over the children of Israel*"; but it is contrary to the spirit of the language to render: "*very long before kings ruled over Israel*," so that the last king, Hadar, would have lived in the time of Moses (ver. 39).—Whether, in ver. 39, *וְהָרָר* or *וְהָרָר* is the correct reading, it is impossible to decide; the former one occurs in our text, the latter in the parallel passage in 1 Chron.

Mehetabel, the daughter of Matred, the daughter of Me-zahab.

40. And these *are* the names of the dukes *that came* of Esau, according to their families, after their places by their names; duke Timna, duke Alvah, duke Jetheth, 41. Duke Aholibamah, duke Elah, duke Pinon, 42. Duke Kenaz, duke Teman, duke Mibzar, 43. Duke Magdiel, duke Iram: these *are* the dukes of Edom, according to

i. 50, in the Samaritan version, and some manuscripts.

40—43. It was impossible for the house of Edom to ascend higher; it had reached the most exalted degree of national power; it had grown from an individual into families, then into tribes or dukedoms, and later into a well-organised monarchy, governed by kings, who owed their elevation to their personal virtue and ability, and from whose valour the safety of the land in times of war could be reasonably expected (ver. 35). In this state, the Edomites remained till their petulance and rapacity occasioned the decay of their prosperity and their final subjection. But though this decline had been anticipated in the *prophecy* that “the elder should serve the younger” (xxv. 23; xxvii. 40); the *historical* account does not allude to an event lying far beyond the period comprised in the Pentateuch; and when the Israelites, on their march to Palestine, approached the territory of the Idumæans, they were commanded not to attack them; “for they would not receive as much as a foot-breadth of their land, because Mount Seir was given to Esau for a possession” (Deut. ii. 5; comp. Numb. xx. 14—21). The last part of our list cannot, therefore, apply to a time later than that of the independent monarchy, with which it is, in fact, contemporary; for it enumerates the dukedoms or tribes from which the king could be elected, and which possessed, therefore, the greatest material power or political influence. But the heading with which this portion begins, and the summary remark with which it concludes,

contain the terms: “after their places” and “after their habitations” (לְמִשְׁכָּתָם, לְמִקְצָתָם), or “in the land of their possession” (בְּאֶרֶץ אִחְזוּתָם), terms avoided in all preceding parts, appearing, therefore, to be characteristic of this section, and proving that the geographical divisions of the country, rather than the ethnological relations of the people, are here stated; but we cannot be surprised to find again some of the preceding names (Timna, Aholibamah, and Kenaz), as it is but natural to designate a district after the chief tribe that inhabits it.—Thus, however varied the contents of this chapter may appear, they are arranged with admirable regularity, after a pre-conceived plan, and in a progressive order; nor does the historian leave his subject without impressing the reader with its high political interest (ver. 43).

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS. — Whether מִבְּצָר (ver. 41), as has been conjectured, is identical with מִבְּצָרָה (ver. 33), and אֵלֶּה (ver. 40) with אֵלֶּיָּה (2 Ki. xiv. 22), is uncertain; but if the former should be the case, it would be an additional argument for the opinion, that Bosrah was situated in Idumæa Proper, not in Auranitis. But it seems probable, that מִבְּצָר (ver. 40) is the same as מִבְּצָר, a station of the Israelites on their journey to Canaan (Numb. xxxiii. 42). — The first Book of Chronicles repeats the list of our chapter (i. 35—54) with various deviations, more or less important; it calls Timna, the *wife* of Eliphaz, among his *sons* (ver. 36); it counts Aholibamah among the children of Dishon (ver. 41); it adds, after the eighth king (whom it writes מִגְּדִיֵּל), likewise: “and he died” (וַיָּמָת)

their habitations in the land of their possession: this is Esau the father of the Edomites.

and it differs in the orthography of many names, especially in the frequent substitution of ' for ' ; but some of these points are so closely connected with the peculiar character of that Book, that it is impossible here to enter into the subject more minutely.—The genealogical table of the Edomites is

to be attributed to the Elohist, not only because it is strictly parallel with the other ethnographic lists of the collateral branches (xxii. 20—23; xxv. 1—18), but especially because here Edom appears as an independent state, whereas the Jehovist al-Indestoits later subjugation (pp. 519, 520).

## IV.—THE HISTORY OF JOSEPH AND THE SETTLEMENT OF JACOB'S FAMILY IN EGYPT.

CHAPTERS XXXVII. TO XLVII.

### CHAPTER XXXVII.

**SUMMARY.**—Joseph was hated and envied by his brothers on account of the preference shown to him by Jacob, and on account of his ambitious dreams, which he freely related. When they intended to kill him, he was saved by the interference of Reuben, and, in his seventeenth year, given up at Dothan to Midianite merchants, who brought him to Egypt, and sold him to Potiphar, the chief of Pharaoh's guard. Jacob, who was made to believe that Joseph was torn by a wild beast was inconsolably overwhelmed with sorrow and grief.

#### 1. And Jacob dwelt in the land wherein his father was

1. Esau had degraded the dignity, and defiled the purity, of his descent by intermarrying with the Canaanites and the Horites; he had thereby rendered an association with the paternal tribe of the Israelites impossible; and he almost ratified this perpetual separation by a voluntary departure from Canaan, and by his settlement in districts to which civilization could scarcely penetrate, and where daring valour in the sanguinary engagements of war or robbery passed as supreme virtue. Henceforth the Edomites are not mentioned in the Scriptures, except when they came into conflict or contact with the Hebrews; but the latter never forgot the close relationship of blood by which they were allied with them; they facilitated their admission into the congregation of the Lord (Deut. xxiii. 9, 10), although it does not appear that the wild inhabitants of mount Seir

ever showed much readiness to enter the covenant of peace, or much aptitude to understand its spiritual doctrines.

The author is, therefore, now enabled to devote his undivided attention to the history of the chosen race; he returns at once to the narrative of Jacob's life which he had for a moment interrupted, to insert Esau's rising greatness (xxxv. 27); and he resumes it with the notice that Jacob lived as a stranger, at Hebron, in the land where his father also had only been tolerated as a sojourner. Ten years had elapsed since his return from Mesopotamia. After the dangers on his way homeward, several grave misfortunes had befallen him; the catastrophe at Shechem, the death of his wife Rachel in a comparatively youthful age, and the incestuous act of his firstborn son, had deeply distressed him; yet all these trials, though perhaps in themselves as grievous and calamitous, had not de-



a stranger, in the land of Canaan. 2. These *are* the generations of Jacob. When Joseph *was* seventeen years old,

pressed his mind so completely, nor tested his moral strength so severely, as the affliction which then awaited him. For he was still in the third epoch of his life, that of atonement by suffering, from which he could not be exempted, though he belonged to the favoured family of God.

2, 3. From this reason the tale of Joseph's changeful destinies appears as a part of the history of *Jacob* (תַּלְדוֹת יַעֲקֹב); the former constitutes the necessary completion and the unavoidable consequence of the latter; the patriarch's failings, not yet expiated, were to be punished by domestic misery; and the eldest son of Rachel, to whom he was attached with all the warmest feelings of a paternal heart, was chosen as the medium of his final correction.

This consideration alone suffices to show that the history of Joseph is designed as something more than an individual biography; the exquisite charm of this absorbing story has too naturally caused its deeper meaning, and its relation to the organism of the Book of Genesis, to be more or less neglected. It offers, indeed, a psychological picture, excelled by few ancient or modern productions in exactness, truthfulness, and riveting interest; as a composition, it might, indeed, be the pride of the general literature of any nation; it is as fascinating in the arrangement of facts, as it is powerful in the description of emotions; and it has, therefore, in all ages, and among nations of vastly different tastes and capacities, found the warmest admiration; it has been enriched by numberless legends; almost every incident was embellished by the fertile imagination of Rabbinical and Mohammedan writers; and it was ultimately developed into an elaborate romance, replete with wonderful features and surprising events. However, this powerful external interest forms the least merit of a narrative, designed, not as a literary

but a religious production, calculated to enforce lessons of the very highest moment for the philosophy of religion, and carrying a fundamental doctrine a most decided step onward. In the preceding portions, the attribute of God as a ruling Providence has appeared as scarcely more than the necessary consequence of God as *the Creator*; they show that, as His power has brought forth the universe, so His love protects it and watches over its preservation; in a word, it is the *universal Providence* which they mirror forth: the Creation, the Deluge, the confusion of tongues, and the dispersion of nations, all imply that general tendency; and even the narrative regarding the three Hebrew patriarchs is based upon the idea that "through them all the nations of the earth shall be blessed"; it has a deep background and a comprehensive aim, embracing the future of all mankind. It is not so with the history of Joseph. Its innermost kernel is, indeed, the doctrine of Divine Providence; this is pronounced with a distinctness and force perhaps equalled in no other part of the historical books of the Bible; "the Lord hath sent me before you," said Joseph to his brothers, "to prepare for you a remnant in the land, and to preserve you alive by a great rescue" (xlv. 7); and when, after Jacob's death, they feared his vengeance, he exclaimed, "Am I instead of God? For you have designed evil against me, but God hath designed it for good, as it is this day, to preserve alive much people" (L 19, 20; comp. xlv. 8). But in the events of Joseph's career, we see everywhere the *special Providence* of God guarding the *individual*; the extraordinary incidents of his life, however strange and fantastical they appear, are regulated upon a preconceived plan; they are, from the beginning, under the powerful supervision of the Divine Ruler; and they form but so many steps leading to his final and glorious exaltation. The interest awakened by Joseph's history is perfectly *personal*;

he was feeding the flock with his brothers; and he *was* a lad with the sons of Bilhah and with the sons of Zilpah,

he arouses sympathy, not merely because he is the descendant of Abraham, but because he is the object of the marvellous care of Providence; he makes us sometimes even forget how he is connected with the progress of the chosen family, and that his life is but a dependent link in that of Jacob.

But here two important questions arise. Is it right that Joseph should be used as the mere instrument for his father's expiation? Jacob loved him more than all his sons (ver. 3); he could, therefore, certainly experience no greater punishment than to be deprived of him; but Joseph *was*, undoubtedly, the most beloved, because he was the most worthy of all: is it just, that he should endure so many trials only because thus his father would feel the severest pangs? Is not every man his own end? are his destinies not the result and the consequence of his own life and actions? or are they indeed arbitrarily made subservient to the moral education of others? Decidedly not; every man is the free agent of his deeds; by destroying this principle, we endanger the dignity of man as seriously as the justice of God; however humble the individual may be in his intellectual organisation or his social position, he has a mission to fulfil for himself, and is the master of his own happiness. But the way in which men carry out this individual vocation, is, according to the Biblical doctrine, often hidden to the human eye, and inscrutable to the finite understanding, because designed and controlled by infinite Reason; the Hebrews reflected deeply and seriously on this noble subject; the immortal Book of Job owes its origin to this train of thoughts; and one of the most mature productions of the Hebrew mind pronounces as the last conclusion of religious philosophy, the sentence: "who will hide counsel without knowledge? therefore I declare that I do not understand; things too wonderful for me, which I know not" (xlii. 3); and the

practical lesson deduced from this principle, is: "The fear of the Lord that is wisdom, and keeping aloof from evil is understanding" (xxviii. 28). Modesty and reverence in study and research, are essential duties, the neglect of which leads unavoidably to fearful mental ruin. But as the Book of Job, in the prologue and epilogue, affords sufficient hints to guide us, so the history of Joseph is not devoid of allusions, which show the justice as well as the wisdom of Providence, and which will be noticed in their due places.

But a second point requires a few remarks. Though every man is his own end and personally independent in his actions, he is, as a social and political being, a subservient part of the family from which he sprang and of the state to which he belongs; hence, the *special* Providence which protects the *individual*, is at the same time, in some measure, a *general* Providence; for society is an organism in which the action of one nerve vibrates through the complicated tissue of the system. Therefore, the occurrences of Joseph's life, however striking in themselves, produced effects far beyond his personal sphere, and were brought into premeditated connection with general events of the utmost magnitude: for, to his family, they caused the verification of the prophecy given to Abraham regarding the Egyptian servitude and ultimate glory of his descendants (xv. 13—16); to Egypt, they occasioned a vast political revolution of lasting importance (xlvi. 13—26); and to the nations in general, they afforded preservation in critical times of universal distress (xli. 54; i. 20). Thus, Joseph's history, though possessing the character of an episode in many details, forms, as a whole, an integral part in the lucid conception of the Book, precisely as the history of the people of Israel is but a subordinate part in the history of mankind.

As the just appreciation of Joseph's character is of primary importance for the

his father's wives: and Joseph brought to their father evil reports about them. 3. And Israel loved Joseph more than all his children, because he *was* the son of his old age: and he made him a long and costly robe. 4. And

correct understanding of the following portions, it is necessary attentively to consider every hint and allusion of the text. He was a youth, seventeen years old, when he accompanied the sons of Bilhah, Dan and Naphtali, and of Zilpah, Gad and Asher, and went with them to the pastures; his tender age, in the opinion of the affectionate father, seemed to require that he should be committed to the care of the elder brothers; thus he became necessarily acquainted with their words and deeds; and whatever struck him as remarkable, he reported to his father. From this circumstance it has not unfrequently been inferred, that he was an informer, a malicious calumniator, or a base flatterer, wishing to ingratiate himself in his father's favour by a hypocritical affectation of virtue. But nothing would be more erroneous. Jacob listened to Joseph's "evil reports," and—*loved him more than all his sons*. Enabled to study characters, alike by long experience and natural shrewdness, he was eminently fit to discover the spirit of Joseph's accounts; and had he detected a vile motive, his heart would have turned from the slanderer; for he had himself thoroughly completed his moral purification. Further, the general conduct of the brothers was such as to let unfavourable statements appear at least as no deceitful fabrications. And, lastly, depravity and meanness are totally at variance with those noble qualities of Joseph's mind, which we shall soon have opportunities to unfold, and which alone could make him the worthy medium of the great plans of Providence. Too young to listen to prudence, and too generous to regard expediency, his pure and susceptible mind repeated in harmless innocence what passed among his brothers; and open and communicative, he knew no artificial reserve. He, therefore, is not even liable to the reproach of carelessness; for he would have seen no wrong in his conduct, even had his attention been directed to it; following

the unrestricted impulses of his nature, he had not yet commenced to reflect upon his feelings, or to control and direct his emotions. — But was it not blameable on the part of Jacob, so decidedly to prefer one son to all the others? (comp. xxxiii. 2). Ought not a father to bestow an equal share of affection upon all his children? This question is but partially to be answered in the affirmative. Certainly, the *natural* love of a father, which is the result of the close relationship, is very generally equally ardent towards all his children; he will, with the greatest sacrifices, support, educate, and protect all his offspring. But another affection, based upon esteem or internal affinity of characters, may be superadded to the natural love, as will frequently be the case with parents of strongly-marked mental or moral organisation; and thus that love is produced which is the emancipation from the blind rule of instinct, and consists in the prevalence of reason and moral liberty. And if it is not reprehensible in a father to feel more strongly for the children in whom he finds his own existence more distinctly renewed, or who are more susceptible of culture and refinement, it can, at the utmost, only be deemed an imprudence if the predilection is manifested before the less beloved children. But though it is no moral offence, it may become a source of envy, strife, and domestic discord. This truth was neglected by Jacob when he made for his favoured son Joseph a long and costly robe (רֹדֶם בְּחִלְקָהוּ). The ample and folding garments of persons of wealth and distinction were not seldom composed of, or covered with, pieces of various costly stuffs, tastefully arranged — ambitious vestments, well calculated to account for the feelings of animosity on the part of Joseph's brothers (see *infra*). The Egyptian monuments, so minute in the illustration of every day life, represent such aristocratic robes with great

when his brothers saw that their father loved him more than all his brothers, they hated him, and could not speak friendly to him.—5. And Joseph dreamt a dream, and he told it to his brothers: and they hated him still more.

distinctness, showing the many pieces of which they consisted.

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—רֶבֶב (from רָבַב to creep insidiously) is “evil report about them,” and might have been expressed by רָבָה עֲלֵיהֶם (Numb. xiv. 36, 37); whence the adjective רָעָה has not the article. — בְּרִדְקָאִים is “the son of old age,” not a son possessing the wisdom of advanced years (*Onkel.*, אֲרִי בֶר חֲכִים הוּא, *li*). — With regard to פָּתָת פָּסִים it is known, 1. that it is also called כְּעִיל, which is a long robe or upper garment (2 Sam. xiii. 18); 2. that it was worn by noble and distinguished personages only (*Ibid.*; comp. *Joseph.*, *Antiq.* VII.viii.1); 3. that it was, therefore, regarded as expensive, and not within the means of everybody; 4. that the etymology points to a “robe composed of pieces” (פָּת equivalent to פָּת). Thus, we obtain the double notion of a long and costly robe. The Greeks also wore, besides the short under garments, sometimes a longer one, reaching down to the feet (*χιτὼν περιμήεις*, *Hom.*, *Odyss.* xix. 242), or a linen “sleeved robe” (*χιτὼν λίνεος χειρῶντος*, *Hes.*, *Op.* 539; *Herod.* v. 87; vii. 61; or *καρπωτός*, *Sept.* in 2 Sam. xiii. 18). The *Sept.* renders, therefore, here *χιτὼν ποικίλος*; *Vulg.*, *polymita*; and *Abulwal.*, “*vestis auro variegata, quia singulis spithamis peculiaris color erat.*” This is the chief characteristic of the garment; for it was its costliness especially which excited the envy of the brothers; but it is, at the same time, a long, folded tunic, descending to the heels (*ἀστραγάλιος*, *Aquil.*), or reaching to the hands (*χειρῶντος*, *Sym.*; compare *Braun*, *De Vestit. Sacerd.*, p. 473, *et seq.*).

4. The partiality of Jacob in favour of Joseph ought to have been a hint and a warning to his other sons, and to have reminded them that Joseph was preferred not merely because “he was the son of Jacob’s old age” (for the difference of years was not con-

siderable), but because he surpassed them in goodness and purity. On the contrary, it exercised a fatal effect upon their minds. For it appears, that their nature was bent upon violence and malice, which they had once before manifested in the sanguinary revenge of their sister. But just as, in Shechem, two of them only had persevered in their atrocious design, while the others, with a more susceptible conscience, recoiled from its fearful execution; so we shall again find, in the history of Joseph, that not all were equally corrupted; but that, though the meanest feelings had taken root in the hearts of some, a few at least proved alike worthy to be the descendants of the pious Abraham, and to become the ancestors of a holy people.—[רָבַב is construed with the accusative (רָבַבְתִּי), as in xli. 9].

5—11. The brilliant reward which awaited Joseph’s moral excellence was foreshadowed to him by dreams. But his greatness is in no part of our narrative regarded as an election by Divine grace. Although a most momentous agent in the hands of Providence, he owed his elevation to exemplary virtue, the natural result of the faith inherited from his father and his sire. He was not intended to receive and to teach any new religious truth; his mission was the physical and material preservation of his family; he was designed to deliver them from impending want, and to secure for them abodes where they might grow and increase till the moral and political dissolution of the Amorites would enable them to conquer Canaan. Between Jacob and Moses the development of religious truth made no advance; it was sufficient if but the true import of the name *Israel* was preserved among the Hebrews, till they would be capable of fathoming the deep meaning of the sacred and sublime name *Jehovah*. Therefore Joseph never received a Divine revelation or supernatural

6. And he said to them, Hear, I pray you, this dream which I have dreamt; 7. For, behold, we *were* binding sheaves in the field, and, behold, my sheaf rose, and indeed stood upright; and, behold, your sheaves stood round about, and prostrated themselves before my sheaf. 8. And his brothers said to him, Wilt thou indeed reign over us? wilt thou indeed have dominion over us? And they hated him still more on account of his dreams and on account of his words. 9. And he dreamt yet another dream, and told it to his brothers, and said, Behold, I have dreamt a dream more; and, behold, the sun and the moon and eleven stars prostrated themselves before me. 10.

vision; the incidents of his life, however marvellous and eventful, appear to have happened in the ordinary course and connection of events; and they did not directly contribute to promote the highest and exclusive aim of Israel, the propagation of faith and truth. Hence the dreams of Joseph are no *visions*; they are never introduced by the words, that God appeared to him (comp. xv. 1; xx. 3); they are certainly intended as Divine communications, but not more so than all other dreams were held to be; and if they have any peculiar characteristic, it is that *both* point to the same future event, which identity was deemed a sure guarantee of their ultimate realization (comp. xl. 5; xli. 32). Yet a clear progress is observable in the two dreams. The first refers to the brothers only, the second includes the parents also. Hence Joseph relates the former to his brothers alone, the latter to his father besides. The one moves in a terrestrial, the other in a heavenly sphere; the former, therefore, typifies only Joseph's wealth and worldly position, the latter promises eternal fame and universal homage; for sheaves of corn are an emblem of a prosperous and peaceful life spent in comfort (Job v. 26); while the heavenly bodies are the symbols of dominion and imperishable renown. But the *propriety* of the dreams cannot be doubted. Though the sons of Jacob led the life of cattle-breeding nomads, they might, like

Isaac, at the same time have cultivated the soil (see p. 497; Job i. 14); and even had they never themselves bound sheaves, their sojourn in agricultural districts must have made them familiar with harvest-scenes. On the other hand, men accustomed to astronomical observations, and living among astrological tribes, naturally compared a couple and their twelve sons with the two larger heavenly orbs, and the twelve signs of the zodiac; the more so, as the sun and the moon were, in several ancient mythologies, represented as husband and wife (for instance, Osiris and Isis, Baal and Ash-tarte), and as a family was sometimes poetically compared with the starred heavens.

Though Joseph related these dreams in the simplicity of his heart and with an innocent joy, he did not consider them as idle delusions of an excited imagination; he ascribed to them a certain reality; he communicated the last dream only to his father, because he saw in this one alone an allusion to him, a sufficient proof that he reflected on their meaning and possible effect; he was, no doubt, as much delighted in portraying to himself a dazzling future, as his brothers abhorred the thought. But though his fancy was roused into a vivid play, his heart remained pure from guilt; he did not become vain, haughty, or covetous; and he listened without murmuring to the severe reproof of his father, who reminded him, that on the one hand, the fulfilment of his dreams was

And he told *it* to his father and to his brothers: and his father rebuked him, and said to him, What *is* this dream which thou hast dreamt? Shall I and thy mother and thy brothers indeed come to prostrate ourselves before thee to the ground? 11. And his brothers envied him; but his father guarded the words.—12. And his brothers went to feed their father's flock in Shechem. 13. And Israel said to Joseph, Do not thy brothers feed *the flocks* in Shechem? Come, and I will send thee to them. And he said to him, Here *am* I. 14. And he said to him, Go, I pray thee, see whether it be well with thy brothers and well with their flocks, and bring me word again. So he

impossible, since his mother, Rachel, lived no more; and that, on the other hand, it would be perversity to foster such presumptuous and arrogant hopes. Jacob, however, though rebuking his son, faithfully remembered the dreams; for he was well aware that the discrepancy which he had pointed out regarding Rachel was of no great moment: both dreams represent the submission of the *whole family* under the authority of Joseph; and while, in the first, the brothers alone compose the family, the second adds, for greater completeness, the parents also, who thus help to *symbolise* the "house of Jacob." It is, therefore, both unnecessary and inappropriate to consider Leah, who died before the immigration into Egypt (xlvi. 8—15), or Bilhah, Rachel's handmaid, as the mother here typified by the moon.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—Although וְ in one part of the sentence, and וְ in the following, imply an opposition, and signify *whether . . . or* (1 Kings xxii. 15); these two particles are sometimes used when the *words* only are different in both parts without a modification of the sense (Job iv. 17; vi. 5, etc.); and so it is in ver. 8: "wilt thou indeed reign over us?" (וְהָיָה מֶלֶךְ עָלֵינוּ), or, "wilt thou indeed have dominion over us?" (וְהָיָה מֶלֶךְ עָלֵינוּ). Every one feels the emphasis of this repetition; and it is futile to seek an artificial distinction between the two verbs.

13—24. Twice had the brothers now

been warned to search their conduct and their sentiments, and to reform both; but, as with all ill-regulated minds, the means of correction proved with them causes of increased obduracy. The distinction shown to Joseph by their father roused their *hatred* (ver. 4); while his dreams, which promised him splendour of property and position, kindled their *envy* (ver. 11); and they saw in him nothing but the meddling reporter and the ambitious schemer. The way to every crime was paved; their minds had received the poisonous seeds, and the soil was prepared to mature them.

From the valley of Hebron, where Jacob was then residing (ver. 14), they had gone with their flocks northwards to the neighbourhood of Shechem, perhaps to the fields which their father had some time since bought from the inhabitants (xxxiii. 19); and they proceeded thither without fearing the revenge of the Shechemites, because, at least, two or three years had elapsed since the slaughter committed by Simeon and Levi. They might have been absent for a longer time than usual; Jacob, therefore, desirous to enquire after them and the cattle, sent Joseph, whom he had that time kept at home. When the latter did not find his brothers at Shechem, he wandered through fields and valleys in search of them; and an unknown stranger, learning the cause of his embarrassment, informed him that

sent him from the valley of Hebron, and he came to Shechem. 15. And a man found him, and, behold, *he was* wandering in the field: and the man asked him, saying, What dost thou seek? 16. And he said, I seek my brothers: tell me, I pray thee, where they feed *their flocks*. 17. And the man said, They are departed hence; for I heard *them* say, Let us go to Dothan. And Joseph went after his brothers, and he found them in Dothan. 18. And when they saw him at a distance, and before he came near to them, they conspired against him to kill him. 19. And they said one to another, Behold, that dreamer cometh. 20. Come now, therefore, and let us

his brothers had proceeded northward in the direction of Dothan; for they were, no doubt, well-known to the countrymen of those parts, on account of their number and the multitude of their flocks; and the man who directed Joseph seems even to have had personal intercourse with them, for "he had heard them say, 'let us go to Dothan.'" This place was destined to mark a chief epoch in Joseph's eventful life; and it was every way calculated to serve this purpose. Dothan was situated on the great caravan track from Gilead to Egypt, in narrow mountain paths, leading from Judæa to the middle and northern parts of Palestine, in the vicinity of Esdraëlon and Bethshan or Scythopolis (Judith iv. 6, 7; iii. 9, 10), not far from Betylua and Belthem (Judith vii. 3, 18; viii. 3), about twelve Roman miles north of Samaria (*Eusebius* and *Jerome*); and it is the scene of one of the greatest miracles of the prophet Elisha (2 Kings vi. 13—18).—When the brothers saw Joseph approach, their inveterate feelings of jealousy were suddenly and strongly roused; his dreams had sunk deep into their envious hearts; they designated him as *the dreamer*, with the mingled emotions of hatred, contempt, and rancour; they trembled at the possible realization of his hopes; but as they knew that dreams were Divine predictions, their aversion against Joseph amounted to revolt and obstinacy against God; they attempted

to overthrow the decree of Providence, because it implied their own humiliation; they schemed a wicked plan to gain that end, and then insolently exclaimed, "thus let us see what will become of his dreams." For one moment a regard for their aged father caused a scruple in their minds; but men who defied God, could not be long in silencing the faint warnings of conscience; anxious only to preserve the appearance of virtue, they did not shrink from a heinous atrocity, which they deemed the pretext that "a wild beast had devoured him," sufficiently plausible to cover. But as it was not fated that Joseph should perish, one among the brothers, at least, was awakened to a sense of his duty. The eldest had the supervision over his younger brothers, and he was responsible for their conduct and safety. Reuben, therefore, knew that Jacob would demand the lost son from his hands; and though he had before proved himself incapable of mastering a criminal passion, he was in this emergency both dutiful and intelligent: the silent reproach of his father, on the former occasion, had produced a lasting effect upon him (p. 590). He saw too well that his brothers were so impetuously bent upon destroying Joseph, that an appeal to the highest laws of morality would have been in vain; but he was also aware that they as eagerly strove to uphold the semblance of honour; and he

slay him, and cast him into one of the pits, and we will say, Some evil beast hath devoured him: and we shall see what will become of his dreams. 21. And Reuben heard *it*, and he delivered him out of their hands, and said, Let us not kill him. 22. And Reuben said to them, Shed no blood; cast him into this pit which *is* in the desert, but lay no hand upon him:—that he might deliver him out of their hands, to bring him back to his father. 23. And when Joseph was come to his brothers, they stripped Joseph of his robe, the long and costly robe that *was* upon him. 24. And they took him, and cast him into a pit: and the pit *was* empty, *there was* no water in it. 25.

made a proposal alike effectual for his own plans and satisfactory to the feelings of his brothers. He persuaded them that it would not be prudent to shed blood, for murder would call down upon them the fearful revenge of the nearest relatives (see pp. 142, 517); they might gain their end by a safer expedient, which would release them from all external reproach. At once approving of the judicious advice, they stripped Joseph of his costly garment, the fatal gift of his father, threw him into the empty cistern pointed out by Reuben, and as if they had achieved a glorious victory, and had been relieved from a harassing anxiety, they sat down to a convivial repast:—A cistern called the “Khan of Jacob’s Pit,” at the northern extremity of the sea of Genesareth, about three miles from Safed, is traditionally believed to be the place where Joseph was abandoned to his fate: but this conjecture assigns to Dothan a position undoubtedly far too much northward; for it is very improbable that Jacob’s sons should have traversed with their cattle almost the whole length of the land from Hebron to Galilee; in the neighbourhood of Dothan there was no want of cisterns (ver. 20); and the place *Dothain* itself (דֹּתַיִן, Δωθαίμ), of which *Dothan* (דֹּתָן) is a contracted form, signifies “double cistern.”

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—The singular of דֹּתַיִן, namely דֹּת, is also used in the meaning of *well*, synonymous with בֹּר

(*Talm.*, Rosh Hash. 27 a; Bab. Batlr. 64). The contraction of דֹּתַיִן into דֹּת is analogous to מִדְּיָנִים and מִדְּיָנִים (vers. 28, 36); מִדְּיָנִים and מִדְּיָנִים (1 Chron. vi. 61; Josh. xxi. 32; comp. מִדְּיָנִים and מִדְּיָנִים; *Gesen.*, *Lehrgr.* p. 536). About the Greek text in Judith iii. 9 (ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ πρίονος μεγάλου τῆς Ἰουδαίας) see *Reland*, *Palæst.* 142, 143.—In נִכְחָה נִכְחָה (ver. 21), the verb נִכְחָה is construed with the double accusative, as in הִכִּיתָ אֶת כָּל אֲבִיבֵי לֶחֶם (Ps. iii. 8), or שָׁחַתְתָּ נַפְשִׁי (Deut. xxii. 26).

25. From very early times, a lively caravan trade was entertained between Syria and the east-jordanic provinces on the one hand, and Egypt on the other; it brought the esteemed products of Arabia and the wares and merchandises of eastern Asia into the land of the Pharaohs; and in the course of time, the importation was conducted with all possible regularity, and on lines prudently chosen and marked out. We find, that so early as the sixteenth dynasty, stations were formed, temples erected, and wells dug and protected, in the Arabian Desert, for the benefit of those who had occasion to pass through it in their commercial travels (compare *Wilkinson*, *Manners and Customs*, i. 45, 46). Egypt had, at that period, already attained a great measure of the civilisation of which it was capable; it enjoyed a strong government and well organised public institutions; and the political and social relations were regulated on a firm basis. This sense of



And they sat down to eat a meal: and they lifted up their

security favoured the development of comfort and luxury; the higher castes especially appreciated all that delights and embellishes life; their wants increased in an incredible degree; and they encouraged every undertaking which promised to gratify them. Among the articles in peculiar demand were all varieties of spicery and perfumes, required not only for the feasts and pleasures of the living, but for the embalming of the dead: the mummies generally emitted so delicious a fragrance that they were for generations kept in the houses of the relatives, arranged along the walls, and then only entombed; which practice, however, received, no doubt, its first impulse from the devoted love bestowed in Egypt on departed parents and relatives. The amount of spicery consumed for all these purposes, was necessarily immense; and the caravan introduced in our narrative was exclusively laden with those costly commodities. The men who conducted it, were Midianites (vers. 28, 36), a tribe partly nomadic, but partly actively engaged in commerce. But as the Ishmaelites commanded by far the greatest part of the caravan trade, all those who carried on the same pursuits, were designated by their name; and as they were the chief and most powerful inhabitants of Arabia, the other tribes occupying the same regions, were sometimes comprised under the same appellation. In a similar manner, "Canaanite" became a usual name for all inland merchants (Prov. xxxi. 24; Ezek. xvii. 4; Job xl. 30); and the term Canaanites is occasionally employed to denote all the tribes of the land, including those of a very different descent (1. 11; Judg. i. 10, etc.). It can, therefore, not surprise us that the Midianites, though not properly Ishmaelites, are yet repeatedly introduced as such (vers. 25, 27, 28; comp. xxv. 2).—They carried with them three articles which they intended to import into Egypt.

1. The first (סִמְכָה) defies almost every attempt at identification, as neither the ancient versions nor the kindred dialects

afford any reliable clue (see *infra*). It is undoubtedly a kind of spice, found in Arabia, Gilead, and Palestine (xliii. 11); and it may, with some probability, be compared to the similar Arabic word

(نكعة, identical with نكدة), which denotes the red flowers of the plant *thortsatrus*

(طرثوث), resembling the amaranth, so that it would be the *gummi tragacantha*, which, in the summer months, exudes spontaneously from the stem and the boughs of the *Astragalus tragacantha*, a thorny shrub with lanceolate leaves; which is white, seldom yellow or brown, hard, inodorous and tasteless, but highly valued on account of its medicinal properties (*Dioscor.* iii. 23); and which is not only found in Persia, Armenia, Greece, and Crete, but in Syria and on Mount Lebanon, where it is not seldom collected by shepherds (comp. *Plin.*, H. N. xxvi. 29; *Theophr.*, Plant. ix. 1, 15).

2. *Balsam* (בַּלְסָם), a native product of Palestine (xliii. 11), is mentioned among the articles which Israel and Judah brought to the markets of Tyre (*Ezek.* xxvii. 17); it was efficaciously used as an ointment for the cure of wounds by means of bandages (*Jer.* viii. 22; li. 8), and was, for that purpose, eagerly bought by the Egyptians (*Jer.* xlv. 11); but it was most abundantly found in Gilead, which appears to have been considered as its chief home (*Jer.*, *loc. cit.*). It cannot, therefore, be doubted that the Hebrew word (בַּלְסָם) signifies *balm*; but from which plant it was obtained, we are again unable to determine, especially as the descriptions of ancient writers, who seem to have seen and examined it themselves, differ in some principal points from the balsam-trees at present known. Pliny and other historians call the balsamum a plant which nature has bestowed upon Judaea alone (comp. *Plin.* xii. 54; *Joseph.*, Antiq. XV. iv. 2; *Tacit.*, Hist. v. 6; *Justin.* xxxvi. 3); although Diodorus Siculus ascribes it to Arabia also (iii. 46), from whence it was transplanted to Egypt

eyes, and looked, and, behold, a company of Ishmaelites

(*Prosp. Alpin.*, *Rer. Æg.* iii. 15); Bruce found one species abundantly in the vicinity of Babelmandeb, where the wood alone is used for fuel; and others have, not long since, discovered one in the East Indies also. It was, in Palestine, cultivated in two gardens in the vicinity of Jericho, which the Jews, in their last national war, did not give up without an obstinate combat (*Strab.* xvi. 763; *Diod. Sic.* ii. 48), and, perhaps, round Engedi also (*Euseb.*). From those gardens, Vespasianus and Titus took and exhibited specimens in Rome as a very interesting curiosity; and the careful cultivation of the plant proved a source of considerable public revenue (*Diod.* ii. 48). It bears, according to Pliny, a much stronger resemblance to the vine than to the myrtle; it is planted, grafted, and treated like the former; and its seeds resemble in flavour that of wine; it grows with great rapidity, and bears fruit at the end of three years; it is an evergreen, and its leaves, though not abundant, are very much like those of the rue; it attains the height of about two yards; the blossoms are white, similar to those of the acacia, odoriferous, and arranged in clusters of three. It occurs in three varieties of different value: the *rough-barked* (ραχύ), with plentiful branches and a strong odour; the *tall* species (εὐμηκίς), with a smooth, even bark; and the third, with thin and hair-like foliage (εὐθρίπστον). The better and larger grains of the seed are of a reddish colour, while the inferior sort is lighter and of a greener hue; they are unctuous to the touch, and become odoriferous by friction. The incisions in the reddish branches, which may be repeated three times every summer, must be made very carefully and lightly, with glass or bone knives (*Joseph.*, *B. J. I.* vi. 6); the application of iron instruments, except for pruning, is fatal to the plant. The juice, *opobalsamum*, which thus distils out in very small drops, is most patiently collected in wool, deposited in small horns, and then placed in new earthen vessels. It is of very sweet odour, of a white colour when fresh, where-

as the worst quality is black, and turns rancid when old; it has the appearance of a thick oil, but gradually becomes red and loses its transparency when hardening. The best sort is that which is produced before the formation of the seed. The price at which it was sold in Alexander's time, was double its weight in silver; but in the time of Pliny, a sextarius of balsamum cost three hundred denarii. It was in equal request as a perfume and as a pharmaceutic drug for external diseases. The bark also was applied for various medicinal purposes; and the cuttings, or "the wood of balsam" (*xylobalsamum*), were boiled for unguents, and formed a very lucrative article of commerce (they sold at six denarii per pound); and in the fifth year after the conquest of Palestine, they brought into the public exchequer the sum of 800,000 sesterces. Scarcely anything except such decoction, though that not even in a genuine form, ever reaches Europe; it is known under the name of "balm of Mecca," and resembles in smell rosmarine and citron.—The balsam was often adulterated with various other ingredients, as honey, oil of roses, of turpentine, and of myrtle; immense profits were realised by these frauds; but several tests of its genuineness were known to the ancients.—The balsam-tree may have been imported into Palestine either from Gilead or from Arabia; in the former case, it survived in the adopted soil the same plant in its native districts; for, in later times, it was no more found in Gilead. But Josephus states, that the queen of Sheba brought the first root of the balsam-tree to Palestine as a present to king Solomon (*Antiq. VIII.* vi. 6; comp. *1 Kings x.* 10).

3. *Ladunum* (لادن, λήδανον), later called *stobolon*, is indigenous in Arabia and Spain, in Cyprus and Carmania, was subsequently found in Syria and Africa also, and is, at present, chiefly imported from Greece and the Greek islands. It is gathered from an odoriferous shrub, called by the ancients *leda* or *ledon*, corresponding

came from Gilead with their camels bearing tragacanth, and balsam, and ladanum, going to carry *it* down to Egypt.—26. And Judah said to his brothers, What profit *is it* if we slay our brother, and conceal his blood? 27. Come, and let us sell him to the Ishmaelites, and let not

to the *Cistus creticus* of Linnæus (the Oak-rose), about two feet high, with lanceolate leaves, smooth, and dark-green on the upper, and white on the nether side, with dark-red blossoms, and a nearly circular seed-cup; some species occur in Palestine also, and the *Cistus roseus* has, not without probability, been identified with the celebrated rose of Sharon, where the *Cistus* abounds, but no true rose is found. The ladanum itself is said to have been accidentally discovered through goats which, cropping the sprouting shoots of the branches, made the sweet liquid juice which they contain drop upon “the shaggy hairs of their unlucky beard,” where it was mingled with the dust, formed knots and tufts, and, after having been combed out, was dried by the sun (*Plin.* xii. 37); and thus, “though itself most fragrant, it comes from a place quite the reverse of odoriferous” (*Herod.* iii. 112). But it is now generally beaten from the shrub by means of a kind of whip furnished with thongs, which, when filled with the sticky resin, are scraped with a knife. — The Cyprian ladanum was, besides, used in the manufacture of that greasy substance, the *asympum*, applied by the Roman ladies as a favourite cosmetic, much to the horror and disapproval of the elegant author of the *Ars Amatoria*, as that *asympum* is, in fact, the sweat adhering to the wool and hair of the flanks and legs of sheep and goats (*Plin.* xxix. 10). In some parts of Syria and Africa, ladanum is gathered by passing a bow over the plant, with the string stretched and covered with wool, to which the dew-like flocks of ladanum adhere, whence it was called *toxicum*.—Two kinds of ladanum are generally known, the *natural* sort, friable, and mingled with earth; the other *artificial*, black, of a viscous nature, and soft to the fingers, though dry and parched in appearance. The best

quality was, in the first century of the present era, sold at forty asses per pound; it has a strong and acrid smell, redolent of its native desert regions; and burns with a brilliant flame (*Plin.* xii. 37). But both sorts were medicinally used to arrest relaxation, and, either alone or mixed with other ingredients, applied for various other smaller or greater disorders (*Plin.* xxvi. 30; *Herod.* iii. 112; *Dioscor.* i. 128; *Cels.*, *Hierob.* i. 280).

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—It is uncertain, whether מָלַח (from מָלַח to break or to grind) is properly an infinitive, like מְלִיץ, *contusion*, or is contracted from מְלִיץ (that which is powdered or pulverised; comp. מֶלַח *salt*, and מָלַח to pound, *Isai.* li. 6; מֶלֶךְ *dust*, and מְלִיץ *aromatic powder*, *Cant.* iii. 6). The Sept. renders, with a general term, *θυμιαμα*; *Vulg.*, *aromata*; *Rashi*, a collection of aromatics, etc.; while *Aquil.* translates *styrax* (like the *Vulg.* in xliii. 11; *Bochart.*, *Hieroz.* ii. 532; see on *Exod.*, p. 568); the Samarit. and *Syr.*, *resins*; *Targ. Jon.*, wax; *Abulcual.*, *siliqua*, etc.—Recent travellers have identified the balsam (מֶלֶךְ) with the *Abu sham*, a shrub growing between Mecca and Medinah (*Forshal.*; *Amyris opobalsamum*; *Linnaeus*: *Amyris Gilcadensis*), or with a species of the *Protium*. Others have explained מֶלֶךְ to be the mastix (*Pistacia lentiscus*; so *Celsius* and *Sprengel*); or the oil of the Myrobalanum (the “unguent acorn,” the behen nut of the Arabians; *Joseph.*, *Bell. Jud.* IV. viii. 3); or the oleaster (*Elæagnus angustifolia*, the *Zackum* tree): but a fluid, obtained by incision rather than by pressing, seems to be intimated by the etymology of מֶלֶךְ (from מָלַח to make fissures or to flow; comp. *Joseph.*, *Antiq.* XIV. iv. 1; *Bell. Jud.* I. vi. 6; *Strab.* xvi. 763; *Plin.* xii. 46, 54; *Gesen.*, *Thes.* p. 1185).—The ancient translators offer very different conjectures on the

our hand be upon him; for he *is* our brother, our flesh. And his brothers listened *to him*. 28. And when the Midianite merchants passed by, they [the brothers] drew and lifted up Joseph out of the pit, and sold Joseph to the Ishmaelites for twenty *shekels* of silver: and they

meaning of שָׁלַם; the Sept. and Vulg. render *stacte*; Gr. Venet., *μασριχη*; Samar., שִׁמְרִי אֶרֶם *aroma*; Targ. and Syr., *pistaciæ*; Saad., *chesnuts*; but all these significations are as uncertain as those of the Egyptian *lotos*, or *myrrh*, or *turpentine*.

26—28. Joseph's brothers, though stained with the vices of envy and jealousy, which indeed incited them to criminal enormities, were yet not altogether depraved. In the midst of their meal they were haunted by the idea of the wretched lot they had prepared for their innocent brother; and when they saw the caravan of the Midianites approach, they were struck by a thought to which the eloquent Judah gave expression. He reminded them that they had abstained from *slaying* Joseph, lest they should be guilty of bloodshed; but that the expedient to which they had resorted, was yet but another form of murder, only that in this case the "blood was concealed." And though also alluding to the external dangers in which the contemplated deed would involve them, he urged, with particular emphasis, that Joseph was "their brother and their own flesh." This appeal touched the better chords of their minds, and they readily consented to the proposal to draw Joseph from the cistern, and to sell him to the passing merchants. From a state of transitory levity, they had risen to the level of their own nature; but they could not summon sufficient moral energy to pass beyond it, and to crush their infatuating passions. For twenty shekels, a price less than that ordinarily paid for a Hebrew slave (Exod. xxi. 32; Lev. xxvii. 5), they delivered up a brother, like an article of merchandise, into the hands of strange traders, to be carried off to an inhospitable country. They could see this without a pang of conscience. But they were not aware that they thus themselves materially

promoted the events which it had been their anxious desire to avert; they were instruments in the hands of the Divine power, unconscious agents in the decrees of Divine wisdom (comp. Ps. cv. 17—22). And how did Joseph bear his lamentable condition? He had been helplessly exposed in the pit, with the fearful death of starvation before him; he was now in the power of gain-seeking merchants; and an uncertain and, perhaps, ignominious fate clouded the future; he was torn from the side of his affectionate father; or, as Luther pathetically describes it, he perhaps passed Hebron with the caravan; cast a glance of nameless grief towards the tents in which Jacob dwelt and was soon to mourn; he passed, but was not permitted once more to enter the cherished dwelling or to embrace his loving father. This was, indeed, a position full of sorrow and despair; but Joseph was strengthened to endure it by the prophetic dreams which had assured him of a glorious destiny (comp. xlii. 9), and in the fulfilment of which he was encouraged to believe the more firmly, when he was unexpectedly drawn from the solitary cistern and placed into the hands of the Midianites; he felt deeply, that a mission awaited him, and that he would not be allowed to perish before he had accomplished it.—Thus Joseph wandered to Egypt, as his father Jacob had before proceeded to Mesopotamia. Both commenced their career in the strange land as slaves; but the one escaped from Mesopotamia in secret flight, while the other ended his days in Egypt, respected almost as a sovereign, and revered as a rescuer; and his descendants left the land "with a raised hand." The Hebrews sprang from the districts between the Euphrates and Tigris; but they grew into a nation in Egypt, where they settled under tempting

brought Joseph into Egypt.—29. And Reuben returned to the pit; and, behold, Joseph *was* not in the pit; and he rent his clothes. 30. And he returned to his brothers, and said, The child *is* not *there*, and I, whither shall I go? —31. And they took Joseph's robe, and killed a kid of the goats, and dipped the robe in the blood; 32. And they sent the long and costly robe, and they brought *it* to their father; and said, This have we found: recognise now whether it *be* thy son's robe or not. 33. And he recognised it, and said, *It is* my son's robe; an evil beast

circumstances: these are the historical facts embodied in the lives of Jacob and Joseph.

29—35. Reuben had not been present when Joseph was sold to the Midianites; he had evidently left his brothers to watch a favourable opportunity for taking the youth from the cistern to which they had consigned him by his advice; but when he found him there no more, he thought, with trembling and horror, of Jacob, who would make him responsible for the missing son; and he hastened to pour out his lamentations to his brothers (comp. xlii. 22). But when Jacob recognised Joseph's garment steeped in blood, and broke forth in every vehement form and expression of despair, the hardened minds of his sons were at last moved; even the picture of Joseph, helplessly given up to unfeeling strangers, returned with greater vividness before their eyes; they felt then already what they later pronounced with bitter stings of repentance: "we are verily guilty concerning our brother; for we saw the anguish of his soul when he implored us, and we would not hear"; and they were prepared for the deserved punishment (xlii. 21, 22; l. 17). But their endeavours to soothe Jacob's affliction were unavailing; he exclaimed with nameless sorrow: "Indeed I shall go down to my son into the grave mourning"; nor did Time appear to have a balm for his grief which, even after the lapse of many years, often broke forth in unabated violence (xlii. 36; xliv. 24). But none of the brothers disclosed to him

Joseph's real fate; they felt that the loss of one son would be infinitely more bitter to him if he knew that it was caused by the crime of his other children; nor did they make any exertion to follow Joseph's trace, and, if possible, to restore him to the paternal roof; they also accustomed themselves to consider him as dead, and always spoke of him as of one no more among the living (xliv. 20; xlii. 13): they tried to silence the tumultuous voice of conscience; but later it was heard with a force overpowering and terrible.

36. Joseph was sold into the house of the "chief of the executioners" (שַׂר הַטְּבָחִים), evidently an official of high position and great public authority. The nature of his office may be inferred from the facts that he was the overseer of the great state prison, which was in his own house (xl. 3, 4); that he was sometimes charged with important military duties, as Nebuzar-adan, who, on the command of Nebuchadnezzar, marched, with a part of the Babylonian army, against Jerusalem, which he took and destroyed (2 Kings xxv. 8—21; Jer. xxxix. 13); and that on such occasions he exercised very extensive political and administrative power (Jer. xl. 1—5). He had to watch that the extreme punishment ordered by the king, or demanded by the law, was duly inflicted; and had, in many cases, to perform the execution himself. He was, at the same time, the chief of the guard entrusted with the protection of the royal person (comp. 1 Kings ii. 46 and 2 Sam. viii. 18; Herod. ii. 168; Joseph. Antiq., X. x. 3);

hath devoured him: surely Joseph is torn in pieces. 34. And Jacob rent his clothes, and put sackcloth upon his loins, and mourned for his son a long time. 35. And all his sons and all his daughters rose to comfort him; but he refused to be comforted; and he said, Indeed, I shall go down into the grave to my son mourning. Thus his father wept for him.—36. And the Midianites sold him into Egypt, to Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh, chief of the guard.

and upon him devolved a variety of public and secret functions, either for the maintenance of the law or the gratification of his master's caprice. His position has, therefore, justly been compared with that of the Kapijji-bashy, at the modern Turkish court.

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—Joseph was by the merchants brought to Egypt. It is undoubted, that מִדְיָנִים is identical with מִדְיָנִים in ver. 28, as almost all ancient translators have understood it; although מִדְיָן and מִדְיָן seem to have been two different descendants of Abraham (xxv. 2), as has been observed above (p. 475). The name פֹּטִיפָר is abbreviated from פֹּטִי פָרַע, which signifies: “he who belongs to the Sun” (comp. Heliodotus), or is addicted to his service (ΠΕΤΕ-ΦΡΗ), an appropriate name for the priest of On or Heliopolis (xli. 45, 50; xli. 20), and not unfrequently found written in hieroglyphic characters (*Rosellini*, Monum. Stor. i. 117; *Champoll.*, Gr. p. 310; *Gesen.*, Thes., p. 1094). Both names are rendered in the Septuagint version, Περερρή or Περερρής, which is nearer to the original Egyptian form. — Potiphar was a פָּרַע מִדְיָנִים. Although the primary meaning of מִדְיָנִים is undisputed (*castratus*, from מִדְיָן, equivalent to שָׁשׁ *extirpare*, viz., *testiculos*; comp. Isai. lvi. 3; Sir. xxx. 21; and, therefore, either *ετρομος* or *θλαδίας*), since eunuchs were usual at all eastern courts (Esth. ii. 3; *Curt.* iii. 3; *Amm. Mar.* xiv. 6), and were not wanting in Egypt (*Rosellini*, Monum. II. iii. 132); its application is not without difficulty; for it is sometimes used of married men, like Potiphar. It seems, therefore, indisputably

correct to attribute to the word מִדְיָנִים the general meaning of *officer* in the royal service (comp. Jer. xxxix. 3; 1 Sam. viii. 15; 1 Kings xxii. 9; *Curt.* v. 1; *Xen. Cyr.* VII. v. 60, *et seq.*). This modification of the sense, natural in itself, has been adopted by some of the ancient translators and most of the modern critics; though some have laboured to prove, that it is everywhere employed in the more restricted signification, since even eunuchs may not entirely or always be incapable of matrimonial intercourse (*Terent.* Eun. IV. iii. 15, 23, 24; *Juven.* vi. 366; *Sir.* xx. 4, *etc.*; *Gesen.*, Thes. p. 973; *Winer*, Bibl. Wört. pp. 653—655). The Sept. translates, *σπάρδων*; *Vulg.*, *eunuchus*; *Syr.*, *מִדְיָנִים טָהוֹר* the faithful servant (comp. *Her.*

viii. 105); *Saad.*, *خادم*; *Kimchi*, chief and overseer (שָׂר וּמִנְהוּנָה); *Luther*, Kämmerer, *etc.* — Potiphar was more precisely שָׂר הַמִּבְחָיִים. Though מִבְחָיִים is originally a *cook* (from מִבַּח, equivalent to זֶבַח, to *kill cattle*; 1 Sam. ix. 23, 24), שָׂר הַמִּבְחָיִים is certainly not the chief cook (Sept., *ἀρχιμάγειρος*), but that higher officer whose duties we have described above.

The history of Joseph forms a part of the old Elohistic document; and it is carried out with such admirable unity and precision, that all attempts of the fragmentists to dismember it, have utterly failed (see the concluding remarks on ch. xxxix.). The promiscuous use of Ishmaelites and Midianites, which is sufficiently accounted for by the reasons above referred to, does not justify a separation; and for unbiassed readers, the Hebrew text is too clear to stand in need of a conciliation of imaginary discre-

pancies. The *brothers* drew Joseph from the cistern, and sold him to the Midianites or Ishmaelites (ver. 28; comp. xiv. 5). — The theory of a second or younger Elohist (who also wrote earlier than the Jehovist), proposed by Ilgen, and resumed by Hupfeld (*Die Quellen der Genesis*, 1853), appears to us so vague and uncertain, that it does not tend to bring light and order into the Book of Genesis. The remarks we have offered, throughout this volume, on the component parts of the Book, imply, even where we do not expressly point to it, a refutation of the complicated conjectures to which the theory in question compels its advocates. There is, particularly in this chapter, no necessity for the supposition of interpolations and of a *double narrative* (Hupfeld,

loc. cit., pp. 63—71).—Justinus alludes to Joseph with the following words: “The youngest among the sons was Joseph; but his brothers, fearing his eminent abilities, sold him secretly to foreign traders, by whom he was brought to Egypt. Here he distinguished himself by magical arts, became the favourite of the king, and excelled in the interpretation of dreams, which he was the first to form into a science”; he thus foresaw a famine, and made provision to avert its fearful effects (xxxvi. 2). But he continues: “the son of Joseph was Moses”; and then adds his fabulous account regarding the exodus of the Israelites (see on Exod., *Introd.*, p. xxxi); comp. *Euseb.*, *Pr. Ev.* ix. 23; *Koran*, *Sur.* xii.; *Jos.*, *Ant.* II. ii.—viii.

## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

**SUMMARY.**—Judah became, by the daughter of Shuah, a Canaanite of the town Adullam, successively the father of Er, Onan, and Shelah. In due time he gave Tamar as a wife to his eldest son; and when the latter, on account of his wickedness, died without children, he gave her to his second son, that he might preserve his brother's name by offspring. But when Onan frustrated this hope by immoral conduct, God killed him also. Now Judah refused, as custom and duty demanded, to marry his third son to Tamar, who, to secure children, ensnared Judah himself, and became by him the mother of Perez and Zerah.

1. And it was at that time, that Judah went down from his brothers, and turned in to an Adullamite, whose name *was* Hirah. 2. And Judah saw there the daughter of a Canaanite whose name *was* Shuah; and he took her, and

1—5. Jacob was still bemoaning the loss of his favourite son, when another of his children caused him new and bitter sorrow by conduct unexampled in his house. The trials rapidly succeeded each other, that they might the more strikingly appear as punishments and expiations. They belong essentially and necessarily to the history or the “generations” of Jacob (xxxvii. 2); they do not interrupt, but complete and illustrate, the connection of the narrative; they are the unavoidable consequences of the past. As long as Jacob was in Mesopotamia, he was regarded only as a member of Isaac's house; whence his destinies during that protracted period are recorded as a part of Isaac's history (xxv. 19). But when he returned to He-

bron, and became, even during his father's lifetime, the chief of the family, his independent supremacy began, and his own history includes that of Joseph and of his other sons as a subordinate link. The reflecting reader, applying this idea to the lives of Isaac and Jacob, will be surprised by another admirable feature of the economy pervading the book of Genesis.—The narrative having arrived at a certain conclusion, after relating how Joseph was removed from Canaan under circumstances which seemed to involve his destruction, or at least to render the realisation of his ambitious dreams for ever impossible, could here appropriately pause, to insert a story important in its remote consequences.

went to her. 3. And she conceived, and bore a son; and he called his name Er. 4. And she conceived again, and bore a son; and she called his name Onan. 5. And she yet again bore a son, and she called his name Shelah: and he was at Chezib when she bore him.—6. And Judah took a wife for Er his firstborn, and her name was Tamar. 7. And Er, Judah's firstborn, was wicked in the eyes of the Lord; and the Lord killed him. 8. And

There occurred in Judah's family disgraceful scenes, from which the mind turns with disgust and indignation, but which are related with a minuteness and unreserved openness, imposing the duty of searching for their deeper import. Judah had taken to wife the daughter of a Canaanite, no doubt to the grief and regret of his father (comp. xxvi. 35); he had done what hitherto every member of the chosen branches of Abraham's house had scrupulously avoided; for even the sanguinary deed of Simeon and Levi had been dictated by the desire of preserving the purity of their family. He left his brothers, and went to *Adullam* (עֲדֻלָּם). This is a town in the plain of Judah, south-west of Jerusalem, mentioned together with Jarmuth and Sochoh (Josh. xv. 35), or with Libnah and Makedah (Josh. xii. 15, 16); it is one of the most ancient cities, and enjoyed an existence of unusual duration; for in the time of the Hebrew conquest it was the seat of a Canaanitish king (Josh. xii. 15); a cave in its neighbourhood was the refuge of David from the persecutions of Saul (*Joseph.*, Antiq. VI. xii. 3); here his relatives joined him; here he assembled around his person a large number of distressed but resolute men (1 Sam. xxii. 1, 2); and here he met a part of the Philistine army (2 Sam. xxiii. 13); Adullam was fortified by Rehoboam (*Joseph.*, Antiq. VIII. x. 1; 2 Chron. xi. 7); it was later counted among the important cities of Judah (Mic. i. 15); it was still inhabited after the exile (Nehem. xi. 30); and existed even at the time of the Macabees (2 Macc. xii. 38). But it must not be confounded with the town Eglon (*Re-*

*land*, Palest. 549).—Judah's wife became successively the mother of three sons, Er, Onan, and Shelah, of whom the third was born whilst he was in *Chezib* (כִּזְיִב). It is obscure for what purpose this notice is added; and it would be needless to resort to uncertain conjectures on a point of very little importance. *Chezib* seems to be identical with the town *Achzib* (אֲחִזְיִב), which is by the prophet Micah also mentioned together with Adullam (i. 14, 15), and which was likewise situated in the plain of Judah (Josh. xv. 44). Whether *Chezib* (כִּזְיִב) is the same town with *Cozeba* (כֹּזְבָא), 1 Chron. iv. 22), as the reading of the Samaritan text seems to suggest, is uncertain.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS. — Onkelos renders כִּזְיִב (ver. 2) with מֵרְכָּשׁ *merchant*, because it was deemed improbable that Judah should marry a heathen wife; and from the same reason, Tamar was, by tradition, asserted to have been the daughter of Melchizedek.—Judah gave the name to the *firstborn*, but his wife to the two younger sons (vers 3—5), which circumstance seems here mentioned with some significance, though we are unable to explain the allusion; for sometimes the mothers gave the name to the firstborn also (iv. 1; xxix. 32). But it would certainly be unjustifiable to read, in ver. 3, with a few manuscripts, וַתִּקְרָא instead of וַיִּקְרָא.

6—11. When Judah saw his eldest son, Er, arriving at the age of puberty, he selected for him a wife, whose name, *Tamar* (תָּמָר, *palm*), though evidently belonging to a Shemitic root, does not justify the conclusion that she was of Hebrew descent. The names Melchi-



Judah said to Onan, Go to thy brother's wife, and marry her as a brother-in-law, and raise up seed to thy brother. 9. And Onan knew that the seed would not be his; and when he went to his brother's wife, he wasted *it* on the ground, not to give seed to his brother. 10. And what he did displeased the Lord: and He killed him also. 11. And Judah said to Tamar his daughter-in-law, Remain a widow in thy father's house, till Shelah my son be grown up: for he thought, he will perhaps also die, like his brothers. And Tamar went and dwelt in her father's

zedek and Abimelech are as clearly Shemitic, and the whole tenor of the succeeding narrative proves that she belonged to a strange town, and that Judah had not been more careful with regard to the marriage of his son than to his own. The dangerous and objectionable connection between Abrahamites and heathens was not calculated to train a virtuous character. The evil conduct of Er deserved and roused the Divine anger; he died without leaving behind him a child to preserve his name and to inherit his property. This was deemed a dire and distressing calamity; but in order to temper, at least, its bitterness, and to obviate some of its practical disadvantages, many ancient tribes adopted the following custom. It was the duty of the deceased husband's next brother (יָבֵד, *levir*), to marry the widow; and the firstborn son resulting from this matrimony, was in every respect regarded as the heir of the deceased. This custom was, by the Mosaic code, established into a well-defined law; and the man who refused to pay such reverence to the memory of his brother, was made an object of contempt and public reproach (Deut. xxv. 5—10). It must be borne in mind, that the propagation of the family name formed one of the most sacred wishes of the Israelites; that "excision" was looked upon as the most awful indication of Divine wrath; and that polygamy itself was so long maintained, because it offers a greater guarantee of offspring (see pp. 374, 375). The Hebrews were not a strictly practical people; sen-

timent and indefinite aspirations had a large share in their religious views and social institutions: at an early period embracing and fostering the hope of a Messianic time, when all the nations of the earth would be united in love and the knowledge of God, they were eminently capable of prizing the permanent existence of their families. The agrarian character of the Mosaic constitution added power to this idea. Landed property was the foundation of the political edifice, and equality its main pillar. Each family was identified with a certain portion of the sacred soil; its extinction was, therefore, more strongly apprehended by the individual, and was injurious to the prosperity of the state, as the accumulation of wealth in the hands of individuals threatened to disturb the equality of the citizens. It is, therefore, impossible to misunderstand the spirit and tendency of the law concerning the marriage with the brother's widow; it was neither dictated by the desire of preventing the abandoned condition of the widow, or of counteracting some other fancied abuse; its purport is distinctly expressed to have been to procure a descendant to the brother (ver. 8); that the name of the brother should not be effaced in Israel (Deut. xxv. 6); "that the name of the deceased be preserved upon his inheritance, and that his name be not erased from among his brethren and from the gate of his town" (Ruth iv. 10); and that the estate might continually remain in the same family, and contribute to the strength of the community (*Joseph., Antiq. IV.*

house.—12. And after a long time, the daughter of Shuah Judah's wife died; and Judah was comforted, and went up to his sheepshearers to Timnath, he and his friend Hirah the Adullamite. 13. And it was told to Tamar, saying, Behold thy father-in-law goeth up to Timnath to shear his sheep. 14. And she laid off the garments of her widowhood from her, and covered herself with a veil, and wrapped herself, and sat down in the gate of Enaim, which is by the way to Timnath; for she saw that Shelah was grown, and she was not given to him to wife. 15. And Judah

viii. 23).—It may suffice to add, in this place, that similar customs prevailed among the Indians, Persians, and some Italian tribes (*Diod. Sic.* xii. 18), and that they are still practised by the Tsherkesians and Tartars, the Gallas in Abyssinia, the Afghans, and other nations (comp. *Benary*, *De Hebræor. leviratu*; *Redslob*, *Die Levirathsehe bei den Hebräern*).

It was in conformity with this law that Judah commanded his second son, Onan, to marry the childless widow of his elder brother. But Onan was not more virtuous than the family to which he belonged; unwilling to maintain his brother's name, he knew how to frustrate the hopes of Judah. God took away his life for that reckless wickedness. Now, Judah became himself reluctant to give to Tamar his third son also; advancing the pretext, that Shelah was still too young to marry, he desired her to return to her father's house, as was customary for widows without children (*Lev.* xxii. 13), but to consider herself as the promised wife of Shelah. This imposed upon her the strict duty not to contract any other marriage; but she obeyed the request, not knowing that Judah, from deceit and superstitious fear, never intended to realize his promise.

12—17. Tamar waiting in vain to be released from her widowhood, was determined to pursue her rights; but she blameably outstepped the due limits; for instead of seeking justice she was intent upon revenge; and she thus became the cause of new moral degradations.—Judah had lost his wife; and at the end

of the period of mourning, he went with his friend, Hirah, to Timnath, to take part in the rejoicings usually connected with the shearing of the sheep (*xxx.* 19). *Timnath* (תִּמְנַת) or *Timnath* (תִּמְנַת) was a town belonging to the district of Judah (*Josh.* xv. 57), but situated on its frontiers, not far from Ekron (*Josh.* xv. 10, 11), and was, therefore, counted to the plain of Judah. But this position at the boundary made its possession uncertain; we find it, therefore, first in the hands of the tribe of Judah (*Josh.* xv. 57); then it was incorporated in the territory of Dan (*Josh.* xix. 43); in the time of the Judges it was under the dominion of the Philistines (*Judg.* xiv.); but later, reconquered by the Israelites, it gained importance, and acquired sovereignty over smaller towns, but was, in the reign of King Ahaz, again subdued by the Philistines (*2 Chron.* xxviii. 18). It was fortified in the period of the Maccabees (*1 Mac.* ix. 50), and was, in the time of Titus, still regarded as the fourth important town among the eleven which then enjoyed the chief influence in Judæa (*Joseph.*, *Bell. Jud.* III. iii. 5); it is by Pliny mentioned among the principal toparchies (v. 15); and was, even in the time of Eusebius, known as a considerable village.—Judah, not warned by the death of his two eldest sons, persevered in his heathen connections and in his usual laxity of moral principles; separated from the beneficent influence of his father, he had neither an external nor an inward impulse for self-control, and passion obtained in him un-

saw her, and he thought her *to be* an unchaste woman; for she had covered her face. 16. And he turned to her by the way, and said, Come, I pray thee, let me come to thee; for he knew not that she *was* his daughter-in-law. And she said, What wilt thou give me, that thou mayest come to me? 17. And he said, I will send *thee* a kid of the goats from the flock. And she said, If thou givest *me* a pledge, till thou sendest *it*. 18. And he said, What pledge shall I give thee? And she said, Thy signet, and thy string, and thy staff that *is* in thy hand. And he gave *it* her, and

checked sway. Tamar, shrewd enough to perceive it, found means to ensnare her father-in-law in the nets of seduction; she awaited his arrival at the gate of the little place, Enaim, which he was obliged to pass on his way to Timnah (Josh. xv. 34); a veil concealed her features; and adorned with a gay and striking attire, she succeeded completely in her plans upon Judah's powers of resistance. It is unnecessary to point out the depth of corruption here displayed. Judah, though not guilty of faithlessness, as his wife had died, nor willingly committing incest, as he did not recognise Tamar (ver. 15), contributed to the depravity of public morals; while Tamar was shameless enough to desire an offspring from the father instead of the son, and deliberately to allure him to a nefarious act. These were the consequences of Judah's heedless alliances with pagans.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—עֵינַיִם אֵינַיִם (ver. 14) means "at the gate of Enaim," a little town (ver. 21), most probably identical with Enam in Josh. xv. 34.—Tamar appearing at the gate, the place of public meeting for the men of the town (p. 410), is naturally suspected with regard to her character; for virtuous women modestly remain at home (Prov. vii. 12; Jer. iii. 2; Ez. xvi. 25). פֶּתַח עֵינַיִם is, therefore, not "at the opening of a double well," or "at a cross-way, where it is necessary to open the eye, to find the way"; nor can it mean that Bethenim, which Eusebius and Jerome state to have been near the terebinth of Mamre.—The veil is not the characteristic distinction of immoral women; but Tamar

covered her face with it, lest she be recognised by Judah (see p. 472).

18—26. When three months later, it was reported to Judah that Tamar was with child, his moral feelings were suddenly roused to the highest standard of virtue. As she was bound to consider herself as the betrothed wife of Shelah, a misconduct on her part was nothing less than adultery, legally visited with the death of lapidation (Deut. xxii. 23, 24). Judah, indignant and excited, still capable of feeling warmly for the honour of his house, in his authority as the head of the family, commanded that the punishment of burning should without delay be executed upon her (Lev. xx. 14; xxi. 9). But how could he perform the office of judge as he was himself immediately implicated in the guilt? He had left, as pledges, with Tamar, his seal, his string, and his stick (see xiii. 2; xxiv. 22; xxxv. 4; comp. Deut. xxiii. 19; Ezek. xvi. 33, 34); and when, on the point of being led to the fatal pile, she sent to him those objects, with the words: "I am with child by the man to whom these things belong"; he shuddered at the thought of his base crime; he confessed that, hideous as Tamar's sin might be, she was more righteous than he himself (ver. 26); he saw his wrong in not marrying her to his third son Shelah; and though he might feel that his neglect did not justify Tamar in designing her criminal plans, he was, at the same time, aware that they would have been fruitless had his heart been less accessible to vice. He could not,

came to her, and she conceived by him. 19. And she rose, and went away, and laid off her veil from her, and put on the garments of her widowhood. 20. And Judah sent the kid of the goats by the hand of his friend the Adullamite, to receive *his* pledge from the woman's hand: but he did not find her. 21. And he asked the men of her place, saying, Where *is* the courtesan at Enaim by the way side? And they said, No courtesan hath been here. 22. And he returned to Judah, and said, I did not find her; and the men of the place also said, there was no courtesan in this

therefore, in justice condemn Tamar to the terrible death at first resolved against her; for he had himself, though unwittingly, committed a detestable transgression deserving capital punishment under a double aspect (Lev. xx. 10, 12). Leniency was further recommended by the condition of his own house. As two of his sons had died without leaving offspring, and he feared the same fate with regard to the third, seeing little hope of the preservation of his name through his grand-children, he was reluctant to lose, by Tamar's death, the prospects thus opened for obtaining progeny.

The seal (סֶהֶם) suspended from the neck over the breast with a silk string (לֵבָנָן), was worn in the bosom between the two chief garments, and guarded with attentive care; hence it is in the Scriptures considered as the symbol of faithfulness and tender, inextinguishable affection (Cant. viii. 6); it is the image of the Divine love for the pious and the virtuous (Jer. xxii. 24); it is used as a metaphor similar to the apple of the eye, as a most precious possession (Sir. xvii. 18; Dent. xxxii. 10); and denotes election and elevation (Hagg. ii. 23). Among the ancient Babylonians a seal was indispensably worn by every man (*Herod.* i. 195; *Strab.* xvi. 746). The Assyrian excavations have brought to light seals and signets of the most varied descriptions. In a chamber of the palace of Kouyunjik were discovered many pieces of fine clay bearing the impressions of seals, some of which are still found affixed to public docu-

ments, though the writing itself is no more legible owing to the conflagration which consumed that edifice, or to the lapse of millennia. Some of those seals are Phœnician and some Egyptian, and among the latter is that celebrated signet with the double impressions of Sabaco, the Æthiopian, the *Se of Scripture* (2 Kings xvii. 4), and of an Assyrian priest ministering before the king; which signet was perhaps affixed to a treaty of peace concluded between the two empires (see p. 297). The usual device on Assyrian seals is a king piercing a rampant lion with a dagger, accompanied by a short inscription; that emblem is found on cylinders, gems, and monuments also; it was later adopted by the Persians, and hence it occurs on the walls of Persepolis and the coins of Darius. Among the other devices may be mentioned horsemen and priests; a crescent, stars, and astronomical figures; a flower and an ear of corn; a scorpion, a bull, and sacred animals; while on Egyptian rings, it seems to have been common to represent two cats sitting back to back and looking round toward each other, with an emblem of the goddess Athor between them. Besides these seals, a very large number of cylinders has been found of various shapes and of very different materials, such as lapislazuli, rock-crystal, amethyst, chalcedony, agate, jasper, and other precious stones, adorned with manifold figures and groups; they were, probably, also used as signets; for not only bags and boxes, but even doors and houses

*place.* 23. And Judah said, Let her take *it* to her, lest we be shamed: behold, I sent this kid, and thou hast not found her. 24. And about three months *later*, it was told to Judah, saying, Tamar thy daughter-in-law hath been unchaste; and also, behold, she *is* with child by unchastity. And Judah said, Bring her forth, and let her be burnt. 25. When she *was* brought forth, she sent to her father-in-law, saying, By the man to whom these

were often, for greater safety, closed with a seal impressed on clay. Large and beautiful collections, both of seals and cylinders, are preserved in the British Museum (comp. *Layard*, *Nin. and Babyl.* 153—159, 602—608).—The present signets of the Persians, mostly of silver or carneol, contain, besides the name, generally a verse or sentence from the Koran. The name of the proprietor, with or without some figure or emblem, was engraven upon the seal, and was, instead of the signature, added to all documents; either stamped upon them by means of a black pigment, so that the figures appear dark and the characters blank or white; or affixed to them in an impression of clay, on which the seals were rolled in a moist state, and which was then placed in the furnace and baked. The heat of the oven, which would have dissolved wax or other soft materials, gave increased hardness and consistency to the baked clay (comp. *Job xxxviii.* 14). The use of cylinder-seals is especially manifest from the clay tablets found in the Chaldean tombs, chiefly at Senkereh, and containing, in minute cuneiform characters, the family records of the deceased. The cylinder was rolled over the entire written document, thus rendering forgery almost impossible (comp. *Lofthus*, *Chaldea and Susiana*, p. 254). But the Babylonians and Egyptians wore the seal not only in the bosom, but also as a ring on the hand (סַבְּעָת), generally on the little finger of the right hand (xli. 42, etc.). And since the impression of the seal alone gave legal validity to private and public documents (1 Kings xxi. 8), any person, by entrusting his seal to another, thereby conferred upon him

the right of concluding transactions in his stead (*Esth.* iii. 10; viii. 2); if the king gave his seal or signet to some dignitary, he thereby appointed him his viceroy, so that “nothing but the throne” distinguished both (xli. 40, 42; 1 Macc. vi. 15); as Alexander the Great, by giving, on his death-bed, his signet to Perdicas, appeared to have named him his successor (comp. *Joseph. Antiq.* XX. ii. 2). Hence the loss of the seal was regarded as a very serious accident, as it might affect the property and the entire social position of the owner; and forgery, with regard to signets, was, as it is still, visited with the severest punishments. Thus we may understand the anxiety and disappointment of Judah, when the disappearance of Tamar threatened to deprive him of his seal (ver. 23).—The great antiquity of the art of engraving is, by the discovery of the authentic relics to which we have alluded, confirmed beyond a doubt. It is still practised, with considerable skill, by Eastern nations and tribes; and forms an important branch of their industry (see on *Exod.* p. 532). Egyptian signets were sometimes unusually large and very valuable; one of them, remarkable for elegance of execution, bears the name of a successor of King Amunoph III. (B.C. 1400), a lion, with the legend, “lord of strength,” a scorpion, and a crocodile (*Wilkinson*, *Anc. Eg.* iii. 373). It suffices, briefly to add, that, besides those signets, rings were worn by the rich as an ornament and a mark of wealth, like all other articles of luxury; the Egyptians especially appear to have had a great predilection for such trinkets; they wore, sometimes, two or three on the same fin-

*things* belong I *am* with child: and she said, Recognise, I pray thee, to whom these *things*, the signet, and the string, and the staff, belong. 26. And Judah recognised *them*, and said, She hath been more righteous than I; since I did not give her to Shelah my son. And he knew her no more.—27. And it was in the time of her travail, and, behold, twins *were* in her womb. 28. And when she travailed, *the one* put out *his* hand: and the midwife took

gor, especially the third, and even on the thumb; the scarabæus was the usual form; the material was mostly gold, but sometimes silver, bronze, or brass, and among the poorer classes ivory and blue porcelain; on the scarabæus, which was generally of cornelian, granite, agate, amethyst, and other valuable stones, but sometimes of stained lime-stone and the ordinary blue pottery, was engraved the name of the owner, or of the reigning monarch, or of deities, with their emblems. The men in Assyria, however, do not appear to have worn finger-rings (see p. 303; comp. Exod. xxxv. 22; Luke xv. 22; James ii. 2; Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* iii. 371—373, 376).

A staff also (מִטָּה) was in the hand of every Babylonian; it was necessarily adorned with some device carved upon it, and consisting in a flower or a fruit, a bird or some other animal (*Herod.* i. 195; see *Comment. on Exod.*, p. 65).

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.** — קַדְשָׁה (vers. 21, 22) is, properly, “a woman, devoted or sanctified,” and seems to point to the unchaste service of the Babylonian Ashtarte or Mylitta, described by Herodotus (i. 199), for a long time shamelessly imitated by the Hebrews also (1 Kings xiv. 24; 2 Kings xxiii. 7), and generally accompanied by the offering of a kid (*Tacit.*, *Hist.* ii. 3; comp. vers. 17, 20), while the presents given to the women were employed for the temple of the goddess (חֶטֶת, Deut. xxiii. 19; comp. 1 Kings xv. 12; xxii. 47). But after the establishment of pure monotheism, the name קַדְשָׁה must gradually have received a very different signification; the “*holy woman*” seems rather to have become a euphemism

instead of the “unholy or impious woman” (compare the Latin *sacer*), which supposition gains strength if we consider the deep abhorrence in which unchastity was held among the Hebrews, and which is in our chapter also very strongly expressed (ver. 24; comp. xxxiv. 31). Therefore, קַדְשָׁה is, in the Pentateuch, used synonymously with זֹנִיָּה (vers. 15, 24; Deut. xxiii. 23, 24; comp. Hos. iv. 14). — הִיא מִצְאָתָא וְהִיא שְׁלֵחָה (ver. 25), construed like הִמָּה עֲלֵים (ver. 25), in 1 Sam. ix. 11; comp. Isa. xxxvii. 38; see *Ewald*, Gr. § 592. 2. — כִּי עַל־כֵּן (ver. 26) *since, because*; see on xxxiii. 10.

**27—30.** Tamar became the mother of two sons, under circumstances similar to those which accompanied the birth of Esau and Jacob (xxv. 25, 26); the younger son strove to gain the priority; but the struggle was, in this instance, accomplished before the brothers saw the light of day; Perez, by a determined and desperate effort, acquired the primogeniture; Zerah (זֶרַח), though unmistakeably bearing the badge of precedence, was obliged at last to yield: for from Perez descended, in the tenth generation, the glorious king David, who made the Hebrew name feared among the nations, and raised the Hebrew commonwealth to the zenith of its power (Ruth iv. 18—22). The reproach of his ancestor and of his doubtful birth, though by no means forgotten or disregarded, was deemed no obstacle in the way of his elevation and sacred election; was not even Ruth, the mother of his grandfather, of Moabitic origin? The purity of the race was, indeed, most forcibly enjoined upon the Israelites; but that principle, however solemn and fundamental, did not act as a

and bound upon his hand a crimson *thread*, saying, This *one* came out first. 29. And when he drew back his hand, behold, his brother came out: and she said, How hast thou broken forth? upon thee *be this* breach: there-

blind fatality; the liberty of the human will, supported by Divine grace, could break its power and curb it into submission; the descendants were not allowed to suffer for the levity or the crimes of their ancestors; and their *personal* worth could raise them to the loftiest eminence.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—About מִצָּץ (ver. 28) see on Exod., p. 487. — If the words כֹּחַ מִצָּץ עָלֶיךָ מָרָץ (ver. 29) are translated after the masoretic accents, they mean: “How hast thou broken forth? a breach will be about thee,” and contain a clear allusion to the rupture and division of the Hebrew monarchy, after the death of Saul, when the tribe of Judah acknowledged the sovereignty of David, while the other tribes of Israel remained faithful to the lawful heir of Saul, the first unhappy king (comp. 2 Sam. ii. 4, 8—11; v. 1—5). This long and miserable period of transition, during which intestine war, murder, and insidious violence were rife, is here evidently referred to with a tone of reproach and grief, intimating, that such melancholy events were the unavoidable consequences of the moral laxity in the primitive house of Judah (comp. 2 Sam. iii. 1; vi. 8).

A few remarks are necessary on the chronology of this chapter. Jacob was about 88 years old at the birth of Judah (see pp. 519, 539); he was 130 at the immigration into Egypt (xlvii. 9); hence, Judah had, at the time of this event, attained the age of 42 years. Within this period, he had not only become the father of three sons, Er, Onan, and Shelah, and, after they had all long arrived at puberty, of the twin-sons Perez and Zerah, but the grandfather of Hezron and Hamul, the sons of Perez (xlv. 12; comp. Numb. xxvi. 19—22). It is extremely difficult to compress all these births into the limited period of 42 years; it would be necessary to suppose, that Judah married when about

13 years old; that he was 16, when Shelah was born; 27, when his son Er married Tamar; 29, when he became the father of Perez and Shelah; and that again, 13 years later, in the 42nd year of his life, or a short time before the immigration into Egypt, Hezron and Hamul were born to Perez. The marriage of Judah with the daughter of Shuah would, therefore, have taken place about three years after Jacob's return from Mesopotamia, during his sojourn in Shechem, about three or four years before the murderous act of Simeon and Levi (see on xxxiv. 1—5), and about seven years before the selling of Joseph: but it is now only incidentally mentioned, because the chief object of this chapter is to relate Judah's unjust conduct towards Tamar, and the birth of Perez and Zerah, which events fall after Joseph's abduction. —It may be doubted whether, as Baumgarten believes, this early maturity and rapid fruitfulness of Judah's house is intended to show the beginning realisation of the Divine promise regarding a numerous progeny, and to impress the fact, that henceforth the generative power would be as precocious in the family of Abraham, as it had hitherto been preserved to an unusually advanced age (since Isaac was born in the 100th year of Abraham; Jacob in the 60th of Isaac; Reuben in the 80th of Jacob, etc.). But it is impossible to suppose, with Hengstenberg (Auth. pp. 354—359), that Hezron and Hamul, the sons of Perez, were not born in Canaan, but after the immigration into Egypt, so that the period of 42 years would allow a greater latitude for the births of Er, Onan, Shelah, Perez, and Zerah; this is impossible, as it is distinctly stated, that “all the souls of the house of Jacob that came into Egypt, were seventy” (xlv. 27; Exod. i. 1; Deut. x. 22); which expression, though naturally including those who were already in Egypt at the time of Jacob's settlement in Goshen,

fore his name was called Perez [Breach]. 30. And afterwards came out his brother, who had the crimson *thread* upon his hand: and his name was called Zerah [Splendour].

namely Joseph and his two sons (xli. 20, 27; Exod. i. 5), can by no means imply those who were born *after* this event. That supposition would, besides, destroy the obvious and designed significance of the

number *seventy* as the amount of those who formed the first small colony in Egypt, and who, in the course of four centuries, were intended to grow into a numerous and mighty people (see on xli. 8—27).

## CHAPTER XXXIX.

**SUMMARY.**—Joseph gained the full confidence of his master, but was calumniated by the wife of the latter, and thrown into the state prison (xxxix.). He interpreted the dreams of the chief butler and the chief baker of Pharaoh, who were detained in the same prison (xl.). Two years later, Pharaoh himself had a double dream, which the wise men of Egypt were unable to interpret, but which Joseph, then thirty years old, and on the interference of the chief butler brought from the jail, declared to indicate seven years of plenty and seven years of scarcity. He was by the king made viceroy of Egypt, and married to Asenath, the daughter of Potiphra, chief priest of Heliopolis, and he became by her the father of two sons, Manasseh and Ephraim. He then made efficient preparations to meet the necessities of the period of famine. All the nations came to Egypt to buy corn (xli.). Among the strangers were the sons of Jacob, except Benjamin. Recognising his brothers, but unrecognised by them, Joseph treated them harshly as spies, forbade them to come again unless they brought Benjamin with them, kept Simeon as a pledge, and ordered their money to be returned in their sacks (xlii.). When want compelled them to renew their journey to Egypt, Jacob, after a long and determined refusal, at last consented to send Benjamin with them. Joseph continued his strange conduct; declined to accept the money which the brothers returned; invited them to a feast, but treated Benjamin with particular distinction (xliii.). When they departed, he ordered again the money to be put into their sacks, and his silver cup into the sack of Benjamin. His servant pursued after them; they returned, and offered themselves all as slaves, while Joseph declared that he would keep Benjamin alone. At last, after a most powerful address on the part of Judah (xliv.), Joseph made himself known to his brothers, dispelled their apprehensions, and, with the sanction of Pharaoh, sent them to Canaan to his father, to invite him to come to Egypt (xlv.). Jacob, 130 years old, arrived with all his household, forming, with Joseph and his sons, seventy souls, and settled in the province of Goshen, after having personally obtained Pharaoh's permission. Joseph, by a shrewd policy, brought all the property and the land of the Egyptians, except that of the priests, into the immediate possession of the king (xlvi., xlvii.). — We have in this summary noticed only the most important points, as the connection of the parts is more fully developed in the following notes (see on xlii. 1—16).

### 1. And Joseph was brought down to Egypt, and Poti-

1. The Biblical writer, conscious of the almost foreign spirit of the episode by which the history of Joseph had been interrupted, resumes it by repeating some of the chief features of the preceding narrative. The caravan which, coming from

Gilead, had passed by Dothan, and had there purchased the youth, continued its journey southward to Shechem and Jerusalem: here the route separates; one line proceeds almost strictly southward to Hebron, through the Desert of Paran, and with a



phar, an officer of Pharaoh, chief of the guard, an Egyptian, bought him of the hands of the Ishmaelites, who had brought him down thither. 2. And the Lord was with Joseph, and he was a prosperous man; and he was in the house of his master, the Egyptian. 3. And his master saw that the Lord *was* with him, and that the Lord made all that he did prosper in his hand. 4. And Joseph found favour in his eyes, and he served him: and he made him

alight curve to the west, down to the head of the Gulf of Akabah; while the other road runs from Jerusalem in a south-westerly direction to Gaza, and from there to the Valley of the Nile, either through the Pass of Dshebel-el-Tib, or more eastward through that of Dshebel-el-Edshmeh (see on Exod., p. 229). On one of these routes, Joseph seems to have been carried to the town *On* (יֹנ), then perhaps the residence of the Egyptian kings. *On* was consecrated to the sun; and the name itself, which is Egyptian, signifies *light*; hence the Greeks called it, by a literal translation, *Heliopolis* (Ἡλιούπολις); the Hebrews, "the house of the sun" (בֵּית הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ, Jer. xliii. 13); and the Romans, *oppidum solis* (Plin. v. 11). It was situated about twelve Roman miles north of Babylon, and about double that distance from Memphis, on the eastern side of the Pelusiac arm of the Nile; it was built on a mound, and formed the centre of the important district of the same name, which sent ten deputies to the great national court of justice, and which, after the dispersion, contained a very considerable Hebrew population. It was one of the most ancient and most sacred Egyptian cities, famous for its splendid temple of the sun adorned with majestic pyramids and columns, for the pretended periodical appearance of the fabulous bird Phoenix (perhaps the emblem of the Sothic period of 1461 years), and for the eminent and unequalled learning of its priests. Indeed it was the chief seat of Egyptian science, especially astronomy; and its scholars were the teachers, if not of Joseph and Moses, at least of Pythagoras, Thales, and Solon, of Plato and

Eudoxus, and of a host of enquiring travellers. Here one of the great public festivals was celebrated; and the sacred bullock Mnevis, the rival of Apis, was here fed in the holy edifice. The town suffered greatly in the time of the Persian kings; but even Alexander the Great visited it with eager interest; however, Strabo found it in ruins; Augustus and Constantine plundered it freely, to adorn the public places of Rome and Constantinople; yet even travellers in the middle ages were struck with astonishment by the colossal sphinxes, more than thirty cubits high; by the grand gates and propylæa of the temple; and by the two immense obelisks (called Pharaoh's Needles), whose summits were covered with massive brass, whose sides bore the name of Osirtasen I. of the twelfth dynasty, the ruler of both Upper and Lower Egypt, and which formed the centre of converging avenues of many smaller obelisks: but few remnants have been preserved to bear witness to the pristine grandeur and magnificence of Heliopolis; one of those obelisks alone, a quadrangular cone, sixty to seventy feet high, of a block of red granite, covered with very ancient hieroglyphics, and forming one of the earliest specimens of Egyptian architecture, marks the site of the once sacred town; it stands near the present village of Mahtariah, about six miles north-east of Cairo, amidst low mounds, which circumscribe the area, nearly quadrangular, and about three miles in extent, once occupied by the ancient city, but now furrowed by the ploughshares of the native peasantry. An old well called "fountain of light" (*Ain el Shams*) recalls the former name of that principal

overseer over his house, and all *that* he had he gave into his hand. 5. And from the time *that* he had made him overseer in his house, and over all that he had, the Lord blessed the Egyptian's house for Joseph's sake; and the blessing of the Lord was upon all that he had in the house and in the field. 6. And he left all that he had in Joseph's hand; and he cared with him for nought, save the bread which he ate. And Joseph was beautiful of

stronghold of Egyptian erudition and Egyptian idolatry (comp. Jer. xlii. 13; *Herod.* ii. 3, 59, 73; *Joseph.*, Ap. ii. 2; *Plin.* v. 9; x. 2; *Ptol.* iv. 5; *Tacit.*, Ann. vi. 28; *Diod.* i. 84; *Strab.* xvii. 803, 805; *Ritter*, *Erdk.* i. 822—824; *Wilkinson*, iv. 300—307; *Stanley*, *Sinai and Palest.*, p. xxxi.). If Joseph's wisdom, in such a town, surpassed that of all wise men, it must have been extraordinary, if not Divine: this is the inference which the Biblical writer desires the reader should draw.

The Egyptian kings made a peculiar boast of executing their gigantic public works by the hands of foreign slaves, either acquired by money, or captives of war. The example of the monarchs was gradually imitated by the wealthier subjects; national pride rendered foreigners more acceptable as slaves than natives; the demand was promptly and plentifully supplied by the far-travelling Arabian merchants; thus the execrable slave-trade began at an early period to flourish in the land of the Pharaohs; and on the monuments, foreigners are often represented as serving in the families of priests and military chiefs (*Wilkinson*, *Man. and Cust.* i. 404). Joseph, a victim of this fatal commerce, was sold into the house of Potiphar, who is expressly called an Egyptian (עִשְׂרָאִי), not a superfluous addition, as the population of Heliopolis, from remote times, included a considerable admixture of Arabians (*Plin.* vi. 34); and as Joseph could rise through an Egyptian only to the high political station which he was destined to occupy.

2—6. The love of God which rested on Abraham's race, was, in the case of

Joseph, the pure and pious youth, enhanced by individual merit: if, therefore, Jacob, who reached Mesopotamia with many previous sins to atone for, brought blessing and happiness into the house of Laban (xxx. 27, 30), it was the more natural, that Joseph's steps should be guided by a Divine power, and that an invisible benediction should attend all his plans and undertakings. Potiphar, soon made aware of these extraordinary results of Joseph's presence, regarded him as a most valuable acquisition, counting him among those favoured individuals, who, in accordance with the doctrine of fatalism, were as unfailingly believed to spread bliss and success around them, as others were thought ominously to cause mishap and vexation. Joseph, appointed the chief servant, received the sole and unrestricted management of all the complicated offices connected with the household of an Egyptian grandee; he saved his master every care and trouble in domestic matters, and left him nothing to do but to enjoy the pleasures of the table (ver. 6). But the influence of Joseph's presence extended to all the property of his master, especially the produce of the field (ver. 5). For as Potiphar, the head of the king's guard, was a member of the warrior caste, he was necessarily an occupier of land: each soldier, belonging to either of the two principal classes of the army, the Hermotybies and the Calasiries, received twelve auroræ of land, and the higher officers, no doubt, more in proportion; since it was deemed a fundamental principle of policy, that those who defend the country should be personally interested in its integrity

form, and beautiful of appearance.—7. And it happened after these things, that his master's wife cast her eyes upon Joseph; and she said, Lie with me. 8. But he refused, and said to his master's wife, Behold, my master careth not with me about what *is* in the house, and he hath given all that he hath into my hand; 9. *There is* none greater in this house than I; nor hath he withheld anything from me but thee, because thou *art* his wife: how then can I do this great wickedness, and sin against God? 10. And though she spoke to Joseph day by day,

and independence (see Commentary on Exodus, p. 244).

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—Potiphar did not care or trouble himself (וְלֹא נָלַץ) about anything *with Joseph* (יִסְחָק, ver. 6; comp. iv. 1), that is, together with him; he shared in no way with Joseph the control over the domestic affairs, but left it entirely in his faithful hands (comp. ver. 8); יִסְחָק is, therefore, not “in his mind”; nor “as long as he employed the services of Joseph”; nor “he knew not aught he had,” etc.

**7—18.** Temptation, the touch-stone of sterling virtue, decides the all-important question, whether innocence of conduct is the consequence of weakness and indifference, or of moral strength; it decides, whether calmness of mind is the result of the stagnation, or of the equilibrium, of the internal powers. Hitherto Joseph, though exposed to a most severe vicissitude of fortune, had been allowed to follow the spontaneous impulse of his nature; he was cherished by his father; he lived harmlessly and in childlike simplicity among his brothers; he scarcely understood their jealousy and their hatred; and when he saw himself the object of their heartless cruelty, he found ready relief in his brilliant hopes. The purity of his mind received an additional charm from the perfect beauty of his person; he was a blooming youth when he entered Potiphar's house; and there he matured into a vigorous and energetic man. His mistress, who had daily opportunities of observing him, was as much struck by his honest zeal as fas-

cinated by his accomplished grace; she was at last conquered, and made degrading proposals. Joseph resisted by the aid of two powerful weapons, gratitude to his master, and the fear of God. His answer, impressive and pathetic, appealed to the holiest feelings of the human breast: “how can I do this great wickedness and sin against God”? Had any moral power been left in the wretched woman, her conscience would have risen in indignation against her unholy emotion, and would have steeled her for the fearful struggle between duty and sentiment. But Joseph's firmness roused herevil passions to still greater vehemence; she allowed no day to pass without repeating her unlawful importunities; till at last, overwhelmed by her passion, and forgetting the solemn vows of matrimony, she sacrificed her honour and her pride, and nearly threw herself into the deepest abyss of disgrace to which woman can sink. Now the most critical moment had arrived for Joseph also: he knew the *danger* if he provoked the revenge of his humiliated mistress; and he weighed the *sins* of compliance;—he despised the former in order to avoid the latter; an extraordinary moral effort saved him; and he fled from the nets of seduction. Was it love that had actuated Potiphar's wife? If any doubt remained, it is dispelled by the conduct which she then adopted. Her feelings for Joseph were at once converted into the fiercest hatred; intent only upon her own safety and reputation, she seemed to have but one desire—his destruction (comp. 3 Sam. xiii. 15). Unblushingly perverting the

he did not listen to her, to lie by her, *and* to be with her. 11. And one day, when he went into the house to do his work, and *there was* none of the men of the house there within: 12. She seized him by his garment, saying, Lie with me: and he left his garment in her hand, and fled, and went out into the street. 13. And when she saw that he had left his garment in her hand, and had fled into the street; 14. She called to the men of her house, and said to them, saying, See, a Hebrew hath been brought to us to insult us; he came in to me to lie with me, and I cried with a

truth, and imputing to him her own crime, she acted in a manner so natural to women in her despicable position, that we cannot be surprised at finding several and almost exact parallels in other traditions also; for in the same manner was Hippolytus calumniated by Phædra, and Bellerophon by Anteia, the wife of king Proetus (*Hom.*, *Il.* vi. 160—165).

But it may be asked: has this narrative sufficient internal probability? and especially, is it in accordance with the character and the customs of the ancient Egyptians? As this has not seldom been denied by recent critics, it is necessary to offer a few illustrations derived both from ancient writers and from the monuments. It is at present universally allowed, that the position of the women was in Egypt by far more favourable and unrestricted than in most of the other eastern countries. Women were admitted to the throne; Isis herself, one of the principal deities, was believed to have been one of the first queens of Egypt; Nitocris and Scemiophris are renowned princesses of later times; the wives of the kings are not seldom represented on the monuments at the side of their husbands; and, in many cases, they possessed higher power and received greater homage than the monarchs themselves (*Diod. Sic.* i. 27). Women served in the temple as priestesses, and two of them, employed in the sanctuary of Thebes, founded individually the oracles of Dodona and of Ammon (*Herod.* ii. 54—57), though it appears that they were in some districts excluded from these sacred offices. They

were not rigidly secluded in their harems, nor jealously watched by eunuchs; they were not regarded as slaves, and occupied no contemptible rank in the household; it is even stated that they ruled over their husbands, who were obliged to pledge themselves in the marriage-contract to obey their wives in every respect (*Diod.* i. 27). When the daughters married, they received their due share of their parents' property as a dowry. The Egyptians, in this point more liberal than the Greeks, often entertained men and women in the same apartment; both sexes were seated in mixed groups; and sometimes a young child was allowed to sit on the ground at the side of the mother, or on the father's knee; several beautiful frescoes, portraying how such promiscuous parties were amused with music and dance, were regaled with wine and other refreshments, and presented with garlands and ointments, have been preserved to our time, and prove the ancient Egyptians to have been a convivial and pleasure-seeking people (*Wilkinson*, *Manners*, ii. 388—392; *The Egyptians in the Time of the Pharaohs*, p. 12). These facts will sufficiently explain how Joseph could see his mistress, and so give rise to the occurrences described in our narrative. The custom, mentioned by Plutarch, that the Egyptian women were forbidden to wear shoes, lest they should be tempted to appear in the streets, is of uncertain age and origin; for Herodotus relates, as a peculiarity of the Egyptians, that the women attend markets, and traffic,

loud voice: 15. And when he heard that I lifted up my voice and cried, he left his garment with me, and fled, and went out into the street. 16. And she laid his garment by her, until his master came home. 17. And she spoke to him like these words, saying, The Hebrew servant, whom thou hast brought to us, came in to me to insult me. 18. And when I lifted up my voice and cried, he left his garment with me, and fled into the street.—19. And when his master heard the words of his wife, which she

while the men stay at home and weave (ii. 35). Lastly, the laws that men were in general permitted to marry many wives, while the priests were restricted to one, and that no child was regarded as illegitimate even if born by a purchased maid-servant, these laws were undoubtedly dictated by motives in no manner indicating a derogatory position of the women.

The Egyptian ladies were not remarkable either for grace or beauty; they are pictured, by ancient writers, with no flattering colours; nor do the monuments permit any romantic illusion on this point: if rotundity and corpulency, thick and turned-up lips, contracted brows, long oval eyes, and well-developed and prominent ears, are attractions, the Egyptian ladies belong to the fairest of their sex (comp. p. 263). It may be that this absence of personal charms facilitated the resistance of Joseph; though it is precarious to confound our notions of beauty with those entertained by ancient or by eastern tribes. But the immorality of Potiphar's wife is in perfect accordance with the reputation generally borne by Egyptian women. They were famous for conjugal faithlessness; Pheron, the son of Sesostria, searched long in vain for a woman who had remained devoted to her husband; and when he, at last, found one, he burnt all the guilty women as a fearful example, in the town Erythrebolus (*Herod.* ii. 111). It does not appear that the more privileged social position of Egyptian ladies exercised an ennobling influence upon their habits; they seem to have rivalled

the men in the vice of intemperance, generally prevalent, though but gradually acquired; and drunken women appear on the sculptural works, with all the attributes, often repulsive rather than ludicrous, following in the train of degrading excesses.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—As Joseph was occupied in the fields also (ver. 5), it could appropriately be said: "one day when he came into the house" (ver. 11). It is, therefore, unnecessary to take בֵּית here in the sense of בֵּית הַנָּשִׁים (*Esth.* ii. 3). The unrestricted liberty which the women enjoyed, accounts for the circumstance, that the wife of Potiphar was left alone in the house (ver. 11), though the servants and the other members of the household could easily be called in by her (ver. 14). In addressing the latter, she said, with feigned indignation and contempt, "one has brought (הָבִיא) a Hebrew to us to mock us" (ver. 14); but when she later repeated the fictitious tale to her husband, she more distinctly and more maliciously threw the reproach upon him, and spoke of the Hebrew servant whom *he* (Potiphar) had brought into the house (הָבִיאתָ, ver. 17); nor are the terms אִישׁ עֶבְרִי הָעֶבֶר and הָעֶבְרִי without an invidious colouring. — מִצָּח is here to mock, synonymous with לָעַץ (*Prov.* i. 26), and totally different from the same verb used in xxvi. 8; comp. *Job* xl. 29.

19—23. The shameless wife, by adroit sophistry, threw the whole weight of the reproach upon her husband, whom she maliciously charged with having brought into the house an unknown Hebrew slave

spoke to him, saying, After this manner did thy servant to me, his anger was kindled. 20. And Joseph's master took him, and put him into the prison, a place where the king's prisoners *were* bound: and he was there in the prison. 21. And the Lord was with Joseph, and inclined the love of *others* upon him, and gave him favour in the eyes of the keeper of the prison. 22. And the keeper of the prison committed to Joseph's hand all the prisoners that *were* in the prison; and whatsoever they did there, he did *it*. 23. The

to mock and to assail her honour. Potiphar's anger was quickly roused, and in order to protect the dignity of his house, he commanded Joseph's immediate imprisonment. He could scarcely pronounce a severer verdict; capital punishment would have passed beyond the limits of justice into the sphere of revenge; for the crime imputed to Joseph was, even according to his wife's statement, only intended. Potiphar, whose character is represented in a perfectly favourable light, and who, like several other heathens introduced in the Book of Genesis, though unable to resign error, showed himself capable of understanding the truth (ver. 3), was free from all suspicion, and seems to have placed implicit reliance in her words.—The criminals offending either against the king or the high officers of his household, were incarcerated in a prison (בֵּית־הַסֹּהַר) attached to the house of the chief of the royal guard (אֲשֶׁר הַטִּבְחָיִם), and standing under his immediate authority. But the practical supervision of the establishment was entrusted to a governor (אֲשֶׁר בֵּית־הַסֹּהַר) who had, no doubt, to communicate with, and was responsible to, his superior, the chief of the guard. The Egyptian prisoners were mostly condemned to compulsory labour, except, perhaps, persons of rank and eminence, for whom loss of liberty and personal humiliation were deemed punishments sufficiently severe and tormenting. Thus Joseph was ordered to wait upon two high functionaries doomed to share with him the same prison (xl. 4). But here, also, the mercy of God protected him; a supernatural success

manifestly attended his occupations; the governor's heart was, like that of his former master, benevolently inclined towards him; and he committed to his zeal the control over all his affairs. Joseph became the most favoured inmate of the prison: but who should rescue him from that place of gloom and distress? Caprice and calumny had caused his fall; he had been condemned without proof, without enquiry, and without an opportunity of defence; he had to expect nothing from the arbitrariness of summary jurisdiction, not likely to be over-scrupulous in the case of a foreigner and a slave; his innocence and his hopes alone remained to cheer him in the dreary dungeon.

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—סֹהַר (from סָהַר *to be round* or *to enclose*, kindred with סָהַר and סָהַר, or with סָהַר) an enclosure (whence סָהַר *a wall*, in Talmudical writings), or a building intended to *shut up* prisoners, a *jail* (like סָהַר in Isai. xxiv. 22; and hence בֵּית־הַסֹּהַר like בֵּית־הַכּוֹר (Ex. xii. 29); we may, besides, compare סֹהַר with the verb סָהַר, by which it is several times explained in our text (ver. 20; xl. 3, 5). The Septuagint renders correctly, *ἀχύρωμα* and *δεσμωτήριον*; the Samaritan codex reads בֵּית־הַסֹּהַר; and in Syriac, סֹהַר is a *castle* or *tower*. Whether the *round* form of the Egyptian prison is indicated in the word, is doubtful.—The sense of the words וַיִּתֵּן חָנָן (ver. 21) cannot be questionable, if we compare them with the phrase in Exod. iii. 21; xi. 3.

A regard for the connection and continuity of the narrative rendered it necessary for the Jehovist to add a few words

keeper of the prison did not look not to anything *that was* under his hand; because the Lord was with him, and *that* which he did, the Lord made *it* to prosper.

of transition at the beginning of this chapter (vers. 1—5); but it is perfectly evident that the purport of this addition was contained in the Elohist document also; for nothing would be more abrupt than to connect the conclusion of the thirty-seventh chapter immediately with the sixth verse of the thirty-ninth; for it would read thus: "The Midianites sold Joseph into Egypt to Potiphar. And he left all that he had in Joseph's hand." It is absurd to suppose so unskilful and incoherent a style in the masterly Elohist composition; some sentence like the fourth verse is absolutely indispensable between the two portions: "And Joseph found favour in his eyes, and he served him; and he made him overseer over his house." We have thus another proof of the thoughtful and conscientious manner in which the Jehovist enlarged and completed his materials, and which we have characterized on former

occasions (see pp. 449, 493, etc.). His motive for the insertion in this instance, was the desire of showing more clearly the immediate care and interference of God in favour of Joseph, and of thus pointing out with greater stress the chief end and the great lesson of the story. The same consideration induced him to add, at the conclusion of this chapter (vers. 21—23), a similar remark regarding the Divine protection which Joseph enjoyed even in the dungeon; but whether he introduced the *אשר בית הסהר* as another functionary besides the *אשר המבדחים*, or found him mentioned in the older source, it is impossible to decide, though some critics have dogmatically asserted the former alternative: certain it is, that in the narrative, such as it is before us, both officials are represented as two different personages, and that their respective functions are clearly discernible (see p. 633).

## CHAPTER XL.

1. And it happened after these things, *that* the butler of the king of Egypt and *his* baker offended against their lord, the king of Egypt. 2. And Pharaoh was wroth against his two officers, against the chief butler, and against the chief baker. 3. And he gave them into

1—4. The realisation of Joseph's dreams seemed now not only improbable but almost impossible. Separated from his father and his brothers, and living in a different country, a prisoner and a slave, how could he indulge in the ambitious and soaring reveries of power and authority? But as our narrative is intended to embody the doctrine of the special providence of God, it designedly introduces new and greater complications, darker and denser gloom, and almost impervious mazes of misery: it enforces the lesson, that however wretched and abandoned

the pious man may appear, the eye of God watches over his career, and the very misfortunes which his short-sightedness may lament, are the stepping-stones of his rescue and his greatness.—Joseph's mind was too well regulated to fall into mournful despondency; he displayed in the prison the usual serenity of his disposition; he was faithfully devoted to those with whose attendance he was charged, to such a degree that he noticed even the changeable expressions of their countenances and the fluctuations of their humour: yet he was far from indolently indifferent to his humiliating

custody in the house of the chief of the guard, into the prison, the place where Joseph *was* incarcerated. 4. And the chief of the guard charged Joseph with them, and he served them: and they remained some time in custody. — 5. And they dreamt a dream, both of them, each man his dream in one night, each man according to the interpretation of his dream, the butler and the baker of the king of Egypt, who *were* incarcerated in the prison. 6. And Joseph came in to them in the morning, and saw them,

position; he seemed to watch every opportunity which promised the remotest chance of deliverance; he felt deeply the violence of which he had been made the pitiable victim; he was thoroughly impressed with the double wrong done to him, that he had been stolen from his father's house, and that, by despotic arbitrariness, he had been deprived of his liberty (ver. 15). He thus kept alive within himself the feeling of that Divine government which cannot permit the triumph of injustice; whilst he patiently bore the severe trials which had been imposed upon him from inscrutable reasons.

5—15. The chief butler and the chief baker, for some offence not specified in the text, had been sent into the prison standing under the inspection of Joseph's master. Though they were treated with a consideration due to their former distinction, their thoughts were naturally occupied with the possibilities and prospects of release; till at last a dream supervened, to give a distinct shape to their impatient hopes. The fact that *both* dreams occurred in the *same* night (ver. 5), was regarded as a significant guarantee that they were not accidental plays of a wandering imagination, but that their speedy fulfilment was certain (see p. 608). The noble officials, afflicted by their visions, were sad and dejected; and a gloomy pensiveness settled on their faces. But it may seem surprising, why the *butler* should have felt such consternation. His dream appears so clearly to foretell a happy issue, that we should rather expect to find him hopeful and rejoiced. However, his anxious mind might construe the vine to refer to him-

self; and as it was a current Egyptian idea to compare the juice of the grape with blood, he might fear that his own life or blood was to be sacrificed to Pharaoh. But the penetrating intelligence of Joseph saw more correctly; with safe and unwavering decision he declared the vine to be the emblem, not of the butler's person, but of his office; and he predicted that, in three days, he would, as in former times, present the cup to Pharaoh, and be restored to all the privileges of his station. Joseph was so certain that he had disclosed the right interpretation of the dream, that he entreated the butler, in the most fervent terms, to represent his innocence to Pharaoh. Yet he declined every personal merit; he assumed no air of superior wisdom; "the interpretations belong to God"; he was satisfied if he was but His humble instrument.

The introduction of wine in our narrative has also been used by some expositors to question its trustworthiness and accuracy. But the progress made in the researches on Egyptian antiquities enables us to verify and to illustrate the various allusions occurring in the Scriptures regarding the vines of Egypt (Num. xx. 5; Ps. lxxviii. 47; lxxx. 9; cv. 33). The notice of Herodotus (ii. 77) that in the land of the Pharaohs the vine was not cultivated; the opinion, that wine was avoided because it was regarded as the blood of Typhon, or of the ancient enemies of the land; and the statement of Plutarch (*Isis*, 6) that it was wholly forbidden to the kings of Egypt previous to Psammetichus; have long been proved to be utterly groundless (comp. *Herod.* ii. 133, 73, 74);



and, behold, they *were* dejected. 7. And he asked Pharaoh's officers who *were* with him in custody in his master's house, saying, Why is your face sad to-day? 8. And they said to him, We have dreamt a dream, and *there is* no one to interpret it. And Joseph said to them, *Do* not interpretations *belong* to God? Tell me *them*, I pray you. 9. And the chief butler told his dream to Joseph, and said to him, In my dream, behold, a vine *was* before me; 10. And on the vine *were* three branches; and it *was*

representations of the vineyard and the winepress are found on monuments executed in the times of the earliest dynasties; Athenæus states even, after Hellenicus, that the first vine was discovered in the Egyptian city Plinthina, on which account the academic philosopher, Dion, calls the Egyptians fond of wine and of drinking (*Athen. Deipn.* i. 61); wine was used for medicinal purposes; it was employed in the offerings made to the deities (*Herod.* ii. 39); Osiris was popularly believed to be identical with the Greek Bacchus (*Herod.* ii. 42, 144), and was represented to have been the first who found the vine and taught men its cultivation (*Diod.* i. 11, 15); wine was imported into Egypt from Greece and Phœnicia (*Herod.* iii. 6); it formed a part of the daily rations allowed to the soldiers of the king's guard (*Herod.* ii. 164—168); it was not even interdicted to the priests, except, perhaps, to those of Heliopolis (*Herod.* ii. 37; *Plut.* Is. 6), though but a limited quantity was permitted to them to ensure their constant efficiency for their sacred functions; and wine was plentifully served at banquets and other social meetings to both men and women (see p. 631); even if, as some believe, the frightful skeleton, usually exhibited to the guests, with the words, "Eat and drink, for soon you will be like this," was a symbolical exhortation to temperance, it did not always produce the desired effect; but it is much more probable that it was intended to invite to a free and full enjoyment of the pleasures of the table, since inexorable death will not fail to pay its unwelcome visit. The vine

occurred in Egypt in a great variety of species, of which that grown in the Thebaid was, according to Athenæus, so agreeable and light that it was, without injury, given to invalids; the wine of Mareotis was most esteemed and plentiful (*Plin.* xiv. 3), and possessed the advantage of keeping to a great age; while that of Tenia was renowned for its richness and aromatic fragrance; and that of Anthylla, and of other localities, was in eager request.—The vine flourishes in Egypt even in the water, like an aquatic plant; it is, therefore, not injured by the inundations of the Nile, which, moreover, never commence, in Lower Egypt, before the middle of August, when the vintage is, in most cases, almost entirely completed.—Vineyards, very tastefully arranged, were either combined with, or contiguous to, orchards, furnished with tanks, and often with reservoirs, with summer-houses, and reception-rooms, with avenues of trees and grass-plots, and always with a building for the wine-press (*Isai.* v. 1, 2).—"The vines were trained on trellis-work, supported by transverse rafters resting on pillars," which were, in many instances, gaily coloured, and divided the vineyard into numerous avenues; many vines were allowed to grow as standing bushes, and, on account of their lowness, required no support; while others were formed into a number of beautiful bowers (*Plin.* xvii. 21). At the season of the vintage, from the end of June, boys were engaged to frighten away the birds by a sling or the sound of the voice; in gathering the fruit, the precarious aid of trained

as if it budded; *and* its blossoms shot forth; *and* its clusters matured ripe grapes: 11. And Pharaoh's cup *was* in my hand: and I took the grapes, and pressed them into Pharaoh's cup, and I gave the cup into Pharaoh's hand. 12. And Joseph said to him, This *is* its interpretation: The three branches *are* three days: 13. Within three days more Pharaoh will lift up thy head, and restore thee to thy place; and thou wilt deliver Pharaoh's cup into his hand, in the former man-

monkeys was, more curiously than profitably, employed; and after the conclusion of the vintage, kids were allowed to browse upon the vines.—The simplest mode of pressing the wine, was by putting the grapes into a bag, and turning the latter by two poles in contrary directions, or by some other contrivance based on the same principle: but more remarkable is the foot-press; the workmen trod the grapes with naked feet, supporting themselves by ropes suspended from the roof. We possess several beautiful representations of such wine-presses, remarkable for elaborateness and tastefulness. After some other liquid was probably added to the juice, it was clarified by sieving, and, perhaps, by the application of eggs (comp. Description de l'Égypte, vi. 124; Rosellini, Monum. II. i. 365; Wilkinson ii. 142—170; Hengstenberg, Die Bücher Mose's und Aeg. 12—17).

The dream of the chief butler describes in rapid but comprehensive outlines the different stages in the growth of the vine; how it produces buds and blossoms, forms clusters, and matures ripe grapes, which the butler then presses into the goblet (ver. 10). This completeness seems to be the principal object of the narrative; it may be that only in order to shorten the whole process, and to compress it within the narrow frame of a vision, the juice, after having just been pressed out with the hand, is stated to have been placed before the king; whereas, in reality, it might have been allowed to ferment the usual time, as it is represented in numerous frescoes: but it is as probable, that sometimes temperate persons (as it was later ordained in

the Koran) abstained from fermented wine on account of its more intoxicating power, and that, at some period, the priests who regulated the king's table, as they controlled all his public and private affairs, prescribed to him the use of the unfermented juice of the grape. In no respect, therefore, do the words of the butler, "and I took the grapes, and pressed them into Pharaoh's cup," contain an allusion at variance with the tenour of our narrative.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—The meaning of פָּנָיו (ver. 6) is sufficiently clear from the words, "why are your faces sad"? (ver. 7); it signifies *dejected* or *afflicted* (Symm., σκυθρωποί; Sept., πρόσωπα σκυθρωπά; comp. Dan. i. 10; synonymous with פָּנָיו נֹעֲמִים, Prov. xxv. 23); though the original meaning of the root פָּנָה is *anger* and *wrath* (Prov. xix. 3, 12; comp. Gesen., Thea. p. 425).—The butler saw a *vine* (פֶּטֶל), and on it three *branches* or shoots (פָּרָשִׁים, from פָּרַשׁ to *plait*, to *twist*; in Latin, *palmities*, because, as Festus observes, "in modum palmarum humanarum virgulas quasi digitos edunt"; in Chaldee, פֶּרְשִׁין *a net*; comp. Joel i. 7): the vine appeared as if it were *budding* (כַּפְרֹחַת, from פָּרַח to *break forth*, to *sprout*; Cant. vi. 11; Numb. xvii. 20, 23); its *blossoms* (צִי, or more usually נֵצִיחַ, Job xv. 13; Isai. xviii. 5) came out; and forthwith the *unripe cluster* (אֶשְׁכּוֹל) *matured* (הִבְשִׁיל) into *ripe grapes* (עֲנָבִים, Is. v. 4).—It is a usual metaphor in reference to the ripening fruit to say, that the heat of the sun *cooks* or *boils* it, that is, brings it to maturity; in Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac, the verb בָּשַׁל is thus employed (Joel iv. 13; iii. 18);

ner when thou wast his butler. 14. Only remember me when it will be well with thee, and do kindness, I pray thee, to me, and make mention of me to Pharaoh, and bring me out of this house: 15. For indeed I was stolen away out of the land of the Hebrews; and here also have I done nothing that they should put me into the dungeon. —16. When the chief baker saw that the interpretation was good, he said to Joseph, I also *was* in my dream, and, behold, *I had* three baskets of white *bread* on my head: 17. And in the uppermost basket *there was* all kind of food for Pharaoh, the work of the baker; and the birds ate

in Greek, *πίρρω* or *πίσσω*; in Latin, *coquitur uva* or *vindemia* (Varro, R. R. i. 54; Virg., Georg. ii. 522; comp. Gesen., Thes. p. 249). —אשכול is here the unripe cluster, but is sometimes the cluster of grapes in general (Mic. vii. 1; Cant. i. 14). —שחט ענבים (ver. 11) is, undoubtedly, to *press* out the grapes (Sept., *ἐκθλίβειν*; Chald., *סחט*); certainly not, to *mix the wine* (Isai. i. 22), like *jugulare* Falernum (Mart. i. 19, שחט). —נשא את ראש (ver. 13) is, “to raise the head,” which is explained by the succeeding words, “and he will restore thee to thy place,” or office (נָשָׂא, equivalent to *מכונה*, Dan. xi. 20, 21; comp. 2 Kings xxv. 27). It is an intentional play upon the words, that the same phrase נשא את ראש is, in the answer given to the chief baker (ver. 19), so employed, that, by the addition of the word *מלך*, it conveys the opposite sense. A similar figure, equally striking, has been noticed before (see on xxvii. 29, 39, p. 515). —כי אם (ver. 14) with the following preterite *זכרתי*, means “only remember me”; comp. Job xlii. 8; *Ewald*, Gr. § 604. —Joseph could justly say, that he had been *stolen* from Canaan (ver. 15); for he was abducted by force, without the knowledge and consent of his father, under whose authority he was then standing. —Canaan is here called “the land of the Hebrews” (אֶרֶץ הָעִבְרִים), that is, the country in which the Hebrews were sojourners (xxxvii. 1), while its usual name was then, and remained for a long time, “the land of Canaan,” or, poetically, “the land of

the Amorites” (Am. ii. 10; Numb. xxi. 31); but later “land of Israel” was the usual name (1 Sam. xiii. 19; 1 Chron. xxii. 2; 2 Ki. vi. 23); till at last “land of Judah,” or *Judea*, became the ordinary appellation both among the Hebrews and among foreign nations (comp. *Lengerke*, *Kanaan*, pp. 25—28).

16—19. The chief baker, encouraged by the auspicious interpretation of his colleague's dream, told Joseph, without further request, the vision with which he felt harassed and oppressed. Joseph, at once perceiving that it was of ominous and fatal import, did not conceal its meaning; he told the unhappy man boldly and fearlessly that the dream foreboded his death, and that, in three days, Pharaoh would demand his head. It might seem cruel to torment the imagination of the prisoner by foretelling him the precise time of his execution; but his dream as well as that of the chief butler, are, in our text, regarded as Divine prophecies, not useless in the economy of Joseph's life, because designed to be the remote means of bringing Joseph's wisdom and superior virtue to the knowledge of Pharaoh; they prove the innocence or trifling offence of the butler, and the guilt of the baker; and as the former deserved the joyous presentiment of his happy restoration, the latter merited the anticipation of pain as a part of the punishment awaiting his crime. Joseph, in other respects the instrument, is, in this instance, the herald of Providence.

them out of the basket upon my head. 18. And Joseph answered and said, This *is* its interpretation: The three baskets *are* three days; 19. Within three days more Pharaoh will lift up thy head from thee, and will hang thee upon a tree; and the birds will eat thy flesh from thee. — 20. And on the third day, *which was* Pharaoh's birthday, he made a feast to all his servants: and he lifted up the head of the chief butler and the head of the chief baker among his servants. 21. And he restored the chief butler to his butlership; and he gave the cup into Pharaoh's hand; 22. But he hanged the chief baker; as Joseph had

The confectioner's art obtained in Egypt a large share of attention, and the very various operations which it involves, are, with the usual minuteness, reproduced on the monuments. Here we see how the flour was sifted and purified; how the paste was either kneaded with the hands or the feet; was formed into rolls, upon the surface of which certain seeds were sprinkled; and how the dough, mixed with fruits and other ingredients, received the shape of an ox, a sheep, or a fish, of a triangle, a star, or a disk, or of other favourite objects (*Rosellini*, II. ii. 464; *Wilkinson*, ii. 384—388). Though these articles of food were prepared in the kitchen, the cook and the baker seem to have been two different servants (1 Sam. viii. 13, כֹּבֵל and מֵדֵן). The ancient Egyptians made bread the chief article of their food; they were, hence, by way of derision, called by the Greeks "bread-eaters" (*ἀροφάγους*); but they did not, as Herodotus erroneously asserts (ii. 36), avoid wheat or barley; the poorer classes baked their bread usually from spelt (*Σῖκα*), or barley, or the flour of the *doera* or *sorghum* (*Holcus S.*); but wheat also was very extensively cultivated, freely used by the wealthier part of the population, and frequently offered to the gods. Sometimes other vegetable productions, for instance the middle part of the lotus-plant (*Herod.* ii. 92) or lentiles (p. 492), were baked into bread. — The burdens, as is generally known, were carried by the Egyptian men on their heads,

while the women bore them on their shoulders (*Herod.* ii. 35), though we learn from the monuments, that this custom was by no means uniformly observed. Two or three baskets with pastry, one above the other, were frequently carried together on the head. — These remarks will suffice to illustrate the allusions to Egyptian manners contained in our verses.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS. — כֵּלֵי חָרִי (ver. 16) is no doubt "baskets with white pastry or cakes"; for חָרִי must be derived from חָוִר, *to be white* (*Isai.* xxix. 22); hence the Sept. renders *κατὰ χονδρῶν*; *Aqu.* *κόφινος γύψω*; *Vulg.* *canistra farinae*; the Syriac and *Saadiak* retain the

same root (حواری and חורתי). Less plausibly is חָרִי traced to חָוִר *opening*; so that כֵּלֵי חָרִי would be net-like or wicker baskets (*Symm.* *κατὰ βαινά*, etc.).

20—23. Joseph's predictions were literally realised. The birth-day was, among most of the eastern nations, not simply a time of joy. Worshippers of the stars could not but attach to it the highest astronomical importance. The hour of the birth was believed to decide and to rule the destinies of the individual; the juncture of the heavenly bodies at that period was a matter of absorbing anxiety; and experience in the art of fixing the nativities was one of the most powerful weapons in the hands of the sages of Egypt. We can, therefore, well understand why, among many tribes, birth-days were celebrated

interpreted to them. 23. But the chief butler did not remember Joseph, but forgot him.

with mixed feelings of joy and solemnity; and were signalized by religious and sometimes penitential acts (*Herod.* i. 133; ix. 109; *Matt.* xiv. 6).—But the chief butler, restored to the sunshine of royal favour, forgot the humble Hebrew slave whom he left behind in the sad monotony of the dungeon; neither gratitude nor veneration was strong enough to rouse his active sympathy; but Providence prepared the occasion, which, at last, made him the

tardy instrument of Joseph's pre-destined eminence.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—הִלְכֵת is the infinitive Hophal of הָלַךְ, instead of הִלְכֵת; comp. הָלַךְ in *Isai.* xxviii. 16.—The passive הִלְכֵת is construed with the accusative אֶת פֶּרֶעָה, as in several other instances; see on iv. 18.—In ver. 23, the sense is expressed both negatively and positively; comp. *Ps.* cxviii. 17, etc.

## CHAPTER XLI.

### 1. And it happened at the end of two years' time, that

2. For the third time are dreams employed as the agencies of Joseph's history: they first foreshadow his illustrious future; they then manifest, that the spirit of God had not abandoned him even in the abject condition of a slave and a prisoner; and they, lastly, are made the immediate fore-runners of his greatness. These repeated visions significantly describe that direct and special Providence which the life of Joseph is intended to embody; they show, that the events are not the result of chance or arbitrariness; that they are decreed in the counsel of God long before they occur; and that they are made known to man by extraordinary circumstances. If there is a profound importance even in the fleeting dreams of the night, blind accident—this is the lesson taught in our narrative—is absolutely excluded in the government of the world; an all-penetrating eye looks through the veil of distant occurrences; and an all-powerful hand, driving the swift chariot of Time, leads it unerringly to the fixed goal. But the propriety of Pharaoh's visions and of their interpretation is obvious. The very first words mark their character. Pharaoh thought he was standing by the *Nile* (נִילֹס). This river is, in Egypt, the cause and almost exclusive source of blessing and fertility. It is the condition, not of Egypt's prosperity, but material existence; it supplies the want of the rain

which, in many parts of the country, never or rarely falls; it diffuses its fructifying floods over vast tracts of the arable land; it is, by numberless arms, canals, and trenches, conducted over the meadows and fields, which, so irrigated, often with the aid of machines, yield harvests almost unparalleled for their abundance and excellence (*Isai.* xix. 5; *Ezek.* xxx. 12). Hence, the Nile was called "the rival of the clouds"; it was an object of veneration and worship; it was the holy, the blessed, or beneficent river; a great public festival (the Nilos) was annually celebrated in its honour with magnificent sacrifices and solemn invocations, at the time of the summer solstice; it had its own temples and priests; the kings honoured it by grand and brilliant processions; and especially at the season of its rise, it was watched with anxious solicitude and reverential care; for then the absorbing question regarding the prospects of the year, was decided; then the husbandman calculated, with all but unfailling certitude, the likelihood of plenty or scarcity; for if the waters rose but a few inches too high, they converted the plains of Egypt into pestilential morasses and marshes; if they rose too little, the fields remained a barren, dreary, and unproductive wilderness. That singular and unique river seems, indeed, to possess a truly magic power; for

Pharach dreamt: and, behold, he was standing by the

blessing and destruction follow its course (see on Exod. vii. 15, 19). It will suffice, in this place, to observe, that the Nile is formed by the confluence, at Chardum in Nubia, of two rivers, the eastern Astapus, or the *Blue River* (*Bahr Asrak*), and the greater, or western branch, or the *White River* (*Bahr Abbiad*, at 15° 37' N.L.), the sources of which, though for millenniums sought by explorers and adventurers, are still hidden in the obscure deserts of tropical Africa, and remain to be discovered to satisfy the ambition of princes and scholars; that after a short northern course, it is, from the east, increased by its only tributary river, Astaboras or Tacaze; that it leaves the stony valleys of Nubia, after having ten times, terrace-like, dashed its floods over the rocks impeding its way; that it enters Egypt near Syene (at 23° 33' N.L.), where it forms its last cataract; continues its sinuous way northward through a valley between five and ten miles wide, and shut in, on both sides, by two chains of irregular mountains of sandstone, till it divides itself, not far from Cairo (at the ancient Cercasorum), in two arms, which form the Delta, and discharge their waters into the Mediterranean at Damietta and Rosetta respectively: the eastern or Arabian range of mountains is overtopped by higher granite chains; it is more precipitous, crossed by several valleys in an oblique direction, and often approaches the river so near, that the latter has scarcely more than room to pass; the valley ceases above Cairo; from this point the Libyan chain advances in a north-westerly direction towards the coast, while the Arabian range proceeds almost rectangularly eastward to the Red Sea. It may, further, be briefly stated, that the swelling of the Nile, caused by the tropical rains which fall in Ethiopia and the adjoining countries from May to September, begins in Lower Egypt about the middle of June; that the water then assumes a green or yellowish or red colour (see on Exod., pp. 124, 125), and becomes undrinkable; that

it increases during the succeeding month, overflows its banks in August, and attains its greatest height in the beginning of September; so that then it resembles a sea, the towns and villages appear like islands, and the communication between the different parts of the valley is only possible by means of boats; that a height of water between sixteen and eighteen cubits is required to secure a good harvest (*Plin.* v. 10; *Strab.* xvii. 788); that the river sinks for forty or sixty days later, and resumes its usual appearance towards the end of October. The breadth of this majestic river amounts at Cairo to nearly 3,000 feet, and is navigable almost throughout the whole year. The soil of Egypt is steadily raised by the remaining slime; but the river preserves the usual relation to its banks, since its bed is also raised in an equal proportion. Hence the ancients called Lower Egypt "the gift of the Nile" (comp. *Diod.* iii. 3). The fact alluded to is attended by a remarkable consequence. A rise of eight cubits was, in the reign of king Moeris, sufficient to irrigate all Egypt below Memphis; whereas, in the time of Herodotus, about nine hundred years later, fifteen or sixteen cubits were required to overflow that part of the country; so that, if the elevation of the soil continued in the same ratio, the failure of all crops in the Delta was feared as the inevitable result (*Herod.* ii. 13). — The Delta is believed to have originally been a morass (*Herod.* ii. 4), later made habitable by means of dykes and other works; it has, even since the time of Strabo, undergone great modifications; the chief western arm of the river, which then emptied itself into the sea at Canopus, reaches it at present at Rosetta; the breadth of the Delta has, on the whole, been diminished, but the length has increased by encroachment on the sea; and the island of Pharos seems, in the age of Homer, to have been considerably more distant from the coast than in the time of Plutarch.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS. — Thirteen years intervened between the abduction

river [Nile]. 2. And, behold, there came up out of the river seven cows, fine in appearance and fat in flesh; and they fed in the reed-grass. 3. And, behold, seven other cows came up after them out of the river, bad in appearance and lean in flesh; and they stood by the *other* cows upon the bank of the river. 4. And the cows bad in ap-

of Joseph and his appearance before Pharaoh (xxxvii. 2; xli. 46). It is probable that he lived ten years as servant and steward in the house of Potiphar; that he was one year in the prison when he interpreted the dreams of the chief butler and chief baker; and that he was two years later summoned into the royal palace. For ten years denotes, not unfrequently, the conclusion of a complete period (see pp. 377, 603); and it is not likely that the humiliation of Joseph in the jail was intended to last longer than a few years. — שְׁנָתַיִם "a period of two years," similar to יָמִים חֹרֵשׁ in xxix. 14.—According to Josephus (Antiq. VIII. vi. 2) and other ancient authorities, the name פֶּרְעָה is derived from the Egyptian word *ouro*, signifying *king*, with the article; and, indeed, the same word occurs in the Coptic language with the same meaning. But modern Egyptologists have, scarcely with sufficient reason, abandoned this explanation, and compared the word פֶּרְעָה with the Egyptian noun *Pire* or *Phra*, denoting the *sun*, and declared it to indicate the majesty of the supreme ruler of the land; because its hieroglyphic representation is a hawk and globe, or sun, over the royal banners (*Rosellini*, Monum. i. 117; *Wilkinson*, Anc. Eg. i. 43; *Lepsius*, Lettre à Rosell. p. 25). The word *sun* is contained in the name פֶּרְעֵי פֹטִי (see p. 617), whereas in פֶּרְעָה, as Gesenius remarks (Thes., p. 1129), the vowel *o* at the end seems to be characteristic and essential. However this may be, that Egyptian word was, by Hebrew writers, evidently traced to the Shemitic root פֶּרַע *to govern*; so that it sounded like a Hebrew substantive, and bore a resemblance to phrases as פֶּרְעוֹת (Judg. v. 2; comp. Dent. xxxii. 42). Similar adaptations are not unusual in Hebrew

(comp. נָלַעַד, בַּהֲמוֹת, חָם, נָח, אֲבִרָךְ, מִשָּׁח, etc.; see p. 561). — וַהֲנִה עֹמֵר, instead of וַהֲנִנו עֹמֵר comp. 1 Sam. x. 11. — The name of the Nile is נַיִל, that is, *the stream* par excellence (see Exod. i. 22, in Dan. xii. 5 used of the Tigris; comp. נַחֲלֹר, *the Euphrates*); or נַיִל מִצְרַיִם (xv. 18), as in Greek Αἴγυρος ποταμός (*Hom.*, Odys. iv. 581, etc.); or שִׁיֵּר, *the black river* (see on Exod., p. 125); while נַיִלֹס (*Hea*, Theog. 338) is either an Arabic word (from نال *a gift or present of heaven*); or of Egyptian origin ("rising at a fixed time"; or "the measured water"); but it is scarcely traceable to the Egyptian king, *Nileus* (*Diod.* i. 63), or to the Hebrew noun נָחַל. — As too high an inundation of the Nile is as fatal to the vegetation of Egypt as a too low one, it is an untenable conjecture that a trace of the years of abundance in Joseph's time is still preserved in the marks which registered the highest rise of the river in each year at Senne, and one of which is twenty-six feet and eight inches higher than the level which it usually attained (*Osborn*, Israel in Egypt, p. 63; *Thorn. Smith*, Zoph. Pan., pp. 97, 98).

The enquiry concerning the Egyptian king who reigned in the time of Joseph, has hitherto defied the perseverance and sagacity of science; and as long as we know of Egypt's early history, at best, little more than the *names* of monarchs perpetuated by their monuments and uncertain inscriptions, without possessing an organic insight into their policy and government, or into the history and spirit of their times, it is impossible to decide, whether that Pharaoh was *Ousirtasen I.* (*Wilkinson*), whose name is inscribed on one of the granite obelisks of Heliopolis, on a few broken columns at Karnak, and the grottoes

pearance and lean in flesh consumed the seven cows fine in appearance and fat. And Pharaoh awoke. 5. And he slept and dreamt a second time: and, behold, seven ears of corn came up on one stalk, strong and good. 6. And, behold, seven ears thin and blasted by the east-wind sprang up after them. 7. And the seven thin ears devoured

of Beni Hassan; or *Aphophis* (*Osburn*), a shepherd king of the seventeenth dynasty of Manetho, said to be the son of Mœris; or *Sesostris* (*Lepsius*). That Pharaoh, however, it is certain, cannot have lived so late as B.C. 1740; for 430 years elapsed, not, as is erroneously assumed, from the emigration of Abraham from Chaldea (so, for instance, *Wilkinson*, *Anc. Eg.* i. 47), but from the settlement of Jacob in Goshen to the exodus: and as this event took place B.C. 1491; as, further, Joseph's exaltation occurred nine years before Jacob's arrival in Egypt; the Pharaoh of our text must have lived about B.C. 1930. Now, we have placed the exodus, in accordance with Josephus, in the reign of Ramses V., Amenophis, the last of the sixteen monarchs of the eighteenth (Diospolitanic) dynasty; but the lists of the kings of the preceding houses are so imperfect, that it seems at present utterly impossible to fix, with any degree of certainty, the name of the monarch who occupied the throne about 430 years before that time (comp. p. 341; see the conflicting lists in *Wilkinson's Anc. Eg.* i. 24—48; *Lepsius*, *Letters*, pp. 502, 503, Bohn's edition; *Seyffarth*, *Chr. Sac.* p. 237; and the hazardous computations in *Uhlemann*, *Ægypt. Alterthumskunde*, iii. 132—135).

2—4. The circumstance, that the monarch saw seven cows emerging from the Nile, showed no less than his standing by the side of the river, that the dream had reference to the produce of the land. For the cow was the symbol of Isis, the goddess of the earth and of fertility; she was, like the bulls Apis and Mnevis, worshipped in many districts, and interdicted as food; and her acknowledged sacredness is reflected in the celebrated Greek fable of Io. The cows are here represented as amphi-

bious; exhausted by the scorching glare of the Egyptian sun, against which the open country offers but little protection, they seek the refreshing waves of the river, and leave them only when fatigue or hunger induces them to rest or to graze on the beautiful meadows which abound on the banks.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—The meaning of *יִרְקָה* (ver. 2) cannot be doubted; it is a vegetable production (*Job* viii. 11), not the meadow on which it grows (*Vulg.*, *Rashi*, *Rashb.*); and as it is here attributed to the banks of the Nile, it is unquestionably the marsh-grass for which this river is noted, either the *Cyperus esculentus*, both the root and stem of which afford food for cattle, or the *Butomos umbellatus* (*Βούτομος*, as the Sept. renders in *Job* viii. 11). The word *יִרְקָה* seems to be of Egyptian derivation; it is, therefore, retained by the Alexandrian and Coptic translators (*ἄχι*; III-AXI; comp. *Isai.* xix. 7); and signifies, according to Jerome's personal enquiries, "all the green plants which grow in the marsh" (comp. *Sir.* xl. 16). Another etymology of the Arabic is less plausible (see *Gesen.*, *Thes.*, p. 67).—Whether the cow, as has been inferred from our narrative, is also an emblem of the year, is doubtful (comp. *Clem.*, *Str.* v. 403; *Her.* ii. 41).

5—7. But a second dream was necessary, in order to guarantee its reality and speedy fulfilment (p. 608); and it is appropriately used to express, with still greater distinctness, the end and meaning of the vision: seven full and seven empty ears represent directly fertility and dearth; they are not, like the Nile, the cause, nor, like the cows, the symbols of vegetation, but the produce itself, the bread which formed the chief food of large portions of the Egyptians (p. 639). Seven ears sprouting on one stalk, clearly point to the "Egyptian wheat" (*triticum*



the seven strong and full ears. And Pharaoh awoke, and, behold, *it was* a dream.—8. And in the morning his spirit was troubled; and he sent and called for all the soothsayers of Egypt and all her wise men: and Pharaoh told them his dream; but *there was* none who could interpret them to Pharaoh. 9. Then spoke the chief butler to Pharaoh, saying, I remember my sins this day: 10. Pharaoh was

*compositum*), much cultivated in the Valley of the Nile, and celebrated among the ancient nations; it constituted an essential part of the national wealth of Egypt, and was one of the principal means of subsistence of the richer classes (comp. Exod. ix. 31, 32).—The bad ears were blasted by the *east-wind* (קרי), which, blowing from the sandy steppes and deserts in the vicinity of the Red Sea, and from the Arabic peninsula, often withers the vegetation of Lower Egypt, and completely destroys the labour and the hopes of the husbandman. But this wind can, in our narrative, be neither the fearful *chamsin*, which blows from south-west; nor the destructive *simum*, which begins only in June, when the corn-harvest is long finished.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—קרי (ver. 6) is simply the *east-wind*, which signification is here perfectly appropriate. The burning east-wind, likely to parch the corn in the neighbourhood of Heliopolis, blows from the Desert of Shur, and the Desert of Paran; it is far from refreshing; it permits no dew, and causes all vegetables to wither. Its introduction here implies, therefore, neither geographical ignorance nor carelessness (*Bohlen*): it is not necessary to translate קרי a *strong wind* (Exod. xiv. 21); it is not even requisite to render it *south-east wind* (*Hengstenberg*), and to excuse the inaccuracy with the character of the *dream* in which it occurs (see also on Exod. x. 13 and 21). Direct east-winds may be rare in Egypt; but dearth and famine, such as described in our narrative, are there at least equally exceptional.—שָׂרַף *to burn, to scorch*; whence שָׂרַף and שָׂרַף *blasting of grain* (Sept. *πύρωσις*; Deut. xxviii. 22; 2 Kings xix. 26); and שְׂבִלִים *שְׂבִלִים שְׂרופות קרי* is rendered by the Septua-

gint, *σάχρυς ἀνεμόφθοροι*: or, more accurately still, by the Vulgate, *spica percussa uedine*.—The construction of שְׂרופות קרי "burnt by the east-wind," is like קָמִי, instead of קָמִים עָלַי (Ps. xviii. 40; comp. Deut. xxxiii. 11, etc.; Gesen., Gr. § 132).

8—13. Only when Pharaoh had seen two visions of an obviously similar import, he was moved and agitated; he then felt, that it was a dream, replete with meaning and significance, sent to foreshadow some event, or to exhort to some deed; whereas he was little concerned after the first dream which he might have regarded as the transitory offspring of wandering fancy (comp. ver. 4 and ver. 7). It cannot be surprising, that men in all ages and countries should have attached a great importance to dreams: when the functions of the soul seem fettered, and the images of the mind appear dissolved in floating phantoms, it was thought that the direct interference of the Deity alone could give strength and direction to the relaxed faculties; that if in such a state distinct and clearly circumscribed forms were perceived, they must have a higher tendency; and that their meaning is as mysterious as their origin is supernatural. Eastern nations especially, endowed as they are with a luxurious imagination, and carried away by a love of symbolism, searched the import of dreams with eager and serious anxiety. The Egyptians and Chaldeans were foremost in the cultivation of this branch of knowledge; they developed the explanation of dreams into a complete science; the interpreters of dreams were held in the most distinguished honour; they were regarded as being favoured with the highest order of wisdom, and even with

angry with his servants, and gave me into custody in the house of the chief of the guard, *both* me and the chief baker: 11. And we dreamt a dream in one night, I and he; we dreamt each according to the interpretation of his dream. 12. And there *was* with us a Hebrew youth, a servant to the chief of the guard; and we told him, and he interpreted to us our dreams: to each man he inter-

divine inspiration; they surrounded the throne of the king, accompanied the expedition of the general, and often exercised a decisive influence in the most important deliberations (Dan. i. 17; v. 12; *Curt.* iv. 2; *Diod.* ii. 29). But the Greeks and Romans were not less scrupulous in this respect. That dreams come from Jupiter, is a maxim already pronounced by Homer (*Il.* i. 63); but they were considered significant only if occurring after midnight (*Hor.* Sat. I. x. 33), in the last third of the night (*Odys.* iv. 795—841), when dawn is near, and the tribe of truthful dreams is roving abroad (*Moschus* ii. 2, 5); persons in distress or difficulties slept in temples, in the hope of obtaining prophetic dreams which might indicate the means of rescue; men afflicted with illness, especially resorted to this expedient, in the belief that *Æsculapius* would reveal to them the proper remedies (*Diod.* i. 25); and Alexander the Great actually fancied he saw, in a dream, the herb which cured the wound of Ptolemy, his friend and relation (*Curt.* ix. 8). But how deeply the faith in the reality of dreams was rooted among the ancient nations, is manifest from the views entertained by the Hebrews on this subject. Dreams occur from the earliest to the latest books of the Bible as a means of Divine revelation, either consisting in a vision of God with a verbal address, or in a symbolical act, or in both: a dream warns Abimelech not to touch Sarah (xx. 3), encourages Jacob at Bethel when he fled from Canaan, promises him abundance of property, and repeats the consoling assurances when he proceeded to Egypt (xxviii. 12—15; xxxi. 11; xlvi. 2); a dream exhorts Laban not to injure Jacob (xxx. 24), foretells Joseph's great-

ness (xxxvii. 5—10), the destinies of the chief butler and chief baker (xli. 8—19), and the plenty and famine in Egypt; a dream indicates the victory of Gideon (*Judg.* vii. 13), permits to Solomon the choice of the gift most precious in his eyes (1 Kings iii. 5), and shows Daniel the four symbolical beasts (vii. 1); as, in fact, dreams are in the book of Daniel the chief vehicle of prophetic composition. Nor is the importance of dreams obscurely alluded to or left to be inferred only; it is clearly expressed in one of the most philosophical books of the Old Testament: "In the dream and vision of the night, when sleep falls upon men, in their slumber on their beds, then He reveals His will to men, and seals their warning" (*Job* xxxiii. 15, 16); dreams are mentioned together with prophecies and the decisions of the Urim and Thummim (*Deut.* xiii. 2, 4; 1 Sam. xxviii. 6; *Jer.* xxiii. 25—32), although they were considered inferior to the most exalted manner of revelation by direct and open speech, vouchsafed to Moses alone (*Numb.* xii. 6—8); and when the Lord will pour out His spirit upon all flesh, all will see dreams, as all will prophecy (*Joel* iii. 1). Those, therefore, who desired to be regarded as prophets pretended to have had remarkable dreams (*Jer.* xxiii. 25—32); and impostors employed them as the most convenient means of obtaining authority among the credulous multitude (*Zech.* x. 2). Dreams grew in importance among the Hebrews in the course of centuries, and after the Babylonian captivity, they were classified in a complete system; they were regarded either as auspicious or ominous; harassing or frightful visions were expiated by fasts and prayers; and Philo wrote an

preted according to his dream. 13. And it happened, as he interpreted to us, so it was; I was restored to my office, and he was hanged.—14. And Pharaoh sent and called for Joseph, and they hastened to bring him out of the dungeon: and he shaved *himself*, and changed his garments, and came to Pharaoh. 15. And Pharaoh said to Joseph, I have dreamt a dream, and *there is* none who can interpret it: and I have heard say of thee, *that* thou un-

elaborate treatise, in two books, to prove that dreams are sent by God. It could not fail, that these decided notions, on a subject so vague and uncertain, caused serious abuses, chiefly from two sides; from weak-minded dreamers, who were often tortured by visionary misfortunes, and from cunning interpreters, who knew how to take advantage of such imbecility; but sometimes also, from wicked schemers, who made real or pretended dreams the pretext of base and selfish plans; as Flavius Josephus did, when, by treachery and cowardice, he saved his life by passing over into the camp of the enemies (Bell. Jud. III. viii. 3, 4). Jesus Sirach, therefore, though acknowledging that some dreams are sent by God, censured severely the folly of attributing weight to all; he impressed upon his readers that many dreams are idle and empty, like the wind and the shadow, a delusion to the fool, and a phantom of deceitful hope (xxxiv. 2—7); just as Artabanus had, long before, said to king Xerxes: "The visions of dreams are not divine; they most commonly hover around men respecting things which engaged their thoughts during the day"; although the superstition of his time is reflected in the legend which he narrated, how he yet was forced to acknowledge the awful sanctity of dreams (*Herod.* vii. 16, 17; comp. *Cicer.* De Divin. ii. 58—72; see also *Matth.* i. 20; ii. 13; xxvii. 19; *Herod.* i. 34; iii. 124; v. 56; *Liv.* ii. 36; xxi. 22; *Xen. Cyr.* viii. 7). Nor has the interest in dreams ceased since that time; they have occupied the pen of many a modern psychologist; they have given rise to some

of the most beautiful works, replete with profound thought and shrewd observation; and the peculiar mystery which surrounds those remarkable phenomena, too aerial to permit of the rigid analysis of the philosopher or the man of science, will always exercise an excusable charm over the human mind.

Thus it will be understood why Pharaoh was so seriously troubled and agitated when none of his wise men was able to interpret his striking dreams; how his impatience roused the ungrateful heart of the chief butler; and how the pride of the mighty Egyptian monarch could stoop to accept the services of a foreign slave, and hastily summon a despised prisoner into his splendid palace and before his sacred presence.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS. — חָרַם (ver. 8) to beat, to agitate (*Judg.* xiii. 23); therefore, חָרַם רָחוּ "his mind was excited," or troubled; Sept., *trápáχθη*; the Vulg., less distinctly, *pavore perterritus* (comp. *Pa.* lxxvii. 5; *Dan.* ii. 3).—About חָרָאִים see on *Exod.* pp. 40 and 114. As in our passage the חָרָאִים are used synonymously with חֻכְמִים, so it occurs, in *Exod.* vii. 11, in connection with חֻכְמִים סֵבִיכִים; and "hidden arts" (לְהָטִים) are there ascribed to them.—The word חָרָם has been currently considered as a contraction of חָרַט to engrave, to write (whence חָרָט *stylus*), and חָרַם to be sacred; so that it would correspond almost literally to the Greek *λεπογραφμαρεβ* (*Mich.*, Suppl. 923); but the very precarious character of this conjecture is obvious; since it is not even certain whether חָרָם is of Shemitic origin; but if so, we should give the pre-

derstandest a dream to interpret it. 16. And Joseph answered Pharaoh saying, Not I: God will answer for the peace of Pharaoh—17. And Pharaoh said to Joseph, In my dream, behold, I was standing on the bank of the river: 18. And, behold, there came up out of the river seven cows, fat in flesh and fine in form; and they fed in the reed-grass: 19. And, behold, seven other cows came up after them, poor and very bad in form, and lean in

ference to the derivation from *חזן* to see or explain, and *כֹּסֵם* (equivalent to *כֹּסֵם*) to conceal, "he who explains hidden or mysterious things" (*Millius*, Dissert., p. 225; *Bohlen*, Genes. p. 382). *Jablonski* identifies *חֹסֵם* with *Esom* or *Erthom*, "the performer of miraculous feats"; *Michaelis* with *Harethom*, "guardian of secrets" (*Suppl.*, 920; see, further, *Gesen.*, Thes., p. 521).—The plural *חֹסֵם* (ver. 8) refers to the singular *חֹסֵם*, because this was a double dream.—*דָּבָר* (ver. 9) is construed with the accusative, as in xxxvii. 4.—The third person is employed in the respectful speech addressed to the king (ver. 10).—*אֵלֶּיךָ* (ver. 12) is to be understood like *אֵלַי*, as it is the apposition to the preceding *לִּי*.

14—16. Joseph, who had borne his humiliation without despondency, heard the message of the king without surprise or timidity; the thought that the realization of his early dreams might be approaching, no doubt, flashed across his sanguine mind; but he had long since learnt to confide his life to the will of Providence, and to follow rather than to direct. He appeared before Pharaoh in becoming attire; and when he heard the cause of the king's anxiety, he answered with a dignity and self-possession proving both the superiority of his intellect and the simplicity of his character. As on a former occasion he declined every personal merit; to God, he said, belong the dreams and their interpretation; but he added, he was certain that the visions of the king would be auspicious, and that they, no doubt, foreshadowed peace and happiness: but this was no idle flattery or unmeaning

compliment; the justice which the king had, two years before, evinced in the punishment of the guilty baker and the pardon of the all but innocent butler, was to Joseph a guarantee that Providence would inflict no calamity on himself or his reign. That answer could not fail to make the desired impression, and at once to prepossess Pharaoh in favour of the stranger.—The Egyptians allowed their beards to grow in mourning only; while they ordinarily never failed to shave it from their scrupulous attention to cleanliness (*Herod.* ii. 36); it was a sign either of negligent habits or of deficient education to infringe that custom, to which even foreign slaves were generally compelled to conform. The Hebrews, on the contrary, regarded their beard with peculiar pride, cultivated it with care, touched it at supplications, often swore by it, and deemed its mutilation an extreme ignominy (2 Sam. x. 4, 5, etc.); hence, in mourning, they shaved their beards and hair (compare *Isai.* xv. 2; *Am.* viii. 10; *Jer.* xvi. 6; xli. 5). It appears, then, that Joseph had hitherto been permitted to preserve his beard in accordance with his national customs; but that he was, of course, obliged to remove it when he was called before Pharaoh. Thus our narrative incidentally contains a genuine Egyptian trait.—*בְּלִעְרִי* (ver. 16) is "without me," "not I" (see on xiv. 24); in ver. 44, *בְּלִעְרִי* is more distinctly "without thee"; comp. *מִבְּלִעְרִי* *Isai.* xxxvi. 10; *Jer.* xli. 19].

17—24. Pharaoh tells Joseph his dreams with greater copiousness than they had been before stated; when the seven lean cows had devoured the seven

flesh, such as I never saw in all the land of Egypt for badness: 20. And the lean and bad cows consumed the first seven fat cows: 21. And when they had eaten them up, it could not be known that they had eaten them; for their appearance was bad, as at the beginning, And I awoke. 22. And I saw in my dream, and, behold, seven ears came up on one stalk, full and good: 23. And, behold, seven ears, parched, thin, *and* blasted by the east-wind, sprang up after them: 24. And the thin ears devoured the seven good ears: and I told *this* to the soothsayers; but *there is* none who can explain *it* to me.—25. And Joseph said to Pharaoh, The dream of Pharaoh *is* one: God hath shown to Pharaoh what He *is* about to do. 26. The seven good cows *are* seven years; and the seven good ears *are* seven years: the dream *is* one. 27. And the seven thin and bad cows that came up after them *are* seven years; and the seven empty ears blasted by the east-wind will be seven years of famine. 28. This *is* the thing

fat ones, they remained as thin as before, and it could not be seen that they had consumed them: this feature is added, and enhances the accuracy and distinctness of the vision (see on vers. 2—4).

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—The suffix in קִרְבָּנָה (ver. 21) is unusual (instead of קִרְבָּן; comp. קִרְבָּם, Ps. v. 10, etc.), analogous to בִּצְאָנָה in Ruth i. 19; compare לִבְדָּנָה (xxi. 29); בִּלְנָה (xlii. 36); and בִּלְדָּנָה (1 Kings vii. 37).—In מִרְאִיָּה, the original letter ' of the substantive מִרְאָה (from רָאָה, instead of רָאָ, whence רִאִי *mirror*) is restored; it is, therefore, the *singular*, "their appearance"; comp. Lev. xiv. 37; Dan. i. 15 (מִרְאִיָּהם); Cant. ii. 14 (מִרְאִיָּךְ); Job xli. 1 (מִרְאִי).—צָנָם (ver. 23) properly, *to be hard or dry* (Syr., צוֹנָמָא *rock*; see *Rashi*); hence, שְׁבִלִים *parched or sapless ears of corn*. The word is omitted both in the Sept. and the Vulg. — אֲחֵרֵיהֶם (ver. 23), instead of אֲחֵרֵיהֶן (see on xxxi. 9).

**25—32.** Joseph's interpretation, so simple and convincing, that it was at once acknowledged, not only by the king,

but by his haughty, and now humbled, sages, implied a defeat of the *Egyptian gods* also, who in not suggesting to their votaries the explanation of the dreams, manifestly appeared inferior to the God of the Hebrews, either in love or in omniscience; and in order to lay due stress upon this important fact, Joseph emphatically introduces Elohim, both at the beginning and the conclusion of his reply. Elohim announces to Pharaoh what He intends to do (ver. 25); the thing is established by Elohim; and Elohim hastens to accomplish it (ver. 32). The king was compelled to revere His power (ver. 38; comp. Exod. v. 2): the first great triumph of the God of Israel over the idols of Egypt was achieved; but it was only the forerunner of greater and more signal victories.

**33—36.** Joseph was not satisfied with an abstract interpretation of the dreams; he not only perceived the impending calamity, but spontaneously, without awaiting the further request of the king, offered his counsel how to avert its con-

which I have spoken to Pharaoh: What God *is* about to do He hath shown to Pharaoh. 29. Behold, there come seven years of great plenty throughout all the land of Egypt: 30. And there will arise after them seven years of famine; and all the plenty will be forgotten in the land of Egypt; and the famine will consume the land; 31. And the plenty will not be known in the land on account of that famine afterwards; for it *will be* very heavy. 32. And because the dream was repeated to Pharaoh twice, indeed, the thing *is* established by God, and God will hasten to bring it to pass. 33. Now, therefore, let Pharaoh look out a man intelligent and wise, and set him over the land of Egypt. 34. Let Pharaoh do *this*, and let him appoint officers over the land, and take up the fifth part in the land of Egypt in the seven years of plenty. 35. And let them gather all the food of those good years that come, and lay up corn under the hand of Pharaoh, food in the cities, and keep *it*. 36. And that food shall be

sequences. He remained throughout faithful to his character. Its innermost nature was simplicity. It was this child-like harmlessness which had concealed from him the imprudence he committed in relating his dreams to his brothers; which had dictated his answer to Potiphar's wife; prompted him to tell the chief baker, without reserve, his approaching doom; gave him courage and calmness in appearing before Pharaoh; and which now led him to make the proposal that Pharaoh should appoint over the land of Egypt an intelligent man, capable of devising means for the accumulation of corn. He was perfectly unconscious that he thereby laid himself open to the imputation of selfishly aspiring for a most important office which he desired to create for himself. However, this wish, even had it been fostered by him, would not have been blameable, if he was convinced that the office was indispensable, and if he felt that he was able to perform, to the benefit of his generation, the duties it imposed. Ambition, if directed to noble aims, and if free from vanity and egotism, is no vice; for

it manifests the love and respect entertained for our race; and the imperiousness of a haughty mind is a passion very different from that of *serving* our fellow-men, be it often with the hidden desire of earning their praise as a reward for toil and privations. — Joseph's proposal that the Egyptians should, during the seven years of plenty, deliver up the fifth part of their corn as a tax, may be considered an encroachment upon the rights of personal property; but it was his object to prevent the citizens from selling into foreign countries the cereal produce not required for immediate consumption, and thus to obviate want in the succeeding period of famine; and though an adequate compensation might, in justice, have been offered for the corn, the Egyptians scarcely expected it, as they were formerly accustomed, in ordinary years, to send the tenth part of their crops into the public granaries; and the abundance of the harvests, during the first seven years, made them scarcely feel the increase of the impost. On a later occasion, we shall examine the measures of

for store to the land against the seven years of famine, which will be in the land of Egypt; that the land do not perish through the famine.—37. And the thing appeared good in the eyes of Pharaoh, and in the eyes of all his servants. 38. And Pharaoh said to his servants, Can we find *such a man* as this is, a man in whom the spirit of God is? 39. And Pharaoh said to Joseph, Since God hath taught thee all this, *there is* none intelligent and wise like thyself: 40.

Joseph in their political and social bearings, and point out both their remarkable expediency and their great defects (see on xlvii. 13—26).

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—כֶּסֶד (ver. 34) is to impose a tax of the fifth part of the produce; whence the substantive כֶּסֶד in the corresponding signification (xlvii. 24, 26), analogous to תֵּשֶׁבֶת to give the tenth part (xxviii. 22), and תֵּשֶׁבֶת (xiv. 20). כֶּסֶד is, therefore, neither, to buy the fifth part; nor, to count (*περιμέτρεω*); nor, “to take up the fifth part of the land.” Correctly the Septuagint, ἀποκεκρωσάτωσαν πάντα τὰ γενήματα τῆς γῆς Αἰγύπτου.

37—45. Pharaoh, certain that the spirit of God was in Joseph, appointed him to the office suggested in his answer, and installed him as his grand-vizier. Since Joseph thus obtained in the palace the position which he had before occupied in the house of Potiphar, he virtually acquired every public and social influence; for the king was the centre of all political power and administration (comp. 1 Kings xviii. 8; 2 Kings xviii. 18). The whole people was, therefore, commanded to submit to Joseph's arrangements and to obey his injunctions; he was the governor and ruler of all Egypt (xlii. 6; xlv. 8); the throne alone was the distinguishing privilege of the king.—He at once received the insignia of his new dignity. As he was henceforth to represent the king in all public transactions, he was necessarily provided with the royal signet (see p. 623—625). As his office raised him into the highest social rank, he received garments of fine linen (כִּטְוֹן), the only material which, from considerations of cleanliness, the priests

and other high functionaries used for their official robes (*Herod.* ii. 37, 81; *Plin.* xix. 2; *Plut.* Is. 4). Every new dignity in the East requires corresponding garments; for the speculative mind of the Orientals invests everything with a symbolical significance; the dress especially is commonly used to embody appropriate ideas; the typical character of the vestments of the priests and of the High-priest is sufficiently known; and costly garments or dresses of honour form still a usual and acceptable present.—Egyptians of rank and eminence wore round the neck a gold chain (צַבַּת), resembling a string, to which generally a stone scarabæus was appended. The same ornament, the *torques* of the Romans, and the *Torc* of the Britons and ancient Irish, was worn by the noble Persians and Gauls, by the Celtic tribes and other Asiatic and European nations, even in battles; and it often formed one of the chief parts of the spoil of the victorious army; soldiers received a neck-chain for their valour; and to present a warrior “phalaris et torque” was a usual mode of bestowing military distinction, especially on Roman knights (comp. *Curt.* iii. 3; *Flor.* i. 13; *Virg. Æn.* v. 558; *Gell.* ix. 3; *Cic.* Ver. ii. 3; *Liv.* xxxix. 31; *Wilkinson*, Anc. Eg. iii. 376). The text in no manner indicates, that the chain, with the image of Truth, worn by the supreme judge of Egypt, is here alluded to (see on Exod. p. 544).—But all these private honours received a higher importance by a public procession commanded by Pharaoh; Joseph was in the second state-carriage, no doubt with all the pomp usually attending such exhibitions, presented to the

Thou shalt be over my house, and all my people shall comply to thy command: only in the throne will I be greater than thou. 41. And Pharaoh said to Joseph, See, I have set thee over all the land of Egypt. 42. And Pharaoh took off his ring from his hand, and put it upon Joseph's hand, and arrayed him in vestures of fine linen, and put a gold chain round his neck; 43. And he made him ride in the second chariot which he had; and they

people; his new dignity was proclaimed; and unqualified obedience to his commands was enforced as a duty of loyalty; and lest Joseph himself be in doubt about the character and extent of his power, the king repeated to him: "I am Pharaoh; but without thee no man shall lift up his hand or foot in all the land of Egypt" (ver. 44).—But two other points were indispensable to complete Joseph's elevation. It was, firstly, necessary to mark the decisive epoch in his life by a new name, especially as the foreign Hebrew appellation was, no doubt, objectionable to the priests, so jealous and proud of their nationality. His adoption of a new name, *Zaphenath-Paneah*, expressing his great merit and mission, stamped him, in some respects, as an Egyptian, and was regarded to indicate not merely an outward change, but a corresponding internal transformation, and almost the commencement of a new existence. In order to make this transition still more decided and permanent, Pharaoh, secondly, gave him to wife Asenath, the daughter of Potipherah, priest of On. This alliance introduced him into one of the noblest and most influential Egyptian families; for the power of the chief priest was immense; his office, surrounded with a dazzling prestige, was hereditary in his family, and gave a dignified stability to his position (*Herod. ii. 37, 143*). The priests belonged to the great landed proprietors; they formed the highest aristocracy; they attended and controlled the kings; and the statues of the chief priests were, like those of the Pharaohs, placed in the temples of the gods. If one of the priests, proverbial

for their scrupulousness in guarding the purity of their families, conquered his aversion, and married his daughter to a stranger and a slave, the most powerful example was set for the other Egyptians to banish their prejudices and readily to acknowledge Joseph's authority. But if policy recommended this union, it might appear that religion as strongly condemned it: how could Joseph marry an idolatrous wife? Had he forgotten the anxious care which his father and his ancestors had taken to uphold the undefiled legitimacy of their race? It is impossible, in this place, to answer that question fully and satisfactorily; it is intimately connected with another difficulty to which we shall presently allude, and the explanation of which will assist us in elucidating this point also (see on vers. 50—52). But it may be here observed, that, indeed, in Joseph's later progeny the evil consequences of this idolatrous marriage are reflected; the Ephraimites always displayed a fatal inclination in favour of Egyptian paganism; the service of Apis long disgraced their sacred places; and threatened to rival the imageless worship of the God of Israel. On the other hand, Joseph might have hoped, in spite of that alliance, to preserve in his house the knowledge and pure service of God; he trusted to the innate force of truth and to the energy of his will, that they would repress, if they could not eradicate, the folly and error of his wife's religious notions. His prudence and his wisdom seem to have effected what would almost appear hopeless; we see nowhere in his domestic affairs a tendency towards



called out before him ABRECH [Governor]! namely, that he be placed over all the land of Egypt. 44. And Pharaoh said to Joseph, I am Pharaoh; but without thee no man shall lift up his hand or his foot in all the land of Egypt. 45. And Pharaoh called Joseph's name Zaphenath-paneah [Rescuer of the World]; and he gave him to wife Asenath the daughter of Poti-pherah, priest of On. And Joseph went

paganism; in giving names to his sons he employs both times the name of Elohim; and when his father arrives in Egypt, there appears between them no alienation, no difference of opinions.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS. — In the phrase נָשָׂא עַל פִּיךָ (ver. 40) it seems preferable to take נָשָׂא in the original meaning of *complying or conforming*, and to render those words: "my whole people shall comply to thy command"; for the *kiss of homage*, which most of the ancient translators and some modern critics here understand, was the privilege of the ruling princes themselves (1 Sam. x. 1; Ps. ii. 12), or of the worshipped deities (1 Kings xix. 18; Hos. xiii. 2; Job xxxi. 27); and Pharaoh expressly reserved for himself the throne or the sovereignty; Joseph was the first after the king; but he held his power only as a gift from his master. The objections which Gesenius (Thes., pp. 923, 924) has urged against the former acceptance, seem of little weight, as the analogy of

the Arabic verb نَسَق in the sense of *ranging or arranging* suffices to explain the use of נָשָׂא in that meaning. — פָּה, in the signification of *command*, is not unusual (xlv. 21; Exod. xxxviii. 21; Num. iii. 16, 39; Job xxxix. 27, etc.).—About נָשָׂא *lines* (ver. 42) see on Exod., pp. 487, 488; and about the carriages in Egypt, on Exod., pp. 241, 242.—It appears to us doubtless, if we consider the context, that the much disputed word מַגִּדָּה denotes the *dignity* of Joseph, and that it is, therefore, explained by the succeeding words וְנָתַן אֶת כָּל אֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם. For the same fact is with surprising repetitions expressed from ver. 40 to ver. 44. מַגִּדָּה signifies, therefore, something like *governor* or vice-

roy; Joseph himself describes his position as מַגִּדָּה לְפָרֹעַ (xlv. 8); and thus the following infinitive absolute וְנָתַן is accounted for, "namely that he may be placed over all the land of Egypt" (see on Exod. viii. 11; Sept., καὶ κατέστησεν αὐτόν); this expresses distinctly his new position; and the end and tendency of such public processions were usually proclaimed before the people with the greatest clearness (Esth. vi. 9, 11). It is, further, certain that מַגִּדָּה is an Egyptian word; but doubtful are the usual explanations ΔΙΕΡΕΚ or ΔΙΠΕΚ "bow the head" (*De Rossi*); or ΑΦΕΚ "let every one bow down" (*Pfeiffer*), or ΟΥΒΕ ΠΕΚ "bow towards him" (*Jablonski*); or *Habrecht*, "invested by the king with a girdle or robe" (*R. Forster*). It may be "pure prince," as Osburn (*Israel in Egypt*, p. 55) explains; but if so it can scarcely imply that Joseph was henceforth regarded as a native Egyptian, and that he was no longer a foreigner. Joseph himself would have deprecated such title; for he never forgot that he was a stranger in Egypt; and some years later he openly called Egypt "the land of his misery" or exile (ver. 52). — But most of the ancient translators regarded מַגִּדָּה as a Hebrew word, derived from מָגַד to *kneel* (xxiv. 11); and if this were the case, מַגִּדָּה would be an irregular infinitive absolute of Hiphil, instead of הִמָּגַד, analogous to הִשְׁפִּיץ in Jer. xxv. 3, instead of הִשְׁפִּיץ, and the infinitive would have the *force* of the imperative; thus render the Vulgate (*ut omnes coram eo genu flecterent*), Aquil., Origen, Arab. Erp., Abulwal., and others. It is not impossible that the ancient Hebrew reader understood מַגִּדָּה in the same sense, and that, perhaps, a similarity of sound to a familiar Hebrew word was even

out over *all* the land of Egypt.—46. And Joseph *was* thirty years old when he stood before Pharaoh, king of Egypt.—And Joseph went out from the presence of Pharaoh, and went throughout all the land of Egypt. 47. And in the seven years of plenty the earth brought forth in heaps. 48. And he gathered up all the food of the seven years, which were in the land of Egypt, and laid up

originally intended (see on ver. 1); but אֲבִיר is certainly not of Shemitic origin; and still more precarious, therefore, are the derivations from אָב *father*, and אָר *or* אֲרֵר *rez*; or from אָרֶךְ *mild ruler* (*Onk.*, Targ. *Jerus.*, Pers., Syr., etc.); or the translations, “the most blessed,” as if it were אֲרֵךְ with the sign of the Arabic

superlative אֲרֵךְ; or “the excellent” (الظريف *al-ẓarīf* Saad.): while the renderings of the Septuagint and Samaritan versions by *herald* (ἡγεμὼν and כְּרֹן) are obvious inaccuracies.

No less uncertainty prevails with regard to the words אֲרֵךְ אֲרֵךְ (ver. 45). As the Septuagint writes them Σωτομωφανήχ, and Jerome renders them by *Saviour of the world* (“*Salvator Mundi*”), they have been explained to correspond with the Egyptian phrase Π-CQT-M-Φ-ENEX, meaning “the salvation of the world, or of the empire” (*Jablonski*, Op. i. 207—216; *Rosellini*, Monum. i. 185), which Gesenius so modifies that he reads CQNT instead of CQT, and translates “the preserver or rescuer of the world,” supposing that the original word אֲרֵךְ has been transposed into אֲרֵךְ, in order to give it a more Hebrew appearance (Thes., pp. 1181, 1182). Either of those expositions, if they were authenticated, are appropriate as regards the context. But Osburn (*Israel in Eg.*, p. 57) explains אֲרֵךְ as *teseph-nath*, that is, “he who receives Neith” (the goddess of wisdom); and אֲרֵךְ as *pah-noech*, meaning, “he who flies from pollution.” However, it may be observed, 1. that this would be a compound of rather heterogeneous elements (the sage-enemy of adultery); and, 2. that אֲרֵךְ אֲרֵךְ has evidently reference to the office of Joseph, or

certainly to his *public* character, and scarcely to an occurrence in his private life, which in no manner concerned his relation to Pharaoh, and the connection of which with his exaltation was beyond the perception of the Egyptian monarch.—Those who take the words in question to be of Hebrew origin (but, no doubt, erroneously), explain “the revealer of mysteries,” from אֲרֵךְ to conceal, and אֲרֵךְ to open or disclose; thus Onkel (גְּבֵרֵי אֲרֵךְ לֵיָהוּ); Jon.; the Samar.; Syr.; Joseph. (ὁ ἀπεκαλύφθη τὸ μύλλον); Chrysost.; Theodor.; Saad., and others; while Philo simply renders, *ὁνειροκρίτης*.—The second part of the noun אֲרֵךְ, which the Septuagint writes Ἀσενεῖθ, seems to be the name of the goddess *Nit* or *Neith* (Νεῖθ), as in other proper nouns, for instance, Psammenit and Rampsenit; and *Ashe-neit* would be “the worshipper of Neith” (Ἀθηνοσεβής; *Jablonski*), or *As-neit* “she who belongs to Neit” (*Cham-pollion*; *Gesen.*, Thes. p. 130).—About אֲרֵךְ פֶּרֶךְ, see p. 617.

46—49. The first part of Pharaoh's dream began at once to be realised. The soil yielded enormous harvests, and in accordance with Joseph's directions, stores of corn, infinite and numberless, were piled up in the cities. Perhaps no nation was so fond of writing down everything as the Egyptians; on the monuments we seldom fail to discover some officer or servant with his writing materials, engaged in taking minute notes of the proceedings delineated; the account-books of private individuals were generally as exact and voluminous as the public archives were complete and circumstantial; and in the various departments of the house and the field, and in the trades and manufactures, the same care was exhibited. Now, the corn was so plentiful

the food in the cities; the food of the field, which *was* round every city, he laid up in it. 49. And Joseph piled up corn as the sand of the sea, very much, until he ceased numbering; for *it was* without number.—50. And to Joseph were born two sons before the years of famine came, whom Asenath the daughter of Poti-pherah, priest of On, bore to him. 51. And Joseph called the name of the firstborn Manasseh: For God, *said he*, hath made me

in the seven years of abundance, that the Egyptians, though generally accustomed to keep regular accounts of the sheaves, became weary of numbering them; and they contented themselves with piling up the corn "like the sand of the sea."—The astonishing increase of Egyptian corn in ancient times has lately received a very curious and unexpected confirmation. Five grains of wheat, found in an old Egyptian tomb, were, in France, sown in 1849, and the first year is said to have given a yield of 1,200 for 1. In 1853, comparative experiments were made in different parts of France; some of the seed sown rough in one half of a field near Morlaix, gave a produce of 60 for 1, while the ordinary French corn, in the other half of the ground, gave 15 for 1. When sown grain by grain in a line, it yielded more than 556 for 1; and these surprising results induced many agriculturists to secure and largely to sow the precious grains.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS. — בעמרו לפני פרעה (ver. 46) is here not "when Joseph served before Pharaoh" (as in Deut. i. 38; x. 8, etc.); but, as in xviii. 22, simply, "when he stood before him," or "was called into his presence": for those words express the *elevation* of Joseph.—עשה (ver. 47) has the meaning of *producing*, as in i. 11, 12; 2 Ki. xix. 30; Isai. v. 2, 4, etc.; comp. ποιῶν καρπὸν, Matt. iii. 10; xiii. 26, etc.).—לֶקֶץ properly a *handful* (Lev. v. 12), from קָצַץ to *take with the hand* (Lev. ii. 2; Numb. v. 26), synonymous with צֶבֶר (ver. 49; Exod. viii. 10); then a *heap* or *pile* (compare צִבְרִים in 2 Kings x. 8).

50—52. Joseph became the father of

two sons; but these joyful occasions awakened within him melancholy reminiscences: when he surveyed the past, he felt deeply the sacrifices by which he had purchased his honourable and distinguished position; he had not only suffered unspeakable agony and degradation; he had not only been exposed to the imminent danger of death; but he had been wrested from his father's arms, torn from the fondest associations which gladden the soul and the heart, and transplanted into a soil not his own, thrown among a nation not speaking his tongue. The birth of his eldest son at last renewed in him the feelings of his youth; he saw himself once more in the midst of his own family; and he began to enjoy again domestic happiness. And when a second son was born to him, though rejoicing at his increasing personal felicity, he could not forget, that he was in a land of strangers, and that Egypt was still to him "the country of his exile": so deep was his attachment to his relations; so indestructible was his love. But as such was the case, it must be asked with astonishment: why did he not send to Hebron, to cheer the sorrowful heart of his aged father by informing him of his own brilliant station? Did not even ordinary filial duty demand this course? However, let us remember the character and tendency of Joseph's history. It is designed to teach the wonderful interference of Divine Providence; to show that man is carried along, whilst he imagines to guide; and that he suffers, whilst he means to act. Joseph is everywhere an instrument for the accomplishment of Divine decrees, the aim and end of which had been foretold to him in his early

forget all my toil, and all my father's house. 52. And the name of the second he called Ephraim: For, *said he*, God hath caused me to be fruitful in the land of my affliction.—53. And the seven years of plenty which was in the land of Egypt were finished; 54. And the seven years of famine began to come, as Joseph had said: and the famine was in all the lands; but in all the land of Egypt there was bread. 55. And when all the land of

dreams, which he knew would be realised in the fulness of time, and which he was not allowed impatiently to accelerate; he was certain, that not his brothers, but God had brought him to Egypt (xlv. 5, 8; l. 20; Ps. cv. 17—20); and to God, therefore, he left the sole agency and guidance. — But another reason made him hesitate to send that joyful message. It would have compelled him to raise a terrible accusation against his brothers; his father, in regaining one son, would morally have lost nearly all the rest; he would have felt endless torture at the unnatural tyranny and mean hypocrisy of those who surrounded him; new and deeper wounds would have been inflicted upon him, when the old ones were nearly healing; therefore, Joseph trusted to Time and to the invisible hand of Providence to work by imperceptible steps. These considerations will also serve to explain the question concerning Joseph's marriage with the daughter of a heathen priest. He had been sent to Egypt to accomplish there a great mission; he was selected to devise means for the rescue of many nations (xlv. 7, 8; l. 20); he felt it his duty to profit by every circumstance that might promote this result; but a marriage with a humble virgin from the race of Terah would have injured his mission as decidedly in the eyes of the Egyptians, as his alliance with the noble daughter of an influential priest necessarily advanced it: and Joseph scrupled as little to accept the hand of Asenath which Pharaoh offered to him, as the pious Mordecai, many centuries later, hesitated to permit the marriage of his ward Esther with a heathen king, because she might possibly have been

destined as an instrument of salvation in a great emergency (Esth. iv. 14).

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—*נָשָׁחֵנִי* (ver. 51), a chaldaizing form, instead of *נָשָׁחֵנִי* "God has *made me* forget" (comp. Job xxxix. 17, where the Hiphil is used), which seems to have been employed in order to effect a more striking alliteration to the name *נִשְׁכַּח* (comp. xxx. 8; and *נָשָׁח*, instead of *נָשָׁח*, in Exod. xvi. 15).

53—57. When the years of abundance had elapsed, and the period of scarcity commenced, the provident and comprehensive arrangements of Joseph were recognised in all their admirable wisdom. Famines in Egypt are not without example; and historians have furnished us with fearful descriptions of the horrors which they brought in their train. But it is certainly more than unusual, that in that blessed land, where the Nile rises almost with the necessity of a natural phenomenon, producing the richest fertility and plenty, scanty crops should follow for seven successive years; it is indeed still more remarkable, that the same calamity should, during the same period, occur "in all countries" (*בְּכָל הָאֲרָצוֹת*, ver. 54), or "on the whole surface of the earth" (*עַל כָּל פְּנֵי הָאָרֶץ*, ver. 56); for these words utterly exclude the interpretation, that the drought was limited to the countries adjoining Egypt, as Nubia, Arabia, and Syria; it is, further, strange and surprising, that the harvest of one year of abundance in Egypt should be sufficient for the subsistence of all the inhabitants of the earth during the same time: yet in dwelling upon these and similar difficulties, we must remember, that they escaped the author of the Pentateuch as little

Egypt was famished, the people cried to Pharaoh for bread: and Pharaoh said to all the Egyptians, Go to Joseph; what he saith to you, do. 56. And the famine was over all the face of the earth. And Joseph opened all the storehouses in which there was corn, and sold it to the Egyptians: and the famine became great in the land of Egypt. 57. And all countries came into Egypt to Joseph to buy corn; for the famine was great in all countries.

as the modern critics; but that it was his intention to introduce *extraordinary* and *miraculous* occurrences, which naturally evade the test of a critical analysis; since it was only by the prediction and realisation of some *unusual* event, that the *inspiration* and *prophetic gift* of Joseph could be displayed (comp. l. 24, 25, and on xlvii. 13—27).

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—שבע שני (ver. 53) expresses the *period* of abundance; therefore, the verb follows in

the singular (אשר היה), which, however, might also be referred to השבע. The Samaritan codex reads, therefore, unnecessarily היו אשר. — The phrase את כל בהם (ver. 56) is elliptical, and must be supplied: Joseph opened “all the granaries in which there was corn”; Onkel., ית כל אוצרי די בהון עיבורא. — The plural הארץ (ver. 57) after באו, is to be explained: “all *people* of all the world came”; compare 1 Ki. xx. 20 (וינסו ארם); 2 Sam. xv. 23 (כל הארץ בוכים).

## CHAPTER XLII.

1. And Jacob saw that there was purchase of corn in Egypt; and Jacob said to his sons, Why do you look one upon another? 2. And he said, Behold,

1—17. More than twenty years had elapsed since Joseph's separation from his family; and during this long interval one domestic incident only is recorded to have occurred in the house of Jacob (ch. xxxviii.); the centre of the scene lies no more in the tents of the father, but in the palaces of the son; and the events take a character so exclusively Egyptian, that we should fear to lose sight entirely of the further destinies of the aged patriarch, did not the skill hitherto displayed in the narrative afford us the guarantee that the connection between the past and the future will not be unnaturally broken off, and that the discrepancy of the preceding history will be fully reconciled. But instead of dilating upon what must be obvious to every reader at first glance, we deem it preferable to give a few comprehensive outlines regarding the internal organism of the tale, to point out the

doctrines which it enshrines, and to show the art, the surprising unity, and the thoughtful depth of the composition. The two following chapters are, of course, also included in this sketch.

The most striking feature in Joseph's conduct is its *duplicity*. On the one hand, he treats his brothers not only harshly, but cruelly and heartlessly. As soon as he recognises them, his natural quickness of determination suggests to him a line of conduct which he pursues with almost inexorable consistency. His first care was to deceive them about his identity. To gain this end, it was, above all, necessary that they should believe him to be an Egyptian; he endeavoured, therefore, strictly to maintain the Egyptian colouring; and in this he succeeded in an eminent degree. He is almost more Egyptian than the Egyptians themselves; he acts not only in accordance with their manners, but imitates their character

I have heard that there is purchase of *corn* in Egypt: go down thither, and buy *corn* for us from there; that we may live, and not die. 3. And Joseph's ten brothers went down to buy corn in Egypt. 4. But Benjamin, Joseph's *full* brother, Jacob did not send with his brothers; for he said, Perhaps a misfortune might befall

with marvellous accuracy; he receives his brothers with suspicion, which is so prominent a characteristic of the Egyptians in their intercourse with foreigners; he calls them spies intent upon exploring the weakness of the land; he enquires curiously into their domestic affairs; he swears repeatedly by the life of Pharaoh; he is arbitrary and despotic; he is not ashamed of irrational and absurdly illogical conclusions; for he whimsically proposes to consider it a proof of the brothers' honesty, if they bring Benjamin with them, or else they are impostors and traitors of the land; with truly Pharaonic self-will, he throws them into the dungeon, and releases them without enquiry or examination, but retains one of them; he treats with them through the medium of an interpreter; he does not eat with them at the same table, places the Egyptians also at a separate board, and sends from his seat the viands to the brothers; he does not recline, but sits at dinner; he assumes the pompous authority of an Egyptian sage, and speaks with the haughty grandiloquence of an Egyptian prince; he pretends to know what is secret; he prophesies from a sacred goblet; and declares the attempt at deceiving him, the omniscient soothsayer, an arrogant infatuation. So great exertions does he make to ensnare his brothers. But this mask is only a means for carrying out his plans without impediment; and he plays his part with a mastery which does as much credit to his head as it seems to disgrace his heart: he receives and addresses his brothers with an unbrotherly vehemence; he overwhelms them from the commencement with apprehension and terror; he remembers his dreams, sees them realised, and apparently wishes to enjoy his triumph with cold

and self-h gratification; he attacks his brothers with the formidable accusation of high-treason; he seems to delight in their anguish; and when they preserve sufficient self-possession to attempt a defence, and his flat contradictions lose their force by the calmness of their conscience, he bluntly cuts short their explanations and arguments, and commands them with impetuous protestations to bring their youngest brother before him. Without awaiting their reply, he incarcerates them; leaves them in agonizing uncertainty for three days; and then, cruelly binding Simeon before the eyes of the others, dismisses the latter to Canaan. He throws them into new consternation by making them appear embezzlers of the royal treasury. At their second visit to Egypt, he excruciates them with fear by sending them into his palace without informing them of his intentions; and instead of at last concluding the cold-hearted play at the repast prepared for them, he devises a new stratagem with almost demoniac cruelty. Knowing that the hearts of his brothers are set upon Benjamin's welfare, he wishes to retain him alone; and he carries his unfeeling tyranny so far, that he drives Judah, who had pledged himself for Benjamin's safety, to the utmost extremity of manly boldness.

But these traits are, on the other hand, mixed with features of a very different nature: together with his roughness, Joseph exhibits such unmistakeable symptoms of a sympathising heart, that we are obliged to pause, and to seek a clue to his enigmatical conduct: he cannot suppress his tears when he sees the repentance of his afflicted brothers and hears the confession of their guilt; he is compelled to turn away from them, to conceal his overwhelming emotions (ver. 24); he orders provisions to be

him. 5. And the sons of Israel came to buy *corn* among those that came: for the famine was in the land of Canaan. 6. And Joseph *was* the governor over the land, *it was* he who sold *corn* to all the people of the land: and Joseph's brothers came, and prostrated themselves before him *with* their faces to the ground. 7. And Joseph saw his brothers,

gratuitously given to them for the journey; he cannot bear the thought of accepting money from them for the necessities of life, and makes thus his official duty subservient to the impulse of his heart; his fervent and almost passionate love for his father and for Benjamin, breaks forth in nearly every part of the transactions; he has scarcely seen Benjamin, when he orders the brothers to be conducted into his house; he instructs his steward to treat them mildly, and to calm their anxieties; he speaks to them with heart-winning cordiality; his feelings overpower him; he is obliged to hasten into another apartment, to soften by tears the vehemence of his affection; "he refrains himself, till he is unable to refrain himself any longer"; and he makes himself known to his brothers with the most loving, the most touching tenderness.

This remarkable duplicity, irreconcilable as it may appear at first glance, is perfectly explained, if we survey Joseph's history as a whole.

The brothers had committed against him a great and unnatural sin; adequate punishment necessarily awaited them;—and Joseph *was* chosen to be the judge and the avenger. He is, to his brothers the retaliating Providence; he holds in his hand the rod of justice; and he is *compelled* to lift it against them. Not without deep design the text remarks almost at the very beginning, that he remembered his dreams (ver. 9): this notice leads us at once to the proper sphere of the scenes here developed; for it teaches that the following events possess a close and internal connection with the past; and that they complete what was before commenced. The dreams of Joseph were a chief incentive for the misdeed of the brothers; but, in their

realisation, the crime was both punished and expiated; and lest there remain any doubt, the victim himself was charged to dispense the punishment. Joseph's heart bled, indeed, in the exercise of this stern and dire office; he required the whole strength of his energetic mind to steel himself against the impetuous partiality of his feeling: for it demands the Divine Reason, calm, immovable, and justly balancing, to perform the task of Judge; while the human heart is inclined to show pity where pity is a weakness. To the brothers, the mystery of his person was like the secret working of Providence; he appeared to them the impersonation of punishing Justice; their guilt-laden conscience awoke in his presence like a tormenting recollection; it raised aloud the terrible accusation against them and their iniquitous offence; they spontaneously confessed their trespass before him; they were convinced beyond a doubt, that their present agonies were the deserved retribution for that wickedness; and so deeply were they impressed with this sentiment, that they believed Joseph's blood was then demanded back, and that they feared the infliction of death, which, in the sincerity of their repentance, they thought they had deserved (vers. 21, 22). But death would have been an unjust punishment. For, on the one hand, they had, in reality, only sold, not killed, Joseph; and, on the other hand, they had, by a deep consciousness of their enormous crime, when they saw their father's outburst of grief, made the most decided step towards atonement; "God does not desire the death of the sinner, but that he return from his way and live"; and the fact, that their internal struggle was kept alive during a period of twenty-two years, to break forth anew on any occasion, proves the earnestness of

and he recognised them, but made him-elf strange to them, and spoke roughly to them; and he said to them, From where do you come? And they said, From the land of Canaan to buy *corn for food*. 8. And Joseph recognised his brothers, but they did not recognise him. 9. And Joseph remembered the dreams which he had dreamt of

their contrition: when they found the money in their sacks, they exclaimed: "What is this that God hath done to us"? (ver. 28); and when the goblet was discovered in the sack of Benjamin, Judah meekly observed: "What shall we say? what shall we speak? or how shall we clear ourselves? God hath found out the iniquity of thy servants" (xliv. 18). But though death would have been unjustly severe, *fear of death*, such as they had made Joseph feel innocently, was their commensurate chastisement.

But we cannot evade another difficulty. It seems indisputably clear, that Joseph, by his obstinate and apparently fanciful request to see Benjamin in Egypt, almost designedly tormented his aged father. Why did he require from him so great a sacrifice? And was his longing for his father less strong than for his younger brother? Why did he, therefore, not demand, that they should both appear together.

It has been observed before, that Joseph's history is introduced as an integral part of the life of Jacob; and that from this reason it commences with the words: "These are the generations of Jacob: Joseph was seventeen years old" (xxxvii. 1; see p. 604). Now, though Jacob, in the symbolical struggle with a higher power, had purified himself from his *sins*, he had retained the *weakness of visibly* preferring Joseph to his other children; especially because he was a son of the beloved Rachel, whom he called emphatically his wife (ver. 38; xlv. 27); and it was partly for that injustice and imprudence that he had so severely been punished with the loss of Joseph (see p. 605). But so far from being corrected by this misfortune, he now clung with still greater tenacity to Benjamin, Rachel's second son, loving him with

an ardour which left him but little affection for his other sons; for him alone he feared danger on the journey to Egypt; he pleaded his tender age, although he was at least thirty years old, and appears, in the following year, as the father of ten children (xlv. 21); he trembled at the possibility of an accident that might befall him; and if Benjamin were taken from him, he apprehended that his old age would, in grief and sorrow, sink into the grave. But still more; when Simeon was kept fettered in Egypt, and Jacob could save him by sending Benjamin, he refused it long, and with the most violent protestations of pain; he seemed almost indifferent to the fate of his second son; his firstborn, Reuben, proposed to leave his sons as pledges, but Jacob declined the offer; and it was only when Judah with irresistible energy, urged that by these refusals they were all exposed to the danger of perishing by starvation, and he himself became a surety for Benjamin's life, that Jacob consented, though with expressions of heart-rending despair (xliii. 14). Such deep root had that blameable weakness taken in Jacob's mind. It was necessary that it should be eradicated; this alone was wanting to complete his moral education: and Joseph was again destined to exercise this function; he was once more the medium of the dispensing justice of God. It must not be deemed surprising, that the *son* was chosen to reform the *father*: Joseph had, in this instance, an exceptional right; that fault of his father had kindled the hatred of the brothers, had brought him into danger of death, and thrown him into servitude and imprisonment. When he, therefore, did not see Benjamin among the brothers, his suspicion was at once awakened; his questions eli-



them, and said to them, *You are spies*; to see the nakedness of the land you are come. 10. And they said to him, No, my lord, but to buy *corn for food* are thy servants come. 11. *We are* all one man's sons; *we are true men*; thy servants are no spies. 12. And he said to them, No, but to see the nakedness of the land you are come. 13. And they said,

cited information which soon banished every doubt (comp. xliv. 20); and what the answers did not reveal, was inferred by his shrewdness and penetration. Now, as in the treatment of the brothers, so with regard to this point also, his resolution was formed with unhesitating rapidity. He insisted upon Benjamin's journey to Egypt, and demanded it with inexplicable vehemence; but what necessarily appeared to the brothers despotic arbitrariness, was, in reality, the result of a wise plan and profound reflection: he desired, that one of their number should go to Canaan to bring down Benjamin; but all rejected this demand with indignation and abhorrence; for none dared to propose it to Jacob; and they preferred perpetual incarceration. This firmness on the part of the brothers, was to Joseph another corroboration that his conjectures regarding the undue predilection of Jacob in favour of Benjamin, were but too well founded; and he considered it his duty to persevere in his demand with the greater determination. After three days, he dismissed nine of the brothers, and kept back Simeon alone; for he wished to ascertain, if his father was more afflicted by a *possible* accident of Benjamin, than by the *real* misery and lasting servitude of Simeon; it was necessary to test, if partiality still disturbed the equipoise of Jacob's love: and, hence, Joseph was severe, almost to relentlessness. But Jacob was at last compelled to yield to the force of circumstances; though his heart seemed to break, he tore Benjamin from his fond embrace, and confided him to the faithful care of Judah. He finally conquered himself; he achieved the crowning victory over the weakness of his nature; *Jacob* was at length entirely *Israel*; his internal training thus reached the last stage; sin, repentance, and punishment had suc-

ceeded each other; the fourth and happiest period of his life, undisturbed enjoyment and peace, then awaited him. Eleven of his sons returned to Hebron, and surprised him with the report of the life and distinguished eminence of the twelfth: for only after he had obtained that triumph over himself, was he worthy of receiving such cheering intelligence; then only he was permitted to rise from the deepest distress of the soul to its purest felicity.

But we may be allowed briefly to advert to the usual explanation of this part of our narrative. It is asserted, that Joseph's object in demanding the presence of Benjamin, was to prove the *brothers*, and to convince himself, whether they would treat Benjamin, the father's cherished favourite, with the same vile jealousy which they had displayed against himself twenty-two years since; whether their hearts were still filled with envy; and whether, therefore, they deserved to obtain his pardon. But this view is open to important objections. First, even its advocates admit, that Joseph, perfectly at variance with his natural sagacity, would thus have ventured on a most dangerous experiment, possibly imperilling the life of his beloved brother, and loading upon himself a heavy guilt of conscience. But, secondly, that experiment would have been entirely superfluous. A total change in the sentiments of the brothers, is abundantly evident in every part of the recorded transactions. They are so far from jealousy, that they truly vie with each other in devoted love; they pledge themselves for Benjamin's safety with their own lives and those of their children; they have no other desire but that of removing every grief from their aged father, and of protecting their youngest brother; they even express their contrition about their past crime, with

Thy servants *are* twelve brothers, the sons of one man in the land of Canaan: and, behold, the youngest *is* this day with our father, and one *is* no more. 14. And Joseph said to them, That *is* what I spoke to you, saying, You *are* spies: 15. Hereby you shall be proved: by the life of Pharaoh, you shall not go forth hence, except your

touching words, in the presence of Joseph; and Joseph understands their *speech*; affection, resignation, honesty, and fervent piety, seem alone to reign in their hearts; all this was clearly perceived by Joseph, and strikes still more forcibly every reader of this beautiful tale. And suppose the brothers had succumbed in the trial? How could Joseph later meet his father? Or would he, in that case, for ever have renounced the happiness of seeing him again? How could he ever recover the peace of his heart? It is, in fact, impossible, that he should have intended to test his brothers.

After these general remarks, a brief exposition of the individual parts of this section will be sufficient.

The accusation of spying with which Joseph received his brothers, is certainly not unusual in the East. It has been a fruitful source of vexation and annoyance even to modern travellers; and is not unfrequently made the pretext for violent extortions. But the fear of stratagem and treachery is natural in countries where defence and fortification are either difficult or impossible; and guests from Canaan were not likely to be surprised to hear such a charge from the lips of an Egyptian dignitary; for Egypt was, during a very long period, from the east and north-east, exposed to hostile attacks and invasions; the boundaries of the land were uncertain; and the deserts and mountains on the eastern side, facilitated the daring schemes of conquering tribes (comp. 1 Chron. vii. 21, 22). The Hebrews also watched with jealousy the movements of visitors (Isai. xxxix. 1—7).—Joseph was as active as he was wise; his elevated station did not tempt him to indolence or effeminacy; anxious to prevent the avaricious oppressions and arbitrary dealings of subordinate

officials, he personally superintended the sale of corn at least in the capital of the realm; his interest was, no doubt, doubly excited by the arrival of strangers from Canaan, the abode of his family; and when he recognised his brothers among the purchasers, what was more natural than that he should at once treat with them directly without the intercession of an inferior functionary? There is, then, nothing surprising in the circumstance that Joseph, the grand-vizier of Egypt, “should transact business with simple tradesmen from Canaan.”—Determined to torment and to harass his brothers, he exclaimed: “By the life of Pharaoh, you shall not go forth hence, except your youngest brother come hither” (ver. 15). Men naturally swear by what they regard as most powerful, most precious, or most sacred. In despotic countries, therefore, where the king is not only the sum total of worldly power, but generally surrounds his person with divine authority, and where he is worshipped rather than served; the most solemn oath is that taken by the head, or the life, or the hearth and throne of the monarch: a violation of such profession is considered the most criminal form of high treason, involving a manifest contempt for the most binding political and religious duties; and hence death was its irrevocable penalty (*Herod.* iv. 68). Not the eastern nations alone swore, as they swear still, by the life of the king; the Romans also, in the time of their moral and political degradation, took the oath *per genium principis*; and that atrocious monster, Caligula, put to death persons for having omitted to employ it (*Sueton.* Cal. 27); whereas the usual oaths among the Hebrews were “by the Lord the Most High”; by the covenant of God (xxiv. 2); by the love of the parents; by

youngest brother come hither. 16. Send one of you, and let him fetch your brother, and you shall be kept in prison, that your words may be proved, whether *there be any* truth in you: or else, by the life of Pharaoh, surely you *are* spies. 17. And he put them all together in custody three days.—18. And Joseph said to them on the third day, This do, and live; *for* I fear God: 19. If you *are* true *men*, let one of your brothers be imprisoned in the house of your custody; and you go, carry corn for the famine of your houses: 20. But bring your youngest brother to me; then will your words be verified, and you shall not

the help of the Lord; by the eternity of God and the life of the soul; or, “as the Lord liveth who gave us this soul” (Jer. xxxviii. 16); which expressions, showing more clearly than elaborate dissertations, what the Hebrews prized, loved, and feared most, are a beautiful proof of the purity of their notions, and the earnestness of their thoughts (see on Exod. p. 353, 354). But it is not surprising that the Hebrews confirmed an energetic declaration by invoking the life of the person to whom it was addressed (1 Sam. xvii. 55; xxv. 26; 2 Sam. xi. 11).—The oath or protestation “by the life of the king” remained for millenniums later customary in Egypt.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—רָחַץ in Hithpaal (ver. 1) is to *look* at each other, without *acting*; that is, to stand idly, to tarry. There is no reason to read בְּסֻצְרִים instead of סֻצְרִים (ver. 3); the Sept. renders ἔξ Αἴγ.; and the sense is “to buy corn to be brought from Egypt to Canaan.”—אָסֹן (ver. 4) is originally personal injury (Exod. xxi. 22, 23); here it denotes the accidents befalling the traveller on his journey (ver. 38; xlv. 29).—Though שְׁלִיט (ver. 6), in its primitive meaning implies, perhaps, the notion of a severe or imperious ruler (comp. Ecol. x. 5), it has here simply the signification of *governor*, and is synonymous with מֶלֶךְ in xlv. 8; though possibly including the attribute of *great power* (Ecol. vii. 19; compare *Sultan*, and *Salatis*, the king of

the Hyksos, in *Joseph. Apion* i. 14) שְׁלִיט corresponds, therefore, with the Latin *tyrannus*; and the root שָׁלַט is more frequent in the later Biblical books (in Eccles., Esth., Ezra, Neh., and Daniel).—הִתְנַכֵּר (ver. 7) is to *feign* to be a stranger (נָכַר comp. 1 Kings xiv. 5, 6); for the Hithpaal has not unfrequently this signification, as הִתְרַשֵּׁשׁ, הִתְעַשֵּׂר, to assume the appearance of a rich or a poor man (Prov. xiii. 7).—If an adjective is employed as a substantive, the latter is regarded as an *abstract* noun, and has, therefore, usually the *feminine* form, sometimes of the singular, as קִשְׁיָה difficulty (Ps. lx. 5), נְכוּנָה rectitude (Ps. v. 10), נִבְחָה justice (Am. iii. 10), אֶחָד one thing or one time (Job xl. 5; Ps. lxxii. 12); and sometimes of the plural, as גְּדִילוֹת great things (Ps. xii. 4), קִשְׁוֹת hard words (in our passage), קִיָּה (in ver. 29), בְּלִיָּה (in ver. 36). But the *masculine* is not without example, as נִבְחָה justice (Isai. lvii. 2), נְדִידִים noble things (Prov. viii. 6; comp. Ps. xvi. 6; *Geom.* Gr. § 143, 1; *Bovald*, Gr. § 573, 2).—In the phrase אִשָּׁר חָלַם לָהֶם the word לָהֶם means *concerning them*, ל being used in the sense of עַל, as in Isai. v. 1; xxvii. 2; Jer. xli. 2, etc.; comp. לִאֲשֹׁר in xxvi. 7, with אֲשֹׁר in xx. 2, and the Arabic

ل in Koran iii. 162; iv. 64.—} (ver. 11; comp. vers. 19, 31), just, true (Syr. כִּנְאָה), is used of persons as well as of things, both as an adjective and as an adverb (Prov. xv. 7; Jer. xxiii. 10; Isai. xvi. 6; whence

die. And they did so. 21. And they said one to another, We *are* verily guilty concerning our brother; for we saw the anguish of his soul when he implored us, and we would not hear; therefore is this distress come upon us. 22. And Reuben answered them, saying, Did I not say to you, saying, Do not sin against the child, and you would not hear? Therefore, behold, his blood is required. 23. And they knew not that Joseph understood *them*; for an interpreter *was* between them. 24. And he turned away from them, and wept; and he came back to them, and spoke to them, and took from them Simeon, and bound

נִכְרָם emptiness; comp. on Exod. x. 29); Sept. *εργητικοί*; Symm. *δπλοί*.—The words וְהָיָה הַיָּמָּה (ver. 13) “and the one is no more” (ver. 32) have not the indistinct meaning “he has no more been heard of”; but וְהָיָה is synonymous with מָוָה (ver. 38; xliv. 20); for the brothers carefully upheld the belief that Joseph had been torn by wild beasts (xliv. 28; comp. v. 24, וְהָיָה). In ver. 38, however, וְהָיָה has a more general signification “he is lost”; for there it is applied to Simeon also, whom Jacob knew to be alive, but thought for ever imprisoned or detained in Egypt (comp. 1 Kings xx. 40; *οὐκ εἶπας*, Hom. Il. ii. 641; Matt. ii. 18).

18—24. When the brothers, after their imprisonment, were again brought before Joseph, he astonished them by exclaiming that he feared God (יִתְחַלֵּף אֱלֹהִים). They might well wonder that the governor of Egypt, the land of animal worship, should know and revere the only God of the Hebrews; but a mysterious spell surrounded the remarkable individual who inspired them with unaccountable awe; and that declaration at once opened their hearts and their lips to a soul-stirring confession of their guilt.—Simeon was bound; for it is not unlikely that he, the man of violence and blood, the ruthless plunderer of Shechem, had taken a prominent part in the barbarous deed committed at Dothan; whereas it would have been a glaring wrong to detain in prison the elder Reuben, who, by his prudent

interference had averted the murder of Joseph, who had offered his own two sons as pledges for Benjamin's safe return; and who now, in the very presence of Joseph, pathetically reminded the brothers of his ineffectual efforts to save him from their malice. It has been asserted that Joseph was afraid to lay his hand on Reuben, because the person of the first-born was inviolable; but priority of birth alone would not have shielded him. Though primogeniture had its privileges, it had its duties also. Had he been as wicked as his brothers, he would have been the most culpable of all: the accident of birth did not blindly decide among the Hebrews; Jacob was preferred to Esau, because he was more spiritual in his thoughts and aims; and Reuben himself lost the prerogatives of the first-born because he had polluted the sanctity of his house (comp. on chap. xlviii.).

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS. — שֹׁפֵר (ver. 23, part. Hiph. of שָׁפַר to speak strangely), is one who explains a foreign language, an *interpreter* (Sept. *ἐρμηνεύων*, *Onkel.* (סֹפֵר); but in a *later* period of Hebrew literature that word received the figurative meaning of *intercessor*, whether the priest (Isai. xliii. 27; 2 Chron. xxxii. 31), or a tutelary angel (Job xxxiii. 23), pleading the cause of man before the throne of God; for every individual was then believed to have his own mediating angel (comp. Matt. xviii. 10, and the *ferret* of the Persians).

him before their eyes.—25. And Joseph commanded to fill their utensils with corn, and to restore every man's money into his sack, and to give them provisions for the way: and thus was done to them. 26. And they lifted their purchased corn upon their asses, and departed thence. 27. And when one of *them* opened his sack to give his ass provender at the halting-place, he saw his money; for, behold, it *was* in the mouth of his bag. 28. And he said to his brothers, My money hath been returned; and, behold, *it is* in my sack: and their hearts failed *them*, and they turned with trembling one to another, saying, What *is* this *that* God hath done to us?—29. And they came to Jacob their father, to the land of Canaan, and told him all

25—28. Whether Joseph had a right, from personal considerations, to deprive the royal exchequer of the money which he returned in the sacks of the brothers, or whether he obtained the permission of the king, or reimbursed the amount from his private property, are questions which the text evidently evades, in order to show the strength of Joseph's feelings, which, in this instance, overruled his reason; he could not master his repugnance to accepting payment for the staff of life from the members of his family; and he adroitly made this sentiment subservient to his plans for terrifying the brothers: in no deed, therefore, is the duplicity of his conduct more strikingly obvious.—The brothers came to Egypt on asses, as later Moses and his family (Exod. iv. 20). Modern critics have declared this notice to possess very little probability, as the Egyptians abhorred asses, on account of their colour. But this assertion is completely overthrown by the monumental records. Asses are very frequently and very numerously represented; the Egyptian species is notoriously one of the most excellent and valuable; for asses thrive best in dry regions, and rain is extremely rare in Egypt; almost every Egyptian possessed some of those most useful animals, and employed them for various domestic and agricultural purposes (comp. Exod. ix. 3).

They were certainly, in a religious sense, considered as *unclean*, and were, therefore, usually employed for sacrifices offered to the evil demon, Tiphon; but as this did not render them so abominated as to exclude their extensive breeding in Egypt, it cannot be surprising that strangers from Canaan should use them at occasional visits (see on Exod. pp. 76, 147).

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—The verb finite ויסלמו (ver. 25) is irregularly used instead of לסלם, corresponding to לתת and להשיב, all being governed by the same verb וירד אל—וירד (ver. 28) seems to be a constructio prægna, “to tremble and to speak,” or “to speak tremblingly to somebody”; compare Ps. xviii. 46, יחנרו כסמסנרותיהם, “they tremble forth from their fastnesses,” Gen. xxxviii. 9, שחת ארצה.—The brothers seem each to have had two sorts of sacks, one for the corn (כֶּבֶד), called כלי (ver. 25), and another for the provender of their beasts (מספוא, ver. 27), promiscuously introduced as שן and אסתחה (vers. 26, 27, 35; liii. 22, 23); for it is not likely that in the period of famine they should have fed the asses with wheat. Now it appears, that the money was put in the latter kind of sacks, that it might be found by the brothers on their way homeward; for they had no occasion to touch the former sacks, as they had, besides, bags filled

that had befallen them, saying, 30. The man, *who is* the lord of the land, spoke roughly to us, and took us for spies of the country. 31. And we said to him, *We are true men*; we are no spies: 32. *We are* twelve brothers, sons of our father; one *is* no more, and the youngest *is* this day with our father in the land of Canaan. 33. And the man, the lord of the country, said to us, Hereby shall I know that you *are* true men; leave one of your brothers *here* with me, and take *food* for the famine of your households, and go; 34. And bring your youngest brother to me: then I shall know that you *are* no spies, but *that you are* true men; I shall deliver to you your brother, and you may trade in the land.—35. And when they emptied their

with provisions for the journey (צרה לדרך ver. 25); but one of the brothers only opened his sack to feed his animal, and doubtless the beasts of his brothers also; so that the money in the other nine sacks was not found before the party had arrived in Hebron. This is evidently the tenour of the text; and though it is an inaccuracy, it is certainly no contradiction, justifying the supposition of a double relation, that the brothers later said to Joseph's steward, that they had found the money in their sacks on their journey home (xliii. 21); for they intended to relate as briefly as possible their position and past occurrences; and, as Ranke observes, "it did not matter so much *where* they found the money, but *that* they found it" (Unters. i. 267).—In a perfectly similar manner, the brothers related to their father but shortly, that the governor of Egypt had retained Simeon, without mentioning that they had all been kept for three days in the prison (vers. 17—20, 30—34). It might, further, appear that the brothers told Joseph spontaneously of their father and their youngest brother (ver. 11), whereas it is evident, from a later part of the narrative, that they did so only on the express and decided interrogation of Joseph (xliii. 6, 7).—The words שָׁךְ and אֶמְתַּחֵת seem to be perfectly synonymous (comp. ver. 27); the distinction that אֶמְתַּחֵת is more strictly

the sack imposed upon the beasts of burden, can certainly not be substantiated from this portion, the only one in which it occurs in the Old Testament; and the analogy with the Arabic مَسَاح seems precarious, since the derivation from the Hebrew root סָחַח to stretch, or to extend (Isai. xl. 22), is far more plausible.

29—34. As the brothers returned without Simeon, they were compelled at once to communicate to Jacob, not only the inhospitable reception which they had experienced at the hands of the severe ruler of Egypt, but also his imperious demand with regard to Benjamin—a request which they knew would vehemently afflict their father, and which they gladly would have withheld as long as possible. Whether they really concealed from him the fact of their unjust imprisonment to save him an unnecessary pang, or whether it is only omitted in the brevity of the narrative, we have no grounds for deciding: but this neglect certainly does not imply a contradiction.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS. — קָרָה (ver. 29, femin. plur. of part. Kal of קָרָה, to meet), signifies the things which happen or befall a man; it is, therefore, construed with the accusative אֵת, perfectly parallel with אֵת כָּל הַמִּצְאוֹת אֵתָם in Josh. ii. 23. About the feminine plural, see on ver. 7

sacks, behold, every man's bundle of money *was* in his sack: and when *both* they and their father saw their bundles of money, they were afraid. 36. And Jacob their father said to them, You have bereaved me *of my children*: Joseph is no more, and Simeon is no more, and you will take Benjamin *away*: all this cometh upon me. 37. And Reuben said to his father, saying, Thou mayest kill my two sons, if I do not bring him to thee: deliver him into my hand, and I will restore him to thee. 38. And he said, My son shall not go down with you; for his brother is dead, and he alone is left *to me*: if an accident befall him on the way in which you go, then you will bring down my grey hair with sorrow into the grave.

(*ad קשיות*).—סחר (ver. 34) is followed by the accusative (את הארץ), to traffic in the land (comp. xxxiv. 10, 24; p. 579).

35—38. When Jacob saw the money in the sacks of his sons, his most serious apprehensions were roused; he considered that circumstance as decidedly ominous, since it clearly seemed to prove the ill-will of the Egyptian officials; and now at last fearing for the life of Simeon, he was determined not to risk that of Benjamin. In the violence of his sorrow, he addressed to his sons the almost prophetic words: "you have bereaved me of my children"; he considered Simeon as no less irrevocably lost than Joseph; yet he pertinaciously refused to adopt the only course by which he could

reclaim the former. Reuben, again actuated by ardent and brotherly love, and wishing to save Simeon, offered his two sons as guarantees for Benjamin, and with almost exaggerated ardour, permitted them to be killed unless he fulfilled his pledges. But Jacob did not accept the proposal; his heart felt for his younger son only; and he exclaimed, in bitter agonies, that he would never survive his death or his injury.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—בְּלֵךְ (ver. 36), *all this*, viz., misery (comp. on ver. 7), instead of בָּלֶן (Prov. xxxi. 29), like בִּוְאֵנָה instead of בִּוְאֵן, Ruth i. 19; see on xli. 21, *ad קרבנה*). The exclamation עלֵי הַיּוֹם כָּלֵנָה signifies, therefore, "upon me comes all this misfortune."

## CHAPTER XLIII.

1. And the famine *was* heavy in the land. 2. And when they had entirely eaten up the purchase of *corn* which they had brought out of Egypt, their father said to them, Go again, buy *corn* for us for a little food. 3. And Judah said to him, saying, The man solemnly protested to us, saying, You shall not see my face, except your brother

1—10. Months elapsed; and the stores which the brothers had brought from Egypt were exhausted, while the dearth of

the land continued. But Jacob persevered in his blameable partiality for Benjamin, till Judah's powerful and imposing ele-

be with you. 4. If thou wilt send our brother with us, we will go down and buy for thee *corn* for food: 5. But if thou wilt not send *him*, we shall not go down: for the man said to us, You shall not see my face, except your brother *be* with you. 6. And Israel said, Wherefore have you done evil to me, to tell the man whether you had yet a brother? 7. And they said, The man asked us closely about ourselves, and about our kindred, saying, *Is* your father yet alive? have you *another* brother? and we told him in accordance with these words: could we indeed know that he would say, Bring your brother down? 8. And Judah said to Israel his father, Send the youth with me, and we will rise and go; that we may live, and not die, both we, and thou, and our little ones. 9. I will be surety for him; of my hand thou mayest demand him: if I do not bring him to thee, and place him before thee, then I will have sinned against thee for ever: 10. For if we had not lingered, surely we had now returned twice.—11. And their father Israel said to them, If *it is* so indeed, do this; take of the

quence, representing that all would wretchedly perish by hunger, at last shook him from his unavailing lamentations, and restored him to calmness and reason.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—The words הָעֵד הָעֵד הָעֵד (ver. 3), “he solemnly protested to us,” refer to the oath “by the life of Pharaoh,” in xlii. 15, 16.—We told the man עַל פִּי הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה “in accordance with these words,” that is, like those words which we have told thee; or we gave the answers which the questions demanded or called for.

11—14. Jacob then acting with the same prudence which, about thirty years before, had urged him to conciliate Esau's anger by presents, charged his sons to take of the choicest fruits of Canaan, and to offer the gifts to the austere viceroy of Egypt. The productions specified by him were balsam, honey, tragacanth, ladanum, pistachio-nuts, and almonds. Three of these have been mentioned before among those imported into Egypt by the caravan of the Midianites (see on xxxvii. 25), and

we add here a few remarks on the three other articles.

The *grape-honey* (שֶׁבֶב), which the Arabians call *Dibs*, and the Persians *Dushab*, is, according to Pliny (xiv. 11), a product of art, and not of nature; for it is prepared from must boiled down to one third; in this case, it was called by the Romans *siræum* (*σίραιος οἶνος*) or *sapa*, and by the Greeks *ῥήγμα*; but sometimes the must was boiled down to one-half only, and then the grape-jelly so formed bore the name *defrutum*. According to the same author (xviii. 74), the proper season for boiling *defrutum* is the equinox, “on a night when there is no moon; or, if it is a full moon, in the day-time.” It was mixed with milk or wine, and employed for preserving fruits; the former mixture is called by Festus “red drink” (*burranus potio*). The *Dibs* is still prepared in many parts of Syria and Palestine, especially in the neighbourhood of Hebron, and is in great quantities exported into Egypt. Diluted with a little water, it is



choicest fruits of the land in your utensils, and carry down to the man a present, a little balsam, and a little honey, tragacanth, and ladanum, pistachio-nuts, and almonds: 12. And take other money in your hand; and the money that was returned in the mouth of your bags, take *it* back in your hand; perhaps it *was* a mistake: 13. Take also your brother, and rise, go again to the man: 14. And may God Almighty give you mercy before the man, that he may send with you your other brother, and Benjamin:

frequently used instead of sugar, or as a substitute for butter; and sometimes it is applied to wounds instead of wine. The same product is, in the book of Ezekiel (xxvii. 17), likewise mentioned together with balm (לֵבָנָן), and is there stated to have been sent from the land of Israel to the markets of Tyre. As Egypt abounds in excellent bee-honey, but was perhaps unacquainted with the preparation of grape-jelly, the latter was appropriately chosen as a part of Jacob's present (comp. *Virg. Georg.* i. 295; *Ovid, Fast.* iv. 780; *Dioscor.* v. 9; *Varro, R. R.* i. 60; *Colum.* R. R. xii. 21.

The pistachio-tree, the *Pistacia vera* of Linnæus, produces nuts of an oval form, of the size of hazel-nuts, ripening in October. These *pistachio-nuts* are most probably the פִּסְתִּיָּה of our text; they were, and are still, a favourite fruit in the east; their spicy taste is most palatable to Orientals; they are either eaten dry or preserved, and are extensively exported to many countries where the tree is not indigenous. They were the more valued as the kernel, if taken either in food or drink, was believed to strengthen the stomach, and to be a specific against the bite of serpents (*Plin.* xiii. 10). The pistachio-tree is, on the whole, neither far-spread nor much cultivated; but it is most frequent in Palestine and Syria, especially around Aleppo (near the ancient Beroa), in Persia, and so far eastward as Bactria, was at a late period introduced into Italy and Spain, and grows sporadically in Sicily and Calabria. From Afghanistan the seeds are carried to India, where they

are eaten both by natives and Europeans, either uncooked or added to sweetmeats. But the pistachio does not seem to have grown in Egypt. It thrives best in dry and almost rocky soil; it is of very slow growth; male and female flowers are on separate trees; and in this, as in several other points, it resembles the terebinth. The stem is not thick; and attains a height of twelve to twenty, seldom thirty, feet. The branches are numerous and much divided. The blossoms, which are fully developed in April, are whitish, and stand together on the extreme boughs in grape-like clusters. The shell of the nut is odoriferous and of a flesh-colour. The kernel resembles that of the almond, is oily, and green with a red covering (comp. *Plin.* xiii. 10; xv. 24; *Theophr. Hist. Pl.* iv. 4; *Strab.* xv. 725, 734; *Dioscor.* i. 177; *Athen. Deipn.* xiv. 61; *Galen. De Alim. facult.* ii. 30; *Ritter, Geogr.* xi. 561—567).

The last fruit mentioned is *almonds*. It is scarcely necessary to describe the almond-tree (*Amygdalus communis*) with its profuse snow-white flowers, so beautifully compared with the hoary head of the aged man (*Ecol.* xii. 5). It grows in Syria and Palestine, spreads to Afghanistan, but does not seem to have been indigenous in Egypt (comp. *Numb.* xvii. 23; see on *Exod.* p. 508, *Plin.* xvi. 42: xvii. 37; *Cels. Hier.* i. 253, 297).

The question, indeed, offers itself, how Jacob was able to procure all these valuable productions in a year of dearth and famine; and it has been asserted that their introduction renders the scarcity in Canaan

and I, as I am bereaved, I am bereaved.—15. And the men took that present, and they took double money in their hand, and Benjamin; and they rose, and went down to Egypt, and stood before Joseph. 16. And when Joseph saw Benjamin with them, he said to the steward of his house, Bring *these* men into the house, and kill, and make ready; for *these* men shall dine with me at noon. 17. And the man did as Joseph had ordered; and the man brought the men into Joseph's house. 18. And the men were afraid,

historically questionable. But it may be observed, that almost all of them require for their growth heat rather than moisture, and that some develop themselves even to greatest advantage in dry years and in a dry soil. Besides, as they are all articles of luxury, stores might have been preserved from preceding years.

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—The primitive meaning of אֶמְנָה is *entirely, totally*, hence *indeed*; and therefore the words אִם כֵּן אֶמְנָה (ver. 11) mean “if it is so indeed.”—אֶמְנָה זִמְרָה is *song*, זִמְרַת הָאָרֶץ denotes the *praised* or highly-valued productions of the land (comp. אֶמְנָה כָּל הָאָרֶץ in Jer. li. 41).—The pistachio is very much like the terebinth; in the system of Linnæus both trees are ranged under the same genus; and it is, no doubt on account of this great resemblance, that some ancient translators have rendered בְּטָנִים by terebinth (so Sept. and Vulg.), the fruits of which, however, are scarcely edible; while the Samar., Persian, and Arab. Erp. express the pistachio (compare *Mishnah*, Shebiith vii. 5, בְּטָנִים; *Cels.* Hierob. i. 24; *Michael.* Suppl. p. 171). The pistachio is the *fatuk* of the Arabians, and the *pistak* of the Persians. Others render בְּטָנִים, less correctly, dates, or walnuts, or hazel-nuts, or pine-nuts, or peaches, or almonds, etc.—It is not impossible that אֶמְנָה *almond*, is traceable to the root עָמַן in the meaning of *waking*, for the almond-tree blossoms the first of all the trees which bud in winter, in the month of January, while the fruit is developed in March (*Plin.* xvi. 42, *D. Kimchi*); it is, therefore, the tree which first awakes from the wintry slumber,

and vigilantly takes the lead in the regeneration of spring (comp. Jer. i. 11).—כֶּסֶף מִשְׁנָה (ver. 12) is “second money,” that is, *other* money, synonymous with כֶּסֶף אֲחֵר (in ver. 22), besides that which had been returned and found in the sacks (comp. xli. 43); whereas כֶּסֶף מִשְׁנָה (ver. 15) is *double* money (comp. Jer. xvi. 18; xvii. 18; Exod. xvi. 5, 22, etc.). But in both cases מִשְׁנָה is a substantive; in the former instance it is literally “money of a second or the same amount” (comp. מִכְנֵס הַמִּשְׁנָה, 2 Kings xliii. 4; מִכְנֵס הַמִּשְׁנָה, xli. 43): in the latter case, it is, “duplication or repetition of money” (comp. מִשְׁנָה הַתֵּרָה, Deut. xvii. 18; מִשְׁנָה שֶׁכֶּר שֶׁכֶּר, Deut. xv. 18). The status absolutus of מִשְׁנָה פָּסַף shows that כֶּסֶף is to be taken as the accusative, “repetition as regards money” (comp. כֶּסֶף כֶּסֶף, 2 Kings v. 23; כֶּסֶף שְׁנַיִם יָמִים, xli. 1).—The phrase כֶּסֶף שְׁכַלְתִּי is quite analogous to the exclamation אֲכַרְתִּי אֲכַרְתִּי (in Esth. iv. 16), which undoubtedly expresses despondency and resignation, in case the apprehended misfortune should happen (comp. xlii. 36; 2 Kings vii. 4).

**15—31.** The brothers arrived in Egypt without an accident, and appeared before Joseph. They were conducted into his house, where his steward at once astonished and calmed them by mentioning “their God and the God of their father,” and restored to them their brother Simeon. They familiarised themselves with the strange thought of being objects of hospitality under the inhospitable roof of an Egyptian dignitary; and soon the easy

because they were brought into Joseph's house; and they said, On account of the money that was returned in our bags at the first time are we brought in; that he may throw himself upon us, and fall upon us, and take us for bondmen, and our asses. 19. And they approached the steward of Joseph's house, and they spoke with him at the door of the house, 20. And said, Pray sir, we came down the first time to buy *corn for food*: 21. And it happened, when we came to the halting-place, that we opened our bags, and, behold, *every man's money was* in the mouth of his bag, our money in its *full weight*: and we have brought it back in our hand. 22. And other money have we brought down in our hand to buy *corn for food*: we do not know who put our money in our bags. 23. And he said, Peace *be* to you, fear not: your God, and the God of your father hath given you the treasure in your bags: I have received your money. And he brought Simeon out to them. 24. And the man brought the men into Joseph's house, and gave *them* water, and they washed their feet; and he gave provender to their asses. 25. And they made

affability with which they were addressed by the grand-vizier completely banished their anxieties. But when Joseph saw Benjamin, the sudden vehemence of his feelings threatened at once to destroy the plans which he had prudently devised for the correction of his brothers; and he hastened into another apartment to seek relief by tears (comp. xxix. 11; xxxiii. 4).

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—כִּבְרָה (ver. 16) is employed instead of the more usual form כִּבְרָה.—אִשְׁרָא אִמְרָתֶם (ver. 27) of *whom* you have spoken; for the verb אָמַר is not unfrequently construed with the accusation (Isai. iii. 10, etc.; comp. יְבַרֵּךְ to speak to him, xxxvii. 4).—יְהִי (ver. 29, fut. Kal of יָהַי with the suffix), is an an malous form instead of יִהְיֶה (for יְהִי אֵתָּה).

32—34. It is known that while many eastern nations, like the later Greeks and Romans, during their meals, *reclined* on their couches (xviii. 4), the Egyptians are generally represented as *sitting* (ver.

33), although they had couches of the most varied designs and the most elegant shapes (Rosellini, II. ii. 439; Wilkinson, ii. 201).—The antipathy harboured by the Egyptians against strangers was proverbial; they would on no account consent to eat with them at the same table; and Herodotus remarks, in this respect, that no Egyptian man or woman will use the knife, spit, or caldron of a Greek, or taste of the flesh of a pure ox that has been divided by a Grecian knife (ii. 41); because, as that author observes, the Egyptians show the greatest reverence to cows which are sacred to Isis, whereas the Greeks will kill them; this was one of the reasons why all foreign shepherds were a horror to the Egyptians (xvi. 34); and Moses advanced, as a pretext for his request, "we shall sacrifice before the Egyptians animals which it is in their eyes an abominable crime to kill; and they will stone us" (see on xvi. 28—34, and Exod. viii. 22). But this was certainly not the motive for Joseph's separation from

ready the present before Joseph came at noon: for they heard that they should there eat a meal. 26. And when Joseph came home, they brought him the present which *was* in their hand into the house, and prostrated themselves before him to the ground. 27. And he asked them of *their* welfare, and said, Is your father well, the old man of whom you spoke? *Is* he still alive? 28. And they said, Thy servant our father *is* well, he *is* still alive. And they bowed and prostrated themselves. 29. And he lifted up his eyes, and saw his brother Benjamin, his mother's son, and said, *Is* this your youngest brother, of whom you spoke to me? And he said, God be gracious to thee, my son. 30. And Joseph hastened; for his love was warmed for his brother: and he sought *where* to weep; and he entered into *his* chamber, and wept there. 31. And he washed his face, and went out, and restrained himself, and said, Set on the meal. 32. And they set on for him by himself, and for them by themselves, and for the Egyptians who were eating with him, by themselves: for the Egyptians cannot eat a meal with the Hebrews; for that

his brothers. For the meal was prepared in his own house and by his own servants; the dishes were all placed upon his table, from which he sent portions to the brothers; it is, therefore, impossible to suppose that animals held sacred in the district of Joseph's residence had been killed for this feast. Animal food formed, indeed, a part of this entertainment (ver. 16); but it is an assertion which at present scarcely deserves a refutation, that the Egyptians entirely abstained from the use of meat; for though there was scarcely an animal which was not held sacred in some province, there was, perhaps with the only exception of the cow, none which was not killed and eaten in other parts of the land (see on Exod. p. 142). The reason of the separation lies in the spirit of exclusiveness reigning in the Egyptian castes. Joseph not only sat removed from his brothers, but even from the Egyptians who formed his household. Though he was in every regard an Egyptian, and his

suite probably included persons of high station, they doubtless did not belong to the caste of priests into which Joseph, by his marriage, seems to have been received. So there were three, and perhaps more, different tables in the same apartment; and the Hindoos, in this respect very much resembling the Egyptians, are so anxiously careful in their separation, that the members of one caste abhor to touch the utensils out of which the individuals of another caste have eaten.—Joseph, wishing to appear, in the eyes of the brothers, as possessed of extraordinary and almost supernatural gifts, to their utmost astonishment, placed them in the exact order of their birth; but though by this circumstance he might for a moment have disturbed their ease, he soon restored it by his heart-winning cordiality. He sent to Benjamin portions five times larger than those served to the rest, which distinction was too obvious to be mistaken or overlooked by the brothers; for larger shares at meals were

is an abomination to the Egyptians. 33. And they sat before him, the firstborn according to his primogeniture, and the youngest according to his youth: and the men marvelled one at another. 34. And he sent portions to them from himself: but Benjamin's portion was five times as much as any of the portions of *all the rest*. And they drank, and were merry with him.

among the Hebrews and other ancient nations a usual mode of showing preference and marked honour (1 Sam. ix. 23, 24; *Hom. Odyss.* iv. 65, 66; xiv. 437; *Iliad* vii. 321, etc.; see p. 403). Joseph wished, indeed, to keep his brothers in constant attention, and vividly to impress upon them that they were connected with him by a tie at once powerful and mysterious.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—יָ (ver. 34) hand, means also part or portion (as in xl. vii. 24); the messes of Benjamin compared to those of his brothers, were חֲמִשָּׁה חֵצִי, "five parts," that is, five times

larger.—There are some passages in which the verb שָׂרַח has indisputably the signification of drinking to a state of hilarity and joyousness, but not of inebriation (*Hagg.* i. 6; *Cant.* v. 1). Therefore, though scenes of intoxication were by no means unusual among the noble Egyptians, it is more in harmony with the characteristic prudence of Joseph, and with the reserve and suspense certainly felt by the brothers at that feast, to understand the verb here (ver. 34) in its more favourable meaning (comp. טוֹב לֵב בִּינִי in 2 Sam. xiii. 28).

## CHAPTER XLIV.

1. And he commanded the steward of his house, saying, Fill the men's bags *with* food, as much as they can carry, and put every man's money in his bag's mouth. 2. And put my cup, the silver cup, into the mouth of the bag of the youngest, and the money of his purchase of *corn*. And he did in accordance with the word that

1—5. It seems almost an unnatural callousness on the part of Joseph that he did not make himself known to his brothers at the repast in his house. He evidently felt uncommon delight in the scene; he revelled in wonderful recollections and brilliant anticipations; his sagacious mind at once perceived the transparent tissue which connected his dreams with their marvellous realization; the wine had opened his lips; yet his heart remained closed and steeled; and he coldly dismissed his brothers as if they were total strangers. However, a scene of recognition at the festive board would have materially weakened

the effect of his well-devised scheme, and it would have destroyed the character of his mission, which made him the medium of retribution for his brothers. At the meal Joseph was, in a certain respect, not their superior but their equal, "they drank, and they were merry with him"; still more, they were his guests, and therefore objects of sacred attention; he would, under such circumstances, not have been able to act with rigid justice; the solemn plan of correction, so grandly commenced, would have ended in a trifling compromise; and from the sphere of Divine thought it would have sunk into the ordinary circle

Joseph had spoken. 3. When morning was light, the men were sent away, they and their asses. 4. When they had left the city, *and* had not *yet* gone far, Joseph said to his steward, Rise, pursue after the men; and when thou overtakest them, say to them, Wherefore have you returned evil for good? 5. *Is* not this *it* of which my lord drinketh, and whereby he surely divineth? You have

of human weakness. Therefore, Joseph gathered once more all his energy; adopted measures by which the character of supernatural interference would become most striking; and assumed more than ever the appearance of a superhuman sage. The ancient Egyptians, and still more, the Persians, practised a mode of divination from goblets (*κυλικουαρτία*). Small pieces of gold or silver, together with precious stones, marked with strange figures and signs, were thrown into the vessel; after which, certain incantations were pronounced, and the evil demon was invoked; the latter was then supposed to give the answer, either by intelligible words, or by pointing to some of the characters on the precious stones, or in some other more mysterious manner. Sometimes the goblet was filled with pure water, upon which the sun was allowed to play; and the figures which were thus formed, or which a lively imagination fancied it saw, were interpreted as the desired omen: a method of taking auguries still employed in Egypt and Nubia. The goblets were usually of a spherical form (which is even confirmed by the etymology of the Hebrew name *נביע*); and from this reason, as well as because they were believed to teach man all natural and many supernatural things, they were called "celestial globes." Most celebrated was the magnificent vase of turquoise of the wise Jemshedd, the Solomon among the ancient Persian kings, the founder of Persepolis; and Alexander the Great, so eager to imitate eastern manners, is said to have adopted the sacred goblets also.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS. — *נביע* is a chalice or goblet of a large size (Jer. xxxv. 5); the Septuagint renders the

word *κόλυβος*, which seems to be the name of a sacred vessel used by the Egyptians; and the religious drinking utensil of the Indian priests is also called *kundi* (see *Bohlen* on Genesis, p. 403).—*אֵיךְ* (ver. 4) is construed with the accusative (*הַכֵּל הַזֶּה*); like *עכר* in xxxii. 32, and like the verbs of opposite meaning *נור* and *שכן*, Ps. v. 5; Prov. viii. 12 (compare *urbem egređi*).—*הֲלֹא זֶה אֲשֶׁר יִכּוּ* (ver. 5) is an elliptical expression, "is not this it of which my master drinks?" The steward was fully acquainted with the whole stratagem, having himself put the goblet into Benjamin's sack, Joseph told him but briefly the import of the words which he was to address to the brothers. Some ancient translators add, therefore, superfluously, "why did you steal the goblet" (Sept., similarly the Vulgate and the Syr.). Schumann translates, "have you not done wrong, with regard to that goblet (*הַכֵּל*) of which my master drinks?" But it is impossible to render *הַכֵּל* in that sense; nor can it, with Maurer, be taken as synonymous with *לכם* "have you not the goblet with you?"—*שָׁתה* to drink, is construed with *ב* (to drink of a vessel), as in Am. vi. 6 (*הַשְׂתִּים בְּמִזְרֵי יי*), which idiom occurs in several other languages also, *πίνειν ἐν χρυσῳ* (*Xenoph. Anab.* vi. 1); *bibere in ossibus* (*Flor.* iii. 4); *boire dans une tasse*.—*נחש* is originally to hiss or lisp like a serpent (*נחש*), and hence means either generally to murmur incantations, or more strictly, to prophesy through a serpent, to practice ophiomancy (*ὄφιομαντία*); but so that this meaning was gradually extended to every form of divination; wherefore the Septuagint renders, *Αἰνός δὲ οἰωνοσμῶ οἰωνίζειται ἐν αὐτῷ*; Vulg. *in quo augurari solet*; Onkelos,

done evil in what you did.—6. And he overtook them, and he spoke to them those words. 7. And they said to him, Wherefore doth my lord say these words? God forbid that thy servants should do a thing like that: 8. Behold, the money which we found in the mouths of our bags, we returned to thee out of the land of Canaan: how then should we steal out of the house of thy lord silver or gold? 9. With whomsoever of thy servants it be found, let him die, and we also will be bondmen to thy lord. 10. And he said, *Is* it now indeed right according to your words? he with whom it is found shall be my servant; but you shall be blameless. 11. And they hastened and took down every man his sack to the ground, and opened every man his sack. 12. And he searched, *and* began with the eldest, and finished with the youngest: and the cup was found in Benjamin's bag.—13. And they rent their clothes, and loaded every man his ass, and returned to the city. 14. And Judah and his brothers came to Joseph's house; and he *was* still there: and they fell before him on the ground. 15. And Joseph said to them, What deed *is* this that you have done? Do you not know

הוא בִּדְקָא יִבְרַק בִּיה; in the same wider sense, the word is used in several other passages (ver. 15; Lev. xix. 26; 2 Kings xvii. 17, etc.; comp. 2 Kings xxiii. 24; xxiv. 1); and is even employed in the signification of guessing or conjecturing (xxx. 27).—The form נִחַשׁ is an irregular infinitive *absolute*, instead of נִחֵשׁ; but has analogies in נִחֵשׁ Ho. iv. 2; אָנַח, Jer. xii. 7, etc.

Q—13. But Joseph, though deprived of his cup, was yet able to divine, and to fix upon the brothers as the offenders. The latter, not believing in superstitious auguries, could value the goblet only in so far as it was of precious metal; without, therefore, adverting to the chief charge of the steward, they simply protested, that as they had honestly returned the money found in their sacks, it was most improbable that they should steal silver or gold; and so certain were they of each other's

innocence, that they unanimously declared, that he who had committed the theft should suffer death, while all the rest should be slaves to the vice-roy. But the steward, with an affected air of equity, reproved their impetuosity and exaggeration, observing that, in common justice, the thief alone should be forced to serve as slave, while the others would be regarded as innocent: for his sole object was to *separate* Benjamin from his brothers.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS. — The context requires us to understand the words הוּא גַם עָתָה כְּדִבְרֵיכֶם כֵּן הוּא (ver. 10) as an interrogation; and to translate, "Is it right according to your words?" For the steward's proposal is essentially different from that of the brothers.

13—17. Their unspeakable grief when the cup was found assumed the violence of mourning; and far from agreeing to the proposal of the steward, they, without

that such a man as I can certainly divine? 16. And Judah said, What shall we say to my lord? what shall we speak? or how shall we justify ourselves? God hath found out the iniquity of thy servants: behold, we *are* my lord's servants, both we, and *he* in whose hand the cup hath been found. 17. And he said, God forbid that I should do so: the man in whose hand the cup hath been found, he shall be my servant: but you go up in peace to your father.

18. Then Judah stepped near to him, and said, Oh my lord, let thy servant, I pray thee, speak a word in my lord's ears, and let not thy anger burn against thy servant: for thou *art* as Pharaoh. 19. My lord asked his servants, saying, Have you a father, or a brother? 20. And we said to my lord, We have a father, an old man, and a child of his old age, a young one; and his brother *is* dead; and he alone is left of his mother, and his father loveth him. 21. And thou saidst to thy servants, Bring him down to me, that I may set my eyes upon him. 22. And we said to my lord, The youth cannot leave his father: for *if* he should leave his father, *his father* would die. 23. And thou saidst to thy servants, Unless your youngest

delay, returned to the royal city. As Judah had become a surety for Benjamin, he this time headed the caravan. Joseph, receiving his brothers with a speech of cruel and haughty irony, branded their desire of deceiving his divine infallibility, as a work of folly and infatuation. Now the relation between Joseph and his brothers had reached the highest point of preternatural mystery; the one appeared to have discovered what lies absolutely beyond the reach of human knowledge and ability; and the others were overpowered by feelings of humble submission. They attempted no reply or excuse; Benjamin did not remonstrate against the disgraceful imputation; and Judah, without denying his brother's guilt, simply referred the strange concatenation of events to the inscrutable will and interference of God, who had found out their iniquity.

18—34. But when Joseph firmly in-

sisted upon detaining Benjamin alone, while the others should at once return to their father "in peace," Judah, tormented as he was by the most bitter pangs and sorrows, could no longer restrain his revolted sentiments; all the floods of his agitated mind rushed upon him like a mighty torrent; the nobleness of his nature stood aghast at the inhuman barbarity of the tyrant; but Judah, the lion, could never degrade his dignity by an outburst of impotent rage; the tempest of his feelings was checked by controlling reason; and the chaotic confusion of his emotions gave way to manly composure and lucid thought. Stepping forward towards the inexorable man, with the courage and modesty of the hero, he delivered that address which is one of the masterpieces of Hebrew composition. It is not distinguished by brilliant imagination or highly poetical diction; its immita-



brother come down with you, you shall see my face no more. 24. And when we came up to thy servant my father, we told him the words of my lord. 25. And our father said, Go again, *and* buy us a little *corn* for food. 26. And we said, We cannot go down: if our youngest brother be with us, then will we go down: for we may not see the man's face, if our youngest brother *be* not with us. 27. And thy servant my father said to us, You know that my wife bore me two *sons*. 28. And the one went out from me, and I said, Surely he is torn in pieces; and I saw him not since: 29. And if you take this one also from me, and an accident befall him, you will bring down my grey hairs with sorrow into the grave. 30. Now therefore when I come to thy servant my father, and the youth *be* not with us, since his soul is bound up in the youth's soul; 31. It will happen, when he seeth that the youth *is* not *with us*, that he will die: and thy servants will bring down the grey hairs of thy servant our father with sorrow into the grave. 32. For thy servant became surety for the youth to my father, saying, If I do not bring him to thee, then I will have sinned to my father for ever. 33. Now, therefore, I pray thee, let thy servant remain instead of the youth as a bondman to my lord;

ble charm and excellence consist in the power of psychological truth, easy simplicity, and affecting pathos. It possesses the eloquence of facts, not of words; it is, in reality, scarcely more than a simple recapitulation of past incidents; but the selection, arrangement, and intrinsic emphasis of the facts produce an effect attainable only by consummate art. The deep and fervent love of the aged father for his youngest son, forms the centre, round which the other parts of the speech, the allusion to Joseph, to Rachel, and to the struggle of the brothers before their departure from Canaan, are skilfully grouped. Jacob would never survive the loss of Benjamin; and if the brothers returned without him, they would see their father expire in agony before their eyes. Was this not enough for the feel-

ings of a son? Could Joseph still remain unmoved? One trait more completed the victory over his heart. Judah had not words only for his unhappy father; but anxious to seal his filial love by the greatest sacrifice he could possibly offer: he was ready to renounce his home, his wife and his children, and for ever to toil in the drudgery of Egyptian bondage. However, Judah's moderation was not the effect of mere helplessness. Almost certain that he would not be refused as a substitute for his brother Benjamin, and satisfied if this request only were granted to him, he was unwilling to force Joseph's decision; he abstained even from touching upon the chief and most essential question of Benjamin's guilt or innocence; the fact alone that the goblet had been found in the possession of the latter was to him a cer-

and let the youth go up with his brothers. 34. For how shall I go up to my father, and the youth *be* not with me? lest perhaps I see the evil that will befall my father.

tain proof that the whole embarrassment was so decreed and designed by the Lord: though he tried to interest the *humanity* of Joseph, he did not wish to interfere with the *councils of God*;—the grand doctrine of Divine Providence breathes through and animates every part of this narrative, as profound as it is beautiful.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—The repetition of the prefix כ in כפרעה כמון expresses the complete equality of both

individuals (comp. xviii. 25); before verbs, or if the greater stress lies on the second part, כן is employed (Ps. cxxvii. 4; Joel ii. 1; comp. *Ewald* Gram. § 601).—שׂים עין (ver. 21), is here simply to see or behold—not to do well or to show favour (Sept. *ἐπιμελοῦμαι* αὐτοῦ; compare Ps. xxxiii. 18), which would be perfectly against the context.—ברע אראה (ver. 34) is a construction like אראה בטות (in xxi. 16, see p. 439).

## CHAPTER XLV.

1. Then Joseph could not refrain himself before all those who stood by him; and he cried, Let every man go out from me. And there stood no man with him, when Joseph made himself known to his brothers. 2. And he wept aloud: and the Egyptians and the house of Pharaoh

1.—The thrilling tale, having fully realised all the ends for which it was conceived, and having “vindicated the ways of God to man,” hastens to its conclusion. Joseph was rejoiced that he at last was permitted to resign the stern office of judge, to descend from the giddy and frigid height of superior to be an equal of his brothers, and to remove at once the worldly and the moral barriers which had so long separated him from his own beloved family. But though almost overwhelmed by the turbulence of his sentiments, his mind was still powerful enough to command and to govern them. Should the Egyptian officials witness the recognition? Should they hear or infer the crime of his brothers, and recoil at their ruthless barbarity? They would have perceived the guilt, but would have been unable to estimate the atonement; they would have shuddered at the deed, but have failed to understand it as a means in the hand of Providence; their aversion against the foreigners and the nomads would have deepened

into detestation; and their presence would have destroyed all the beautiful prospects which then filled Joseph’s agitated mind. Absorbed by such thoughts, and, moreover, reluctant to profane so sacred a scene by the curious gaze of strangers, he ordered all Egyptians to leave him.

2—15. After having silenced the first tumult of his emotions, he at once mentioned his name, and abruptly enquired after Jacob.—The haste with which he turned to the absent father, almost forgetting his present brothers, was but too natural: well aware that, as the instrument of Divine correction, he had tortured the heart of his aged parent by insisting upon Benjamin’s journey; he felt a profound delight to be, at length, released from an ungrateful duty, and an anomalous position. But the brothers had been astounded and terrified rather than surprised by his announcement; and they trembled with undiminished awe before the impenetrable man who had more than once shown them his severity and his

heard it. 3. And Joseph said to his brothers, I *am* Joseph; doth my father yet live? And his brothers could not answer him; for they were confounded before him. 4. And Joseph said to his brothers, Come near to me, I pray you. And they came near. And he said, I *am* Joseph your brother, whom you sold into Egypt. 5. And now be not grieved, nor angry with yourselves, that you sold me hither: for God sent me before you for the preservation of life. 6. For these two years *hath* the famine *been* in the land: and *there are* yet five years, in

favour. Joseph, therefore, desirous to gain their confidence, rose to the highest ideas which he was conscious of representing: repeating, without disguise or adornment, the disgraceful fact that he was the brother they had so criminally sold, he entreated them henceforth to banish all pain and grief at that deed, since God had turned it into a means of deliverance, both for them and the heathen nations; they might, therefore, be consoled by the reflection, that it was God who had sent him into the strange land for great and beneficent ends, not to remain a slave, but to become the first adviser of the monarch. He recurs to this idea so emphatically, and so evidently for the encouragement of his brothers, as if he intended to assure them that their crime was atoned for by the sincerity of their repentance, and to cheer them with the beautiful doctrine: "Blessed is he whose transgression is forgiven, whose sin is covered: blessed is the man to whom the Lord imputeth not iniquity" (Ps. xxxii. 1, 2).—But then his thoughts impatiently returned to his distant father; he wished him to live in his immediate neighbourhood, and considered it a precious privilege to protect and effectually to support him. So deep was his veneration for the man whose eventful destinies appeared to his clear-sighted intellect like the bold characters of Divine retribution.

The residence chosen by Joseph for his family was at *Goshen* (גֹּשֶׁן). This district of Lower Egypt belonged to the most fertile parts of the land (xlvii. 6, 11;

xlvi. 18, 20; Num. xi. 5), was eminently favourable to the purposes of agriculture (Exod. ix. 26, 31, 32; Num. xx. 5); but especially distinguished by rich pastures, and hence highly desirable for breeders of cattle (xlv. 34; xlvii. 4). It was situated in the east of the Nile, since the Israelites at their departure from Egypt reached Succoth without crossing that river, from which, however, it could not have been distant, since, in the desert, they bitterly regretted the want of fishes, which they had eaten in Egypt "freely" (Num. xi. 5); nor was it far from the residence of the Pharaohs (ver. 10), from where it could be easily reached by carriage (xlv. 28, 29; xlviii. 1, 2); in the east, or rather north-east of it, since Joseph went up to meet his father at his arrival from Canaan (לָקָח; xlv. 29; see pp. 25, 26); whether that residence was at Tanis (*Zaan*, Num. xiii. 22; Ps. lxxviii. 12, 43), or at Memphis (see on Exod. p. 86), or at Heliopolis (*On*, p. 628). It was also called *Rameses* (xlvii. 11; xlv. 28, Sept.; Exod. xii. 37), and included the towns Pithom and Raamses (see on Exod. i. 11). It extended, no doubt, from the vicinity of the Nile considerably to the east, perhaps to the borders of the waste tracts; but not to the desert itself, to which the Hebrews, in Moses' time, asked permission to proceed for the performance of sacrifices (Exod. viii. 23, 24); it, therefore, scarcely comprised Heroopolis, as the Septuagint states (in xlv. 28); and that it was regarded as the frontier province of Egypt on the eastern side, is not certain, from

which *there will* neither be ploughing nor harvest. 7. And God sent me before you to preserve for you a remnant on earth, and to save your lives by a great deliverance. 8. So now *it was* not you *that* sent me hither, but God: and He hath made me governor to Pharaoh, and lord of all his house, and a ruler throughout all the land of Egypt. 9. Hasten, and go up to my father, and say to him, Thus saith thy son Joseph, God hath made me lord of all Egypt: come down to me, tarry not: 10. And thou shalt dwell in the land of Goshen, and thou shalt

passages either obscure or admitting a different interpretation (xlvi. 28, 34; xlvii. 1); as, moreover, some allusions seem to imply that it was surrounded by other Egyptian districts (Exod. viii. 18; ix. 26). More than this, it is impossible to ascertain, either from Biblical notices or other sources; as, in fact, the name Goshen is not mentioned by any independent profane writer; it cannot be decided whether the province of Goshen commenced in the east of the Tanitic or of the Pelusiatic mouth of the Nile; whether it included the island Mycephoris and the modern town Hehyeh; whether it extended from Babastus to the entrance of the Wady Tumilat; whether it coincided with the ancient *Præfectura Arabica* (Ti-Arabia), or with the present province Esh-Shurkiyeh; or whether it ran round Bilbeis, in the valley of Sabohyar. Nor is it of any value, to fix at random upon any one district in the east of the Nile, and to represent it by a specious and partial description as the Goshen of Genesis. It is, indeed, not difficult to find more than one tract of land agreeing with the few certain criteria above referred to. The circumstance that the parents of Moses lived evidently in the capital (Exod. ii. 3, 5, 8), does not prove that the capital belonged to Goshen, but that the Israelites had spread beyond that province over many parts of the land (see notes on Exod. i. 7, 12; ii. 5). Further, two Biblical statements have been employed in support of the assertion that the land of Goshen bordered on the territory of the Philistines: first, the remark that the

Israelites at the exodus "did not go on the way of the land of the Philistines, although that was near" (Exod. xiii. 17); but these words imply only, that the route through Philistia would have been *nearer* than the circuitous march through the Peninsula of Mount Sinai: and secondly, the fact that some Ephraimites were killed by the people of Gath "because they had come (from Goshen) to take away their cattle" (1 Chron. vii. 21); but this simply proves the daring courage of the Hebrew marauders, who extended their excursions so far in the north-eastern direction. Nor is there the least conclusive evidence for the opinion that the southernmost part of Goshen was Heliolis; since if *Memphis* was in Joseph's time the residence of the Egyptian kings, that province must have extended considerably more to the south, and Heliopolis itself seems to have belonged to it (*Joseph. Ant.* II. vii. 6). The "Hill or Tower of the Jews" (Tell or Turbet el Jehud), north-east of Cairo, on the Pelusiatic arm of the Nile, dates unquestionably from a much later period, probably after the time of Ptolemæus Philometer, when Jews again settled in that district (*Joseph. Ant.* XIII. iii. 1, 2; *Bell. Jud.* VIII. x. 2; *Robinson, Res.* i. 37; *Tuch, Genes.* p. 538).—It needs scarcely to be remarked that the district of Goshen was not exclusively appropriated to the small colony of Hebrews settling there under Joseph's authority; since, even in the time of the Exodus, after their prodigious increase, it was inhabited by Egyptians also; for

be near me, thou, and thy children, and thy children's children, and thy flocks, and thy herds, and all that thou hast: 11. And there will I nourish thee; for *there are* yet five years of famine; lest thou, and thy household, and all that thou hast, come to poverty. 12. And, behold, your eyes see, and the eyes of my brother Benjamin, that *it is* my mouth that speaketh to you. 13. And you shall tell my father of all my glory in Egypt, and of all that you have seen; and you shall hasten and bring down my father hither. 14. And he fell upon his brother Ben-

both are introduced as *neighbours*, giving and receiving presents (Exod. iii. 22; xi. 2; xii. 35, 36), and as living promiscuously in the same cities, so that the houses of the Hebrews were to be marked for the guidance of the destroying angel (Exod. xii. 23); while the pastures of Goshen seem always to have fed the royal flocks and herds (xlvii. 6).

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—The words **לָשׂוּם לָכֶם שְׂאֲרִית בָּאָרֶץ** (ver. 7) can scarcely be misunderstood, if literally translated: "in order to make or to keep for you a remnant on earth"; that is, to save you and your offspring alive amidst the general and fearful famine; to which 2 Sam. xiv. 7 has been aptly compared as a parallel (see also Jer. xl. 11; Ezr. ix. 8). However, though this is the more obvious and grammatical reading, it is not strictly necessary to take **לָכֶם** as the dative, so that it would include the children of the brothers; for the dative is sometimes used incorrectly instead of the accusative, as in the words immediately following **וְלִהְיוּ לָכֶם** "and to preserve you alive." It is, therefore, as unnecessary as it would be forced to explain, "in order to give you a remnant of corn, the produce of the earth," an interpretation proposed by Schumann and recommended by Maurer and Bohlen (comp. Neh. vii. 72; Jer. viii. 3, etc.).—The words **לְפָלִיטָה נִדְרָה** are simply to be rendered "by a great deliverance," that is, by a providential rescue; they cannot be taken as an apposition to **לָכֶם**, and be understood "a great host"; for, 1. The "numerous peo-

ple" (**עַם רַב**) in l. 20, do not refer to the seventy souls of Jacob's house, but to the Egyptians, and all the strangers who bought corn in Egypt; 2. The apposition would require **פְּלִיטָה נִדְרָה** (compare **לְאֹכְלֵם הָעֶבְרִי**, xiv. 13; etc.); and 3. The signification "host" or "great number," attributed to **פְּלִיטָה**, is not substantiated by a single Biblical passage, and is in direct opposition to the fundamental meaning of **פָּלַט**, to *escape*, whence the ordinary sense of **פְּלִיטָה**, is *residue*, or *small remnant* (comp. 2 Chron. xx. 24; xxx. 6; Ezr. ix. 24; Isai. iv. 2; x. 20, etc.), and is synonymous with **שְׂאֲרִית** itself (Isai. xxxvii. 32; Ezr. ix. 14; 1 Chr. iv. 43).—The original meaning of **father** (**אָב**, ver. 8) easily admits of the metaphorical sense of *governor* or *procurator*, and then of *stadtholder* or *viceroy*, chief minister or councillor. In this signification it is, besides, used in some apocryphal books, where Haman is called the "second father" of the king, and Lasthenes is addressed by King Demetrius with the same title (*πατήρ*; Esth. xiii. 6; xvi. 11;

1 Macc. xi. 32); in Arabic (**الوالد**); in Syriac (**אבא**); in Turkish and Persian (*Atabek* and *Lala*); and other eastern languages (comp. *D'Herbelot*, *Bibl. Or.* p. 142; *Gesen.* *Thes.* p. 7).—Among the Nabatæans, the chief vizier was called the "king's brother" (see p. 478).—The Sept. renders **נִדְרָה** (ver. 10) with *ἑστὴν Ἀπαθίας*, which seems merely to indicate that the province was situated to the east of the Nile, and extended to the deserted re-

jamin's neck, and wept; and Benjamin wept upon his neck. 15. And he kissed all his brothers, and wept upon them: and after that his brothers spoke to him.—16. And the report was heard in Pharaoh's house, saying, Joseph's brothers are come: and it pleased Pharaoh and his servants. 17. And Pharaoh said to Joseph, Say to thy brothers, This do, load your animals, and go, come to the land of Canaan; 18. And take your father and your households, and come to me: and I will give you the best part of the land of Egypt, and you shall eat the fat of the

gions adjoining the Red Sea (comp. *Ptol.* iv. 5; vi. 8; *Plin.* v. 9; and *Herod.* ii. 158, *Πάρουμον τὴν Ἀραβίαν πόλιν*). Targum Jon. and Jerus. understand Pelusium; Saad., Sadir, a town in the province Esh-Shurkiyeh, others Sais or Heracleotis; and others indulge in other doubtful identifications (comp. *Gesen.* Thes. p. 307; *Bellermann*, Handbuch iv. 191; *Jablonski*, Op. ii. 73; *Eichhorn*, Bibl. vi. 854; *Rosenm.* Geogr. iii. 246; *Hengstenberg*, Mos. und Äg. pp. 40—45; *Winer*, Bibl. Wört. i. 439, etc.).

16—21. Although Joseph was inferior to Pharaoh only with regard to the throne, and although he was the governor, master, and ruler over all Egypt (xli. 40—44); he used his power with a moderation equally honourable to his intelligence and his character. He was, indeed, certain that arrangements made by him in favour of his family would not be opposed or reversed by the king; and he therefore, without previous consultation or permission, accorded to his brothers abodes in Goshen, in the choicest part of the land (ver. 10); but he afterwards most judiciously endeavoured to obtain the royal approbation. Having himself informed the king of the arrival of his relatives, of their pursuits, and their possession of numerous cattle; he took five of the brothers with him to present them to Pharaoh, and instructed them what to say at that interview (xli. 31—xlvii. 4). The king had before, of his own accord, promised that Joseph's family should live in a good part of the land, without, however, making men-

tion of Goshen (vers. 18, 20). The request of the brothers implied, in fact, a certain boldness, because in Goshen the cattle of the king himself was kept (xlvii. 6); and it appears that Pharaoh gave his consent only after some consideration; for he addressed the answer not to the brothers directly, but to Joseph, and with a certain formality (see on xlvii. 5, 6). How prudent, and perhaps necessary, the moderation of Joseph was, is evident, not only from the decided tone of Pharaoh in giving him the strictest commands with the superiority of a master (vers. 17—21), but from the independent position which even the other officials seem to have occupied at the royal court (ver. 16; comp. i. 4—6; xli. 37, 38). Thus disarming suspicion and jealousy, he could, without impediment, employ his genius and his energy in carrying out his great plans for the organisation of the land: for not his own greatness, but the mitigation of a fearful calamity was his aim; and far from coveting dominion, he never ceased to regard himself as an humble medium in the hands of Providence (ver. 5; i. 19, 20).

The order of Pharaoh to send carriages to Jacob from Egypt, is either based on the supposition that at that time vehicles for riding were not yet at all known or employed in Canaan; or leads to the inference, that they were essentially different from those used in Egypt; or what is more probable, that those sent by Joseph were considered to have been so remarkable for elegance and costliness that they

land. 19. Now thou art commanded, this do; take you carriages out of the land of Egypt for your little ones and for your wives, and bring your father, and come. 20. And do not regard your utensils; for the good of all the land of Egypt is yours. 21. And the children of Israel did so: and Joseph gave them carriages, according to the command of Pharaoh, and gave them provision for the way. 22. To all of them he gave each man changes of raiment: but to Benjamin he gave three hundred *shekels* of silver, and five changes of raiment. 23. And to his father he

mainly contributed to make Jacob believe the royal elevation of his son (ver. 27); while some ancient expositors groundlessly assert, that it required the special permission of the king to take carriages out of Egypt, which had been prohibited in order to prevent the too rapid exportation of corn "by waggon loads." But battle-chariots were in Canaan, as in other eastern countries, extensively employed from early times. About the different kinds of Egyptian carriages we refer to Comm. on Exod. p. 241.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—חֶלֶב הָאָרֶץ (ver. 18) is obviously synonymous with סוּב הָאָרֶץ (*ibid.* and ver. 20; comp. ver. 23; or with סוּיִטֵב הָאָרֶץ, xlvi. 6, 11); and signifies, therefore, the choicest, or richest and most fertile part of the land. This figurative meaning of חֶלֶב occurs still more clearly in the phrases חֶלֶב חֲסֵה (Ps. lxxxii. 17; cxlvii. 14), and חֶלֶב כְּלִיֹּת חֲסֵה (Dent. xxxii. 14).—The sense of וְעִינֵכֶם אֶל הַחַם (ver. 20) is perfectly certain; the Hebrews were not to take it to heart, if they should be obliged to leave behind them in Canaan a part of their chattels and goods (comp. Dent. vii. 16; xix. 21).

22—24. To seal the reconciliation with his brothers, Joseph dismissed them with such presents as are not unusually given in the east to testify love or respect. As in warm countries a frequent change of dress is more a matter of comfort than of luxury, suits of clothes, varying in value and richness, in accordance with the ability of the donor and his regard

for the recipient, are an acceptable gift offered to welcome guests, or to friends after a longer separation, and even to kings as a mark of homage (2 Chr. ix. 24; Est. ii. 69; Neh. vii. 70; comp. p. 567). If Joseph, on this as on a former occasion (xliii. 34), in signally distinguishing Benjamin by more liberal presents, appears almost guilty of the same weakness which he had reformed in Jacob, it will be remembered, that nature herself justified him in bestowing a larger share of affection on his only full brother.—Anxious to show the fervent love he bore to his father, instead of offering him presents on his arrival in Egypt, he sent him, *besides the necessary provisions*, ten camels, laden with every kind of wealth, unconcerned at the additional burden thus imposed upon him during a journey sufficiently encumbered in itself (xli. 32; xlvii. 1).—The brothers, still astonished and overwhelmed, were about to return to Canaan with feelings singularly conflicting. They had indeed to convey to their mourning father a most joyous and happy message: but in doing this, they were obliged at once to confess to him the detestable crime committed by them against Joseph. How could they face his look of mingled reproach and horror? They might well tremble in depicting to themselves the terrible moment. Joseph, therefore, shrewdly reading their sentiments, exclaimed, when they were departing, "Do not be afraid on the way"; but he added no other word of encouragement. By maliciously sacrificing him to their jealousy, they had

sent after this manner; ten asses laden with the good things of Egypt, and ten she-asses laden with corn and bread and meat for his father on the way. 24. So he sent his brothers away, and they departed: and he said to them, Do not be afraid on the way. 25. And they went up out of Egypt, and came into the land of Canaan to Jacob their father. 26. And they told him, saying, Joseph is yet alive, and indeed he is governor over all the land of Egypt. And Jacob's heart remained cold, for he did not believe them. 27. And they told him all the words of

sinned against their father also; they were to atone for it by a scene of the deepest shame and confusion; and Joseph, who in more than one respect, represents the working of Providence, could not wish to check its justice.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS. — הַלִּיפּוֹת is originally *alteration* (Ps. lv. 20); hence הַלִּיפּוֹת, or more fully הַלִּיפּוֹת שְׂלַחַת and הַלִּיפּוֹת בְּגָדִים are *changes* or *suits* of dress (Judg. xiv. 19, 12; 2 Ki. v. 5, 22, 23), like the Greek *εἴματα ἐξημοιβά* or *χρῆνες ἐπημοιβοί* (Hom. Od. viii. 249; xiv. 513, etc.); Targum Onkelos and Jon., דְּלִיפּוֹת דְּבָגָדִין (סְוֵלָה; comp. *Talm.* Yom. 68, etc.); Sept. *δισσὰς στολὰς* (Vulg. *divas stolas*) and *πῦρε ἑλλασσούσας στολὰς*; and Syr. *a pair* (כְּפִי) of garments.—A very usual signification of לָרַחַץ is *to tremble* or *to fear* (Exod. xv. 14; Deut. ii. 25; 1 Sam. xiv. 15; Joel ii. 1; Hab. iii. 16, etc.), and it is here (in ver. 24) decidedly more appropriate than that of *quarrelling*, contending, or being angry, as several ancient versions render (Sept. *Μη ὀργίζεσθε*; Vulg. *ne irascimini*; Onk. לֹא תִרְצָח, etc.). The words, “Do not be afraid on the way,” may also imply the assurance, on the part of Joseph, that he would not terrify or harass them as on their last journey.

25—28. How, indeed, should Jacob credit his sons, when they told him of Joseph's life and greatness, as this very account made it manifest, that during more than twenty years they had hypocritically feigned to believe in their brother's death, and to be ignorant of its

cause? But when, together with their guilt, he saw their earnest repentance; when he heard the lofty view taken by Joseph of his abduction to Egypt, and the cordial pardon granted by him to his brothers (ver. 5); and when he beheld the splendid presents and carriages which they had brought from Egypt: his heart, so long dead to joy and almost to hope, once more shook off the habitual torpor into which it had fallen; life recovered its charm; he seemed born to new vigour: but his mind, purified and freed, at length, from worldly vanity and weakness, seemed entirely indifferent to the splendour of the Egyptian grand-vizier, and agitated only by the fond sentiments of the father, he exclaimed: “It is enough that my son Joseph is still alive!” It cannot escape the attention of the reader, that henceforth the patriarch is represented not only as fully prepared for death, but as rapidly approaching towards it; thus even on hearing of Joseph's preservation, he added, “let me go and see him before I die” (comp. xvi. 30; xvii. 9; xviii. 1, 10); whereas hitherto he had appeared to dread the thought of the grave (xxxvii. 35; xlii. 38). He had completed the third period of his life, atonement by suffering (see p. 576); he felt reconciled with God and the deeds of his youth and manhood; he had borne the yoke of chastisement; and though he was justified in expecting a last stage of undisturbed blessing, he willingly renounced it, having long since acknowledged the undeserved abundance of Divine mercy towards him



Joseph, which he had said to them: and when he saw the carriages which Joseph had sent to carry him, the spirit of Jacob their father revived: 28. And Israel said, *It is enough, Joseph my son is yet alive: I will go and see him before I die.*

(xxxii. 11); and being now satisfied with the peace of his mind, and with the noble privileges of Abraham's faith (xvi. 1).

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS. — וַיִּפֶּן לָבוֹ (ver. 26) is evidently said in contradistinction to וַתֵּחַי רוּחַ יַעֲקֹב (ver. 27); and as the latter phrase undoubtedly signifies "and Jacob's spirit or mind was revived" (see p. 405, comp. Ps. xxii. 27; lxix. 33),

the former can only mean "his heart was or remained indifferent or apathetic," for he did not believe the statement of his sons; and the verb נָפַח is to be taken in the sense guaranteed by the cognate dialects, to be cold or torpid (comp. Hab. i. 4; Ps. xxxviii. 9; and נָפַח, cessation, Lament. ii. 18); Sept. ἐξίστην ἡ διάνοια.

## CHAPTER XLVI.

1. And Israel journeyed with all he had, and came to Beer-sheba, and offered sacrifices to the God of his father Isaac. 2. And God spoke to Israel in the visions of the night, and said, Jacob! Jacob! And he said, Here *am* I. 3. And He said, I *am* the Omnipotent, the God of thy father: fear not to go down into Egypt; for I will there

1—7. When Jacob, on his way from Hebron (xxxvii. 14) towards Egypt, passed Beer-sheba, destined to form the southern frontier-town of the future land of the Hebrews (see p. 440), he imitated the example of his father and his grandfather who had there built altars and invoked God in prayer (xxi. 33; xxvi. 24, 25). But his position was at that time much more calculated to rouse religious sentiments than either that of Abraham or Isaac had been when they worshipped at the same place. Though on the point of meeting a beloved son, he might naturally feel that his immigration into Egypt with his whole family was the first step towards the realisation of the stern prophecy given to Abraham regarding the sojourn of his descendants in a strange land during four centuries, and their merciless oppression by a heartless nation (xv. 13). He knew that this prediction applied to no land more appropriately than to

Egypt, famous for its irrational hatred against strangers; that Abraham had been promised to die peacefully in Canaan (xv. 15); and that Isaac had been forbidden to enter Egypt, because the time of fulfilment had not yet arrived (xxvi. 2; see p. 494). He, therefore, having reached the last town on the sacred soil, paused once more, and poured out before God his joy, his gratitude, and his fear. He felt certainly relieved, when he surveyed the circumstances under which he approached the land of the Pharaohs; his chief guarantee was not the almost unlimited, but transitory, power of his son, nor the deep, but fluctuating, obligation of the people towards him as their rescuer, but the express permission of the king in terms of official authority (xlv. 18—20). But how, if the political condition of Egypt, by some unforeseen event, as, for instance, by a change of dynasty, should be so fundamentally altered as to cause

make of thee a great nation: 4. I will go down with thee into Egypt, and I will also surely bring thee up *again*: and Joseph shall put his hand upon thy eyes.—5. And Jacob rose from Beer-sheba: and the sons of Israel brought Jacob their father, and their little ones, and their wives, in the carriages which Pharaoh had sent to carry him. 6. And they took their cattle, and their property which they had acquired in the land of Canaan, and came into Egypt, Jacob, and all his seed with him: 7. His sons, and his sons' sons with him, his daughters, and his sons'

either oblivion or disregard of the old conventions and pledges? (Exod. i. 8). Would the sympathy of the people be sufficient to shield a helpless colony, the invited guests of a benevolent king, against the cruelty of tyrannical successors? Therefore God appeared to Jacob, calmed his anxieties, and exhorted him fearlessly to enter Egypt, where—whatever their prosperity or general well-being—a numerous people would spring from his sons; and whence, in accordance with former promises, they would in due time be gloriously led out to conquer the land of Canaan (xv. 16). But Jacob himself would certainly not see the beginning of oppression; he would end his days in happiness in the arms of his favourite son; and though dying in the strange country, he would be buried in the land of promise (comp. xv. 15). This is the tenour of the address of God; and it is nugatory to deduce from the words “I shall go down with thee into Egypt,” the belief of the Hebrews in a *local* deity, following them when they change their abodes, and confined to the district or land in which they happened to dwell. As metaphors are the only mode of expression possible to human language with regard to the Eternal Spirit, it is both unjust and fallacious to understand them literally, where this literal sense is manifestly at variance with doctrines clearly pronounced elsewhere (see p. 143, on iv. 14); nor ought it to be forgotten that many terms, originally embodying imperfect or rude notions, gradually assumed a

higher or figurative meaning as the culture of the people advanced (see pp. 199, 200; on viii. 21). Such a phrase as, “I shall go down with thee,” possibly dating from a period of undeveloped religious knowledge, and at that time perhaps understood literally, denotes in the Pentateuch nothing but the *protection* of God, direct, efficient, and not ceasing before He has “brought up” His favourites again; and the fourth verse is scarcely different in sense from the former passage: “Behold, I shall be with thee, and I shall guard thee, . . . and shall bring thee back into this land; for I shall not leave thee, until I have done that of which I have spoken to thee” (xxviii. 15).—It was considered a happy privilege to know that the eyes would, in the moment of death, be closed by some loving hand, especially a devoted child (comp. *Hom.* II. xi. 453; *Od.* i. 426; xxiv. 296; *Eurip.* *Hec.* 430; *Virg.* *Aen.* ix. 487; *Ovid.* *Trist.* III. iii. 44; IV. iii. 44; *Epist.* i. 102; *Val. Flacc.* i. 334); not less than to be buried by affectionate sons (xxv. 9; xxxv. 29), and in the land, if not the grave, of ancestors or relatives (xlix. 29—32; l. 25).

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS. — מֵרָחֵק (ver. 3) is an irregular infinitive instead of מֵרָחֵקָה (Job xxxiii. 24); similar forms are לָרֶחֶק (2 Ki. xix. 3); לָרָחֵק (Ex. ii. 4); compare רָחֵק in Job xxxii. 6, 10.—The words, “I will also surely bring thee up again” (ver. 4), have, in this connection, both a personal and a national meaning; they refer not only to Jacob's interment in Canaan (l. 7), but since the promise that

daughters, and all his seed, he brought with him into Egypt.

8. And these *are* the names of the children of Israel, who came into Egypt, Jacob and his sons: Reuben, Jacob's firstborn.—9. And the sons of Reuben; Hanoeh, and Phallu, and Hezron, and Carmi.—10. And the sons of Simeon; Jemuel, and Jamin, and Ohad, and Jachin,

"a great nation" should grow up in Egypt from his children, had just been given, they point also to the rescue of that nation and their conquest of Canaan, the more so as most of the events in the patriarch's life have an internal connection with the history of the future people. — עַל־כֵּן נִשְׁמַע stands in emphatic contradistinction to וְכָל; comp. xxxi. 15; Num. xvi. 13; *Ewald*, Gr. § 491. a. — Homer, in one of the passages above quoted (Od. xxiv. 296), expresses the view of the ancients regarding the closing of the eyes of the dying in the general remark: ῥὸ γὰρ γῆρας ἔστι θανάτῳ; comp. *Val. Flacc.* i. 334: "et dulci jam nunc preme lumina dextra."

8—27. The list of Jacob's family, here appropriately inserted, offers various and grave difficulties; but they are of a nature to open a welcome insight into the peculiarities of the historical style of the Bible.

The text distinctly observes, "All the souls of the house of Jacob that came into Egypt were seventy" (ver. 27). The same statement is as clearly repeated in other passages (Exod. i. 5; Deut. x. 22). It is, therefore, scarcely possible to doubt that this was a historical tradition generally received among the Israelites. However, the tenour of the present list certainly leads to the inference, that the total number of Hebrew settlers in Egypt was considerably larger than seventy. For 1. Jacob had daughters (ver. 7, בְּנֵי; comp. xxxii. 1; xxxvii. 35); and yet Dinah alone, known from a former occurrence, is mentioned in this place (ver. 15). 2. His sons came *with their wives* (ver. 26), none of whom is here counted, though those of Judah and Joseph have before been inci-

dentally named (xxxviii. 2; xli. 45). 3. They had likewise daughters (ver. 7); but Serah only, the daughter of Asher, is introduced.—How is this remarkable contradiction to be accounted for? As the number seventy is evidently historical, we cannot suppose that it was here designedly chosen as significant or holy (being seven times ten, see p. 157); and it avails little to refer to the facts that the later Jews supposed seventy nations and seventy languages on the globe; that seventy members composed the Sanhedrim; that the Babylonian captivity was put down as seventy years; and that seventy interpreters were believed to have prepared the Greek translation of the Old Testament (comp. *Bohlen*, Gen. lxxv.). It would be entirely arbitrary to ascribe the origin of the tradition regarding an immigration of seventy souls into Egypt to similar considerations; by such conjectures every basis for a solid interpretation is destroyed; and the historical value of the narrative would be extremely limited. And yet, with that tradition before him, it became a chief object of the author to enumerate just *seventy* persons; he, therefore, in order to complete that number, inserted Dinah and Serah; while his desire not to exceed it may have induced him to omit other individuals.

But are these names fictitious or chosen at random? and which was the author's source or guide? The reply to these questions will lead us to a solution of the difficulty just pointed out.

Our text evidently embodies the chief families which subsequently became important or powerful in each tribe; as in almost all preceding genealogies, the names are, on the whole, not those of

and Zohar, and Saul the son of a Canaanitish woman.—11. And the sons of Levi; Gershon, Kohath, and Merari.—12. And the sons of Judah; Er, and Onan, and Shelah, and Perez, and Zerah: but Er and Onan died in the land of Canaan. And the sons of Perez were Hezron and Hamul.—13. And the sons of Issachar; Tola, and Phuvah, and Job, and Shimron.—14. And the sons of Zebulun;

individuals, but represent divisions or clans (comp. *חֲסִידִים*, *חֲסִידִים*, *חֲסִידִים*, etc.); and if the introduction of Dinah is explicable from the preceding narrative (xxxiv.), Serah may later have become noted in the organization of the tribe of Asher (comp. Num. xxxvi. 1—5).

This view is confirmed by a comparison with the similar list inserted in the history of the wanderings of the people in the desert, when the census was actually taken (Numb. xxvi. 5—60). The persons here mentioned appear there as the founders or heads of families; and the house of Jacob corresponds with the people of Israel. Yet both lists offer a considerable number of differences which but partially admit of a conciliation. 1. In one case a letter is changed (*יִסְחָר* and *יִסְחָר*, ver. 10, and Num. xxvi. 12; comp. *פִּלְתָּ*, ver. 9, and *פִּלְתָּ* in Numb. xvi. 1), in another transposed (*חֲסִידִים* and *חֲסִידִים*, ver. 23, and Num. xxvi. 42), and in others omitted or added (*צִפְיִן* and *צִפְיִן*, ver. 16, and Num. xxvi. 15; *חֲסִידִים* and *חֲסִידִים*, ver. 21, and Num. xxvi. 39), while in one instance a syllable is left out (*חֲסִידִים* and *חֲסִידִים*, ver. 21, and Num. xxvi. 38). These variations are possibly attributable to the inattention of copyists; and, therefore, do not necessarily demand the supposition of two different traditions; though even the former alternative would naturally derogate from the critical accuracy of the Hebrew text. 2. Some names here introduced are omitted in Numbers (*זֹהָר*, ver. 10; comp. Num. xxvi. 12; *יִשׁוּה*, ver. 17; comp. Num. xxvi. 44; *נָרַח* and *נָרַח*, ver. 21; comp. Num. xxvi. 38); while some new ones, not found in our list, are mentioned in the later portion (Num. xxvi. 58; *לִבְנֵי*, *חֲבֵרִי*, *מַחֲלִי*,

*חֲסִידִים*, and *חֲסִידִים*, descendants of Levi). This circumstance may certainly be explained by the conjecture that these families, existing in the time of Jacob, had become extinct in the time of Moses; whereas, others may have been formed since the earlier period. 3. But some names are entirely altered. It is true, that many persons had more than one name (see on Exod. ii. 18), and that therefore the individuals might here be mentioned by one, and the families in Numbers by another (*אֶצְבִּי* and *אֶצְבִּי*, ver. 16, and Num. xxvi. 16; *שִׁפְרָה* and *שִׁפְרָה*, ver. 21, and Num. xxvi. 39); that in one instance the two names are synonymous (*צֹהַר* and *צֹהַר*, both signifying *splendour*, ver. 10, and Num. xxvi. 13), and that in another the one corresponds with the other in a kindred dialect (*יִב* in Arabic is equivalent to the Hebrew *יִשָּׁב*, ver. 13, and Num. xxvi. 24); and that, referring to the preceding head (No. 3), one family might have disappeared and another arisen in its stead. But it is evident that all these arguments are artificial expedients scarcely amounting to more than a feeble appearance of probability; and that the impression of the unbiassed reader is that those differences of the names imply likewise inaccuracies of the tradition. 4. This opinion gains still greater force by the fact, that in some instances the relative connection of the families is altered in the two lists: the descendants of Benjamin especially are so essentially different in both cases that no means of conciliation can possibly be effectual. Not only are two names added in our list (*נָרַח* and *נָרַח*, see No. 2), and there others appear in a more or less modified form (*חֲסִידִים*, *חֲסִידִים*, see

Sered, and Elon, and Jahleel.—15. These *are* the sons of Leah, whom she bore to Jacob in Padan-aram, with his daughter Dinah: all the souls of his sons and his daughters *were* thirty-three.

16. And the sons of Gad; Ziphion, and Haggi, Shuni, and Ezbon, Eri, and Arodi, and Areli.—17. And the sons

Nos. 1 and 3): but one, *Becher* (בְּכֹר), here mentioned among the Benjamites (ver. 21), is in Numbers (xxvi. 35) counted among the Ephraimites; while two others (נֶעֱמָן and אֲרֵר) here stated as sons of Benjamin, are there introduced as his *grand-sons* (by Bela, בִּלְעָ, ver. 40). It may here be again observed, with a certain specious plausibility, that the two families just alluded to (נֶעֱמָן and אֲרֵר), independent at the time of the immigration into Egypt, had in the time of the exodus fallen under the authority of the fraternal family of Bela; and that Becher the Benjamite had become extinct, while a family of the same name, but totally unconnected with it, had sprung up in the tribe of Ephraim (see No. 2; compare הַצִּוְנִי, both among the offspring of Reuben and of Judah, vers. 9 and 12): but those who would be satisfied with such a light tissue of superficial likelihood, would be opposed by another difficulty which remains to be considered. A third list of Jacob's descendants occurs in the first Book of Chronicles (chapters ii.—viii.), and it contains deviations not only from our list, but also from that of Numbers (comp., for instance, the Gadites in 1 Chr. v. 11—13, with ver. 16, and Num. xxvi. 15—18). The most numerous and decided differences are again found in the tribe of Benjamin; they there almost amount to a perfect confusion; a double genealogy is given (vii. 6—13 and viii. 1—40), having but very few points of resemblance with the lists under discussion; new names are added (אֲחִירָה, יִרְיֵעָאֵל, אֲחִירָה, נֹחָה, רַפָּא, etc., viii. 1), old ones are omitted (רָאִשׁ, מַפִּים, etc.), altered (אֲרֵר into אֲרֵר, etc.), or placed in another relationship with the founder of

the tribe (נֶעֱמָן and נֶרָא) are the sons of בִּלְעָ, etc.) It may, indeed, be urged that all these modifications represent as many internal changes of the Benjamites, quite natural in the youngest, and therefore most unsettled tribe: but, in admitting this, we are compelled to the conclusion that the genealogical lists of the Bible are *national* and *ethnographic* rather than *personal*, that they are a *form* employed to express the author's views of the consanguinity of the tribes or families, and that they are generally the result of historical research, or, as in the instance under discussion, the *reflex of the actual distribution of the Hebrew families in the author's time*. The lists thus lose materially in their immediate value, since they have no *literal* truth; but they gain essentially in *historical* importance: they are not domestic records, but comprehensive political documents. This fact, so momentous for the exposition of many portions of the Bible, and confirmed by almost all the lists hitherto explained (chapters x.; xi. 10—26; xxii. 20—24; xxv. 1—18; xxxvi.; see p. 235 and *passim*), is strongly corroborated by the very difficulties just discussed. It is not the place here to examine in detail the table inserted in the Book of Chronicles, as many of its deviations occur in the subordinate branches here not introduced; but it may be observed, that it agrees much more with the list in Numbers than with that of this chapter (it reads נֶמְוָאֵל, יֶשׁוּב, אֲחֵר, etc.): and this circumstance adds weight to the conjecture, probable in itself, that the list in Numbers is the more authentic one, because copied from the real division of the people; and that, therefore, in cases of discrepancy, it is of higher authority than

of Asher; Jinnah, and Jishvah, and Jishvi, and Beriah, and Serah, their sister: and the sons of Beriah; Heber, and Malchiel.—18. These *are* the sons of Zilpah, whom Laban gave to Leah his daughter, and these she bore to Jacob, sixteen souls.

19. The sons of Rachel Jacob's wife *were* Joseph and

that of Genesis, which is derived from the more uncertain sources of tradition.—To sum up our estimate on the character of this genealogy, we remark, that the author, believing the immigration of *seventy* Israelites into Egypt to be a historical fact, made up that number by mentioning, in addition to the individuals introduced in the narrative, the founders of the Hebrew families existing in his time, unconcerned or forgetting that thus, including the wives and daughters alluded to by him, but perhaps no more known by name, the amount became considerably higher than seventy. Even Hengstenberg (Authent. ii. 359) is compelled to admit that some names are designedly added and some omitted, in order to produce the number seventy; and he quotes as a parallel the fourteen members between Abraham and David, from David to the captivity, and again, from that event to Christ (Matt. i. 17).

The sons are arranged according to their mothers; and as the children of the maids were regarded as those of their mistresses (see p. 375), the descendants of Zilpah follow after those of Leah, and the offspring of Bilhah after those of Rachel (comp. p. 590).

The text remarks the number of Leah's *progeny*, or "the sons and daughters" to have been thirty-three (ver. 15): considering this distinct statement, it is indeed a surprising peculiarity of the style, that thirty-two only are enumerated, and that as Leah had before died in Canaan (xlix. 31), Jacob himself is included in the former number, no doubt with reference to the introductory sentence, "The following came into Egypt, Jacob and his sons" (ver. 8). That this was indeed the author's intention is evident from the

subsequent remark (ver. 26), that Jacob came into Egypt with sixty-six of his descendants; for, as besides them, Joseph only and his two sons are mentioned, Jacob is the seventieth: which fact is not rendered doubtful by the circumstance that another passage speaks of seventy souls "that came out of the loins of Jacob" (Exod. i. 5); and can certainly not be renounced in favour of the strange or rather impossible tradition, that Jochebed, the daughter of Levi and mother of Moses, born exactly at the time of the entrance into Egypt, forms the seventieth person (see note on Exod. i. 5; comp. Num. xxvi. 59).

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS. — From the remarks above offered, it will be evident that it is a corruption of the text on the part of the Septuagint to read here (ver. 27), and in the first chapter of Exodus *seventy-five* instead of *seventy*, adding (in ver. 20), without any foundation or authority whatever, five descendants of Ephraim and Manasseh from 1 Chron. vii. 14 — 19 (comp. Num. xxvi. 28 — 36, namely, Μαχίρ, Γαλαάδ, Σουρλαάμ, Ταύμ, and 'Εδώμ): which mistake has, from the Septuagint, passed over into the New Testament (Acts vii. 14). But the Greek version deviates from the Hebrew text in many other points besides: it writes Φαλλος (for מלל, ver. 9; comp. מלל in Num. xvi. 1); Σηλώμ (לש, ver. 12); Ιασούβ (for לו, ver. 13; reading לו as in Num. xxvi. 24, and 1 Chr. vii. 1); Αχοήλ (for אלח, ver. 14); Σαφών (for פון, ver. 16; reading פון, as in Num. xxvi. 15); Ἀγγίς, Σαννίς, Ἀρηηλίσ, and Ἀγγίς (ver. 16 and 21, adding ε to the Hebrew names חני, שני, ארודי, ארלי, and אחי); Θασοβάν (for זבαν, ver. 16); Ἀηδεῖς (for אהיד);

Benjamin. 20. And to Joseph were born in the land of Egypt Manasseh and Ephraim, whom Asenath the daughter of Poti-pherah priest of On bore to him.—21. And the sons of Benjamin were Belah, and Becher, and Ashbel, Gera, and Naaman, Ehi, and Rosh, Muppim, and Huppim, and Ard. 22. These *are* the sons of Rachel, who were born to Jacob: all the souls *were* fourteen.

Συλλήμ (for בְּלָם, in ver. 24); it omits הַפִּים (in ver. 21), and יְשׁוּה (in ver. 17, while in Num. xxvi. יְשׁוּה is left out); but adds 'Ιεούλ (comp. יְעֹזֵאל, the *Reubenite*, in 1 Chr. v. 7); it introduces נָרְאֵן, נָעֵמָן, אָחִי, אָחִי, and מִסִּים, as the children of בְּלָעַ, and אָרְדַּ as the son of נָרְאֵ, instead of Benjamin (ver. 21; comp. Num. xxvi. 38—40); and though it states the aggregate number at seventy-five, it enumerates only seventy-four persons, including Jacob (for adding five in ver. 20, it omits one in ver. 21), and this latter number is also gained by summing up the figures it mentions in vers. 15, 18, 22, and 25 (viz. 33+16+18+7=74). But several of these mistakes prove the Septuagint to agree more closely with the names in the Book of Numbers, thus confirming the conclusion above stated. The list given by Josephus (Ant. II. vii. 4), on the whole coincides with ours, though with some exceptions; it offers, for instance, Ἀμυρος for חֲמוֹל; Ἰδουβος (יְשׁוּב) for יוֹב; Ἰης for אָחִי, etc.; and it represents חֲבֵר and מְלִכִּיאל as the sons of Asher, instead of his *grand-sons* by בְּרִיעָה (ver. 17)—a rather important deviation, offered by no other ancient authority.—Except Reuben (ver. 9), Joseph, and Benjamin (ver. 19), the sons of Jacob are not separately mentioned, which irregularity of the style proves as little a corruption of the text (comp. Num. xxvi. 5, *et seq.*, and Rosenmüller, Schol. pp. 659, 660), as the inaccurate terms: "These are the children of Leah, whom she bore to Jacob in Mesopotamia" (ver. 15), to which must be supplied "together with their offspring born in Canaan." The circumstance that Saul (ver. 10) is expressly stated to have been the son of

a Canaanitish woman, has suggested the inference that the children of Jacob but exceptionally intermarried with non-Hebrews (comp. however, xxxviii. 2; xli. 45).—About the difficulties in the chronology of Judah's descendants (ver. 12) see p. 626; about the plural בְּנֵי in ver. 23 (וּבְנֵי דִן חָשִׁים) p. 599 (comp. Num. xxvi. 8); and about the age of Benjamin at the time of the immigration, and the possibility of his having then ten children, see p. 589.—לְיַעֲקֹב (ver. 26) is *with* Jacob, equivalent to אֶת־יַעֲקֹב in Exod. i. 1; comp. בְּרִקִּים לְמִטָּה עֵשָׂה (Ps. cxxxv. 7; Jer. x. 13); Maurer, "tamquam familie Jacobi adscripti."—The number sixty-six (in ver. 26) is made up by thirty-two (enumerated in vers. 8—15, with the exclusion of Jacob)+16 (ver. 18)+11 (ver. 22, namely, 14—3, Joseph and his two sons)+7 (ver. 25), while Jacob with Joseph, Manasseh, and Ephraim complete the number seventy.—Ewald maintains that the total number was originally and ought to be *seventy-two*, "representing the heads of the assembled people," since one descendant of Leah has by mistake been omitted (comp. ver. 15), and Jacob and Leah must be added besides (*Genes. Ier.* i. 528): an opinion fully refuted by the preceding remarks. The seventy persons "who came into Egypt" (ver. 27), with a slight inaccuracy easily explicable, include Manasseh and Ephraim who were born there (comp. xxxv. 26, and p. 590).—Considering that, according to the result above arrived at, the names represent families, we must accord a high degree of probability to the opinion of Ewald, that the statement concerning the early death of Er and Onan in Canaan (comp. xxxviii. 7, 10; Num. xxvi. 19),

23. And the sons of Dan; Hushim. 24. And the sons of Naphtali; Jahzeel, and Guni, and Jezer, and Shillem. 25. These *are* the sons of Bilhah, whom Laban gave to Rachel his daughter, and she bore these to Jacob: all the souls *were* seven.

26. All the souls that came with Jacob into Egypt, that came out of his loins, besides the wives of Jacob's sons,

refers to some early misfortune which destroyed without trace the two first families of the tribe of Judah, while the notice regarding the birth of Zerah and Perez points to the ascendancy which these two younger branches obtained in their stead (*Geach. Isr.* i. 489, 490).

But if, pursuing the same principle farther, some maintain that the patriarchs and the sons of Jacob themselves represent likewise communities, they are certain to fall into the strangest errors, because totally deserting the basis of the Old Testament, and merely following their own fancies and combinations. This, in order to adduce a striking instance, has been done by the distinguished critic just quoted. Ewald would, indeed, deserve the palm, if the admiration for his singular sagacity were not mingled with mistrust against his boldness, so that the reader, however delighted to follow his ingenious and often beautiful deductions, is reluctant to adopt his startling conclusions, of which the following is a condensed outline. The beginning of a *real people of Israel* dates back considerably before Jacob's settlement in Egypt (*Geach. Isr.* i. 492); for, under Abraham already, Hebrew nomads, forming a part of the Hebrew tribes of the Hyksos, and pressed by the increasing power of the Assyrians, advanced from Mesopotamia to the valley of the Nile (*ibid.* pp. 509, 511; comp. xii. 10—20). Here they were two generations later, whilst the Hyksos were still exercising dominion over the country, joined by another division of Hebrew emigrants, headed by Jacob, who victoriously marching from the Euphrates westward acquired power in Canaan, made common cause with the kindred races of the Ish-

maelites and Edomites, and received for his bravery the honorary name of *Israel*, the conqueror. This double invasion into Egypt, under Abraham and Jacob, is also expressed by the *two* wives of the latter and their respective sons; but in order to show that Jacob is more immediately concerned in the *second* expedition, his *youngest* sons, Joseph and Benjamin, the offspring of the younger wife, are introduced as his favourites; while the sons of the maid-servants, rude and brutal, represent the weaker or less legitimate tribes ("die Aferstämme"), the *gentes minores* with more limited rights in the commonwealth (*ibid.* pp. 483, 484). The earliest Abrahamites who settled in Egypt among the Hyksos were the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh. Joseph himself, whose name is analogous to *Augustus*, was a real potentate, greatly raising and ennobling the people; he fell into serious struggles with the fraternal tribes of the Hyksos; suffered by them the most imminent danger; but after their expulsion, which the king of Egypt ultimately succeeded in effecting, he joined the latter; called the rest of the Israelites, a warlike, powerful, and well-organised people, from Canaan into the frontier province of Goshen, to protect the Egyptian empire against renewed attacks of the Hyksos and against possible popular revolt, and then introduced his great political measures (*ibid.* pp. 516—526). But the ingenious author, fully conscious that all this is his own imaginary system, concludes with a sketch, "Joseph according to the Hebrew legend" (pp. 520—534), in which he more faithfully follows the spirit of the narrative of Genesis. It will, indeed, be scarcely necessary for us



all the souls *were* sixty-six. 27. And the sons of Joseph, who were born to him in Egypt, *were* two souls: all the souls of the house of Jacob, that came into Egypt, *were* seventy.

28. And he sent Judah before him to Joseph, to direct him to Goshen; and they came into the land of Goshen. 29. And Joseph made ready his chariot, and went up to meet Israel his father, to Goshen, and he appeared before

to dilate upon the many objections which must readily occur to every reflective reader. It is the tendency of all legends to amplify and to enlarge, to transform a small troop into a nation, but not to contract great and powerful tribes into a few individuals. If the theories of Ewald were correct, it would be astonishing in the extreme that so simple historical facts should have been narrated, or rather concealed, in a form perfectly obscure and enigmatical, instead of being offered in that intelligible and lucid style, of which the Pentateuch elsewhere exhibits such complete mastery. It is beyond all probability that tradition should have worked these materials into the form now before us; for this view would attribute to the legend a power of philosophical abstraction, possible only in the times of the highest mental culture, when, however, the clear form of history is preferred to vague epic fictions. The more we are justified in considering authentic the number *seventy* as that of the first immigrants, the more improbable is the conjecture of twelve Hebrew *tribes* coming into Egypt to seek new abodes. If we, besides, remember Ewald's supposition of *five* different authors, to whom he individually ascribes distinct portions of the narrative, upon criteria discernible by his penetration alone (*ibid.* pp. 520—533), and to one of whom he attributes the history of Jacob and Laban, which he calls "the Hebrew Comedy of Errors, in five acts," probably played upon public festivals (*ibid.* pp. 446, 458): his theory will scarcely command a higher degree of consideration than the opposite opinion of another

modern critic, "that the Hebrews, *at the time of the exodus from Egypt*, were but an insignificant horde of nomads, who at some period and without particular cause, desired to change their pastures" (*Bohlen*, Genesis, p. lxxix.).

28—34. When Jacob had arrived in the province of Goshen, named by Joseph as his future abode (xlv. 10), he sent Judah, distinguished by courage not less than by ability, to the royal residence, to announce him to Joseph, and to direct the latter to that part of Goshen where he had halted, awaiting his son's arrival (לְהוֹרֹת, ver. 28). On the one hand, his cattle prevented him from proceeding farther into the land (see *infra*); and, on the other hand, the filial affection of Joseph demanded that he should go to meet his venerable and much tried father. In the embrace of his son, Jacob found the sum of all earthly joys still left to him (ver. 30; see p. 683); and the sight of his father compensated Joseph for all his past sufferings, which he had not ceased to feel, even in the dazzling splendour of his greatness (xli. 52). He then concerted with his brothers the plan for obtaining Pharaoh's sanction to their residing in Goshen (see p. 681). His principal argument was, that in this province they would be withdrawn from the eyes of the Egyptians, *who held all shepherds in abomination*. The pastors formed in Egypt a considerable portion of the fourth caste, to which besides belonged poulterers, fowlers, fishermen, labourers, servants, and common people (comp. *Her.* ii. 164; *Diod. Sic.* i. 73, 74; *Wilkinson*, Man. and Cust. ii. 16). The excellence of the pas-

him, and he fell on his neck, and wept on his neck a long time. 30. And Israel said to Joseph, Now let me die, since I have seen thy face, that thou *art* yet alive. 31. And Joseph said to his brothers, and to his father's house, I will go up, and relate to Pharaoh, and say to him, My brothers and my father's house, that *were* in the land of Canaan, are come to me; 32. And the men *are* shepherds, for they are breeders of cattle; and they have

tures, the salubrity of the air, and the hereditary descent of the same occupation from father to son, so favourable to the accumulation of valuable experience, combined to bring the breeding of cattle at an early period to a very considerable degree of perfection; so that, for instance, the sheep regularly brought forth lambs, and were shorn twice every year (comp. *Diod. Sic.* i. 36, 74). Yet the shepherds were deeply despised. Swineherds, almost shunned in India also, were not admitted in any Egyptian temple, and were allowed to intermarry only among themselves. On the sculptures, pastors invariably appear as "dirty and unshaven; and at Beni Hassan and the tombs near the pyramids of Gezeh they are found caricatured as a deformed and unseemly race" (*Wilkinson*, Man. and Cust. ii. 16). To express their utmost detestation against the two impious kings, Cheops and Chephren, who closed all temples and prohibited all sacrifices, the Egyptians called the pyramids they built not by their own names, but by the name of a shepherd, Philition (*Herod.* ii. 128). The intense contempt entertained against shepherds by a nation worshipping animals is no less curious than the animal worship itself (see pp. 216, 217, and on *Exod.* p. 142; but it may be accounted for by the fact, that in each district some animals only were held sacred, while others were regarded as impure, as for instance the pig, the slightest contact with which rendered any one unclean, and obliged him to perform an ablution in the river; although, strangely enough, it was in certain seasons sacrificed to the moon and to Bacchus, no

doubt as an emblem of prolificness; and on these occasions its flesh was freely eaten (*Herod.* ii. 46—48). If we hereto add, that the pastors were, by their occupation, accustomed to *kill the sacred animals*, we cannot doubt that the aversion borne against them was of a religious character (חַבְלָה *abomination*, *Lev.* xviii. 22—30; comp. on *Exod.* viii. 22), though it was naturally increased by their dependence, poverty, negligent habits, and consequent physical and mental degradation. It is scarcely plausible to ascribe it to "the previous occupation of Egypt by a pastor race, who had committed great cruelties during their possession of the country" (*Wilkins.* ii. 16); this opinion, based as it is on the uncertain event of the invasion of the Hycsos, leaves the fact unexplained why the Egyptians should have so thoroughly despised or "abominated" persons belonging to *their own people*, and forming a most useful, if not indispensable, class of society: though they might possibly, in many districts, have forced a subjugated tribe or people to tend their flocks, like a kind of Helots or Pariahs, and thus the contempt of the shepherds gradually spreading through the whole country might have been extended upon native Egyptians also (comp. *Her.* ii. 47). Nor can that animosity be attributed to the circumstance that the eastern boundaries of the land were constantly infested and endangered by nomadic shepherds, against whom the Egyptians were always compelled to send armies (*Rosenmüller*, *Morgenl.* i. 219): such courage and valour would have inspired with respect rather than contempt

brought their flocks, and their herds, and all that they have. 33. And when Pharaoh shall call you, and say, What is your occupation? 34. Then you shall say, Thy servants have been breeders of cattle from our youth until now, both we, and our fathers: in order that you may dwell in the land of Goshen; for every shepherd is an abomination to the Egyptians.

a nation among which warriors occupied the second rank in society; and similar attacks could scarcely be apprehended from their own countrymen, settled and closely controlled in the interior of the land. Nor is it credible that the love of agriculture should have engendered a hatred against the breeding of cattle, perhaps supposed to be inseparable from savage barbarism (*Hengstenb.*, Mos. und Äg. p. 39): for, on the one hand, the Egyptians were not an exclusively agricultural people; and, on the other hand, the two pursuits referred to have so many interests in common, and complete each other in so many respects, that a permanent antagonism between them is unnatural (see pp. 136, 138). It appears, indeed, that some portions of the Egyptians entertained more rational and more friendly feelings towards the feeders of their cattle; the inhabitants of the Mendesian district, for instance, honoured the goatherds, because they worshipped Pan in the goats, and observed general and public mourning on the death of a certain he-goat (*Her.* ii. 46).—However, Jacob's family was superior to the generality of Egyptian pastors in one essential point. While the latter tended and provided for the herds and flocks of the rich, the former were themselves proprietors of large numbers of cattle, which they kept in conformity with

their ancestral customs (ver. 34; xlvii. 3). This circumstance, though insufficient to remove the national prejudice against the occupation of the Hebrews, and therefore rendering their settlement at Goshen or *Rameses*, "the district of shepherds" (*Βουκολία*, xlvii. 6), advisable, necessarily raised their social position in the eyes of the Egyptians, who therefore at a later time did not scruple to enter with them into the most intimate and unreserved intercourse. Yet the temporary isolation of the Hebrews could not but be favourable for their special and peculiar development, and for the preservation of the purity of their faith, though, in the lapse of centuries, they had not moral fortitude enough to withstand the corrupting influence of Egyptian idolatry, by which they were ensnared to a very deplorable extent (compare *Joah.* xxiv. 14; *Ezek.* xx. 7, 8; xxiii. 3; and on *Exod.* iv. 1).

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—The words להורר לפניו נשנה (ver. 28) are rendered by Onkel. לפנא קרמוהי לגשן "to prepare the way for him to Goshen," which is not essentially different from the interpretation above adopted; but the Septuagint translates συναρτῆσαι αὐτοῦ, apparently reading, like the Samaritan codex, לקראתו instead of להורר; while the Vulg. vaguely combines both interpretations "ut nunciaret ei et occurreret."

## CHAPTER XLVII.

1. Then Joseph came and told Pharaoh, and said, My father, and my brothers, and their flocks, and their herds,

1—12. In conformity with the plan devised before (xlii. 31—34), Joseph en-

deavoured to obtain Pharaoh's permission for the settlement of his family in Goshen,

and all that they have, are come from the land of Canaan, and, behold, they *are* in the land of Goshen. 2. And from the number of his brothers he took five men, and presented them to Pharaoh. 3. And Pharaoh said to his brothers, What *is* your occupation? And they said to Pharaoh, Thy servants *are* shepherds, both we, and our fathers. 4. They said moreover to Pharaoh, To sojourn in the land are we come; for thy servants have no pasture for their flocks; for the famine *is* heavy in the land of

a district considered by him both for its position and its natural fertility peculiarly adapted for a colony of breeders of cattle (see p. 678). The five brothers presented by him to the king distinctly named that province, once more repeating that their occupation had been hereditary in their family for generations (vers. 3, 4; comp. xli. 34), since they regarded this circumstance both as congenial to Egyptian feeling, and as a powerful reason for their perfect seclusion in a separate and agricultural district (see p. 692). Pharaoh, in granting this request, addressed his reply, not to the brothers, but, in order to invest it with official dignity, to Joseph, his grand-vizier; though not so authoritative as on a previous occasion (xlv. 17—19), it is certainly not less formal (comp. ver. 5); and in order to manifest his undiminished benevolence towards the strangers, he not only modified his former general permission by specifying Goshen as that “best part” of the country where they were to settle (comp. xlv. 18, 20); but he added, as a new favour, his readiness to appoint them his own head-shepherds, functionaries of no little influence in the households of eastern princes, and deemed sufficiently important to be enumerated among the chief public officials (comp. 1 Chron. xxvii. 25—31): and as if once more, and in the very presence of the brothers, to show the unlimited confidence he placed in Joseph’s wisdom and perfect integrity, he committed the decision to his discretion, certain that not even the strongest affection for his family would bias his judgment to the prejudice

of the royal interests (ver. 6). It seems that Joseph took every precaution to let his brothers appear as harmless and inoffensive shepherds, not likely at any future period to become dangerous to the safety or tranquillity of the state; they were merely come “to sojourn in the land” (לנוח, ver. 4); the cause of their change of abode was exclusively the want of pasture in Canaan, as if they contemplated to return thither after the expiration of the years of famine; and they explicitly stated, “we were herdsmen from our youth to this time, both we and our fathers” (xli. 34): so little does the narrative countenance those fantastical conjectures above referred to (p. 691), regarding a military occupation, on the part of the Hebrews, of the eastern districts of Egypt, either as their own conquest, or for the defence of the land against the nomadic inroads of the Arabians. — It may be surprising that only after the interview of the brothers was finished, and had been attended with the desired result, Joseph introduced his father separately to Pharaoh (ver. 7). But this circumstance is interestingly significant in more than one respect. The meeting between the king of Egypt and the representatives of the future tribes of Israel, was intended to possess a *public* and *political* character; it was intended to show that the privileges were granted to them in due form (comp. ver. 11); and Joseph’s presence has here a similar importance as that of Phichol, the state-councillor, at the conclusion of the treaty between the king of the Philistines and Abraham (see p. 440). But the

Canaan: now, therefore, we pray thee, let thy servants dwell in the land of Goshen. 5. And Pharaoh spoke to Joseph, saying, Thy father and thy brothers are come to thee: 6. The land of Egypt is before thee; in the best of the land make thy father and thy brothers dwell; in the land of Goshen let them dwell: and if thou knowest *any* men of ability among them, then make them overseers over my cattle. 7. And Joseph brought Jacob his father, and placed him before Pharaoh: and Jacob blessed Pharaoh. 8. And Pharaoh said to Jacob, How many are the

interest taken by Pharaoh in Jacob was *purely personal*; and as if to express this in some striking manner, the king, avoiding all allusion to public matters, *inquired after his age* (ver. 8): which question, if indeed trivial, is judiciously chosen, not only to mark the *private* character of the interview, but to elicit an answer full of interest, and affording another reason why Jacob was not before presented to Pharaoh. The patriarch, though far from having reached the age which had hitherto been usual in his family, and irrespective of the rapid decrease of his vital powers, *had, in his mind, concluded his earthly career*: he either dwells with his reminiscences on the tempestuous and gloomy past (ver. 2; xlviii. 3—7), or he anticipates with his thoughts the eventful future, either his own death and burial, or the last prophetic blessings to be bestowed on his sons and grand-sons; he has renounced the present; he has retired from the stage of active life, and yielded it to his sons, who henceforth occupy the foreground in the progress of events; the real "history" (תולדות) of Jacob (xxxvii. 2) ceases with his arrival in Goshen, and that of the next generation begins (comp pp. 476, 591): though still for a while hovering over the scene, he appears like the herald of remote occurrences, and like a spirit almost impatiently hastening beyond the boundaries of Time to the spheres of Eternity (comp. p. 683). But though, from these reasons, his presence would have been inappropriate, when the political and social position of the tribes was

discussed; he was personally an individual so venerable, and so important by the ideas embodied in his life, that it would have been a serious omission had he not been brought before the king, to express his long and varied experience in a few words equally characterised by melancholy and resignation (ver. 9). He was, above all, aware that he had, throughout his life, even in a higher degree than his fathers, been a pilgrim and a wanderer, compelled to flight, exile, and constant migration; he had scarcely purchased a property near Shechem, when the violence of his sons forced him to abandon it to vindictive enemies (xxxiv. 30); his days were "bad," embittered by remorse, shame, and domestic afflictions following each other in overwhelming rapidity and intensity; and though not yet approaching the end of his life, he calls his years "few," not reaching those of his ancestors, because he felt his strength exhausted and his mission on earth finished. It will ever be a matter of surpassing interest to contemplate the aspiring but crafty Jacob gradually become the conqueror *Israel*; to pursue the phases by which the spiritual birthright, dishonestly wrested from Esau, was by misfortune, repentance, and atonement, ultimately deserved and permanently maintained; and to consider that when the season of prosperity at length arrived, *Jacob was unable to enjoy it*, because, though at peace with himself and reconciled with God, he felt the oppressive burden of his past miseries, the consequence of his early sins.—However,

years of thy life? 9. And Jacob said to Pharaoh, The years of my pilgrimage *are* a hundred and thirty years: few and evil have the years of my life been, and have not attained to the years of the life of my fathers in the days of their pilgrimage. 10. And Jacob blessed Pharaoh, and went out from before Pharaoh. 11. And Joseph made his father and his brothers dwell, and gave them a possession, in the land of Egypt, in the best of the land, in the land of Rameses, as Pharaoh had commanded. 12. And Joseph supported his father, and his brothers, and all

the uncertain wanderings of the Hebrews were now for several successive centuries to give way to a more constant mode of life; Joseph assigned to his brothers and their families "possessions" (חֲזוֹנָה) in the land of Goshen (ver. 11; comp. ver. 27), where their descendants long resided in undisturbed tranquillity, growing in numbers and in wealth (ver. 27); till their very increase and happiness, rousing the apprehension of tyrannical kings, caused them to be scattered over all the land of Egypt, and to commence a period of toil and wandering, more protracted and afflicting than that endured by the patriarchs (Exod. i. 7—10; v. 12).

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—מִכָּל אָחָיו (ver. 2) means "from the whole number of his brothers"; Maurer: "e summa, numero fratrum"; see on xix. 4, p. 413; comp. Ezek. xxxiii. 2; Rashi, strangely, "the least or weakest," whom Pharaoh would not be tempted to take as soldiers.—רָעָה (ver. 3), the predicate stands in the singular, since it *precedes* the subject, though in the plural (עֲבָדִים); see *Gen. Gr.* § 144, c.—Both when Jacob came into the presence of the king and when he left it, he pronounced a salutation or *blessing* (וַיְבָרֵךְ, vers. 7, 10), the usual form of which was later, "may the king live for ever" (יְחִי הַמֶּלֶךְ לְעוֹלָם), 2 Sam. xvi. 16; 1 Ki. i. 26; 1 Sam. x. 24, etc.; comp. Dan. ii. 4; iii. 9; v. 10; vi. 7; see also Ruth ii. 4).—The comparison of life to pilgrimage, with death or immortality as its goal, is so natural, that it seems to

have been familiar to the Hebrews also (comp. Ps. xxxix. 13; cxix. 54; Hebr. xi. 13); and it has been supposed to be contained in Jacob's answer to Pharaoh (ver. 9): this would, indeed, be peculiarly appropriate if we consider that, according to Diodorus Siculus (i. 51) the Egyptians "called the dwellings of the living, inns (καταλύσεις) to indicate, that they are but for a brief occupation; whereas they designated the tombs of the dead eternal houses, because they suppose an unceasing existence in the lower world" (comp. בֵּית־עוֹלָם, Eccl. xii. 5: *Seph. Ant.* 74, 75): but there is nothing in our text to show that this notion was intended; and the literal acception, as above stated, offers a sense quite appropriate to the passage.—Jacob, calling his life short in comparison to that of his "fathers," alludes to Isaac, who attained an age of 180 years (xxv. 29), and to Abraham, who, after the death of Sarah, when he had passed his 130th year, became the father of six sons (xxv. 1, 2); he does not appear to refer to the longevity of the generations between Noah and Terah (ch. xi.) and still less to the antediluvian patriarchs (ch. v.).—The adverb מֵעַתָּה is used as an indeclinable adjective (מֵעַתָּה וְרַעִים), as is the case with other adverbs; for instance, הָרְבָה נָפַל (2 Sam. i. 4); הָיָה תְּמוֹל (Job viii. 9); comp. *Aw.*, Gr. § 518. בְּצֵרֵךְ רַעֲמָסֶס (ver. 11) is synonymous with בְּאֶרֶץ נֶשֶׁן (vers. 4, 24; xlv. 34; xlv. 10; l. 8; Exod. viii. 22; ix. 26, etc.); and is, therefore, scarcely "that part of the district of Goshen where

his father's household, with bread, according to *their* families.

13. And *there was* no bread on the whole earth; for the famine *was* very heavy; and the land of Egypt and the land of Canaan were exhausted by the famine. 14.

Jacob's family first settled." The town עֵסָקֶסֶט must, however, be distinguished from the province רֵעֵקֶסֶט (see on Exod. i. 11).—אֶחָזָה (ver. 11) is *possession*, in contradistinction to כְּנָוִרִים (ver. 9), *sojourn*; for while Canaan was to Jacob כְּנָוִרִים (אֶרֶץ כְּנָוִרִים xxxvii. 1; comp. xxxvi. 7), the Hebrews took possession in Goahen (וַיֵּאָחֶזוּ בָהּ, ver. 27; comp. xxxiv. 10, and אֶרֶץ אֶחָזָה, xxxvi. 43; xlviii. 4).

13—27. The narrative, now returning to the history of the famine, unfolds a picture of distress and wretchedness, for which we were little prepared by the preceding portions. While expecting to see the people of Egypt encounter the dire period of scarcity with cheerfulness and profound gratitude towards their rescuer; while hoping to behold the beautiful spectacle of a great community conquering the scourges of nature by the wisdom of a provident legislation, and strengthened in their religious feelings by the providential redemption from a fearful calamity: we are met by the cries of agony of a starving population, and find at the end of the seven years, a happy, free, and prosperous nation, converted into a tribe of dependent serfs and paupers, so degraded that they themselves demand servitude as a boon and a privilege (ver. 25). We are, therefore, compelled to ask, what purpose did the penetration and shrewdness of Joseph serve? what advantage did the Egyptian people derive from his predictions? and what greater misfortunes could have befallen them, than those which really happened; since without Joseph's interference they would have themselves possessed sufficient corn from the years of plenty to subsist in the years of famine? In what light have we, therefore, to view his character? Does it not, at first glance, appear despotic, cruel, and heartless, anxious

only for the aggrandisement of the royal power, but unfeeling for the miserable condition of the people? Is not his person, hitherto described in so bright and almost sublime traits, at once stained by the execrable meanness of sacrificing the happiness of a nation to subservient sycophancy for a tyrannical dynasty?

Some critics, believing that the Biblical style must not be analysed so rigorously, have conveniently declined entering into these questions at all, and have even taunted the attempt as idle and superfluous speculation. They are satisfied with asserting, that the arrangements made by Joseph are "essentially the same which ultimately take place in every well-regulated empire" (*Ewald*, *Gesch. Isr.* i. p. 526): but this is far from being correct; for exactly the contrary was the case in the Mosaic constitution, according to which the monarch was as dependent on the Supreme King as the people itself; every Hebrew citizen could maintain his hereditary landed property even against the caprice and arbitrariness of the monarch (comp. 1 Ki. xxi.); while the priests, richly endowed in Egypt, received alone no inheritance: it would certainly be a distortion of the whole argument were we thus to turn the comparison, that the Israelites held their fields as a fief from God, in the same manner as the Egyptians received theirs from the king, whom they considered as the "representative and the incarnation of the deity" (comp. *Michaelis*, *Mos. R.* ii. § 73; *Hengstenberg*, *Mos. und Äg.* p. 67; see on Exod. xix. 6): for *de facto*, the lands of the Hebrews were so decidedly in their *permanent* possession, that they were inalienable property, and could not, beyond a limited period, be held by any other occupier; if, then, to say the least, it seems a waste of ingenuity to compare the Egyptian organisation here

And Joseph collected all the money that was found in the land of Egypt and in the land of Canaan, for the corn which they bought: and Joseph brought the money into the house of Pharaoh. 15. And when the money was spent in the land of Egypt and in the land of Canaan, all

described with the Mosaic institution of the Jubilee, it is certainly a historical fallacy to consider the one as the model or prototype of the other (comp. Lev. xxv. 8, *et seq.*); since the Jubilee was not less designed to enforce a great religious idea than to secure an important political advantage (comp. Lev. xxv. 23, 42, 55; see on Exod. p. 450); though, indeed, a *remote analogy*, and, perhaps, a certain historical connection, may exist between both, as will be shown in its due place.

Others find in Joseph's arrangements nothing but the embodiment of the fact, "how, by the prudent application of the magazine system, a large population was protected against hunger, but was obliged to purchase these benefits by submitting to an annual ground-rent, which had not been paid before" (*Winer*, Real-Wört. i. 605): however, our narrative relates facts very different from those here stated; it speaks not only of a ground-rent, but of a people totally impoverished; of the loss of all lands; of servitude, and of transplantation: the change was much more important, and the blame which evidently falls upon its stern author, of a much darker dye.

Some, again, strangely enough, suppose that the end of this section is no other but "to show how Israel's family lived quietly and comfortably in the land of Goshen, and vastly increased in numbers," while the Egyptians were deprived of all their property (*Tuch*, Genesis, p. 545; compare vers. 12, 27; xlv. 11); or "how great the benefits were which Joseph conferred upon his house" (*Baumgarten*, Gen. p. 355): but who will find it likely, that in order to intimate, by an obscure inference, the domestic well-being of one family, the author should have minutely described the revolutions of an empire? The narrative has, at least, as much im-

portance for the people of Egypt, as for the house of Jacob; and its tendency is so entirely political, that it nearly appears like an episode entire and complete in itself. Some, therefore, feeling this larger back-ground, added, that "Joseph's conduct was necessary to exhibit the later ingratitude of the Egyptian kings, who, forgetting his merits, oppressed the Hebrews" (*Tuch*, Gen. p. 546). But does this view clear Joseph from the reproach of cold indifference to the interests of the people? Does it not almost seem, that his own descendants deserved their affliction as a retaliation for the wretched lot which he prepared for the Egyptians?

However, others, seeing the serious defects of Joseph's policy, and anxious to palliate them, urge that "these financial measures were not very oppressive, since a tax of the fifth part was in reality moderate in so fertile a land as Egypt" (*Winer*, i. 605): but the question is not so much about the impost of the tax, as about the total loss of land and all other property; and if the payment of a fifth part of the produce was not burthensome in a period of unusual abundance (xli. 34), it does not follow that it was as easily borne in ordinary years (ver. 24); and, indeed, those scholars are obliged to add: "it is always precarious to judge the acts of an official in the despotic East by the standard of strict and enlightened morality"! forgetting that the character of Joseph, represented with almost ideal purity, in dignity nearly equals that of Abraham, in integrity surpasses that of Jacob, and in pious resignation that of Moses. Some have, therefore, endeavoured to justify him by the assertion, that he was not free in his actions, but stood under the influence of Pharaoh, who selfishly wished to avail himself of the national catastrophe for enlarging his own power:



the Egyptians came to Joseph, saying, Give us bread: for why should we die in thy presence? for the money is gone. 16. And Joseph said, Give your cattle; and I will give you *corn* for your cattle, if the money is gone. 17. And they brought their cattle to Joseph: and Joseph

however, this is in direct opposition, not only with the whole spirit and tenour of the narrative, which everywhere introduces Joseph as the sole originator of the policy (comp. xli. 33—36, 48, 49, 56; xlv. 7, 8, etc.); but with the explicit statement of the text: "Go," said the king, who seems to have freed himself from all cares and difficulties of government, "Go to Joseph; what he will say to you, you shall do" (xli. 56). It has been urged, on the other side, that Joseph's power was, after all, too limited to enable him to carry out such important plans on his own account: for he could, without the king's permission, not invite his family to come to Egypt (xlv. 17—20), nor assign to them abodes in that country (xlii. 31—34), nor even bury his father in Canaan (l. 4, 6). But all these objections are fallacious. Joseph had distinctly promised to his brothers habitations in Goshen, before he had in the least communicated with the king (xlv. 10); and he was so certain of his power to inter his father in the sepulchre of his ancestors, that he at once *swore* it to him by the most sacred oath then known in the family of Abraham (vers. 29—31; see on xlv. 16—21). Further, the final arrangements with regard to the settlement of Jacob and his sons were designedly left to Pharaoh himself, that they might the more strikingly appear as inviolable political concessions (see pp. 681, 695). And, lastly, even if Joseph's authority should have been restricted in every other respect, it was certainly unbounded with regard to the collection and distribution of the corn in the years of plenty and of scarcity; the office, not before existing, was expressly created for Joseph; and the king left to his unfettered judgment the remedy of a misfortune which his

superior wisdom had foreseen (comp. xli. 33, 40—44; xlii. 6; xlv. 8; l. 20; and the whole section under discussion).—Nor is the reason advanced by others more probable, that, as Joseph was Pharaoh's steward, it was his duty to consult his interests in every way (comp. ver. 14); for this argument would just admit the charge which it proposes to remove, and would let Joseph appear as a narrow-minded courtier unable to rise to large political views, and as the servant of a grasping despot, instead of the chief-ruler of a great people.—The opposite mode of vindication has been as unsuccessfully attempted by those who maintain that in fact Joseph's measures proved a great benefit to the people, because only when the whole land had become the property of the crown, a comprehensive and efficient system of irrigation by canals was feasible: but could the wisdom of Joseph find no means of combining a strong government with reasonable liberty and independence of the people? Was it necessary to degrade in order to maintain them? For their physical subsistence the Egyptians were compelled to sacrifice every boon which distinguishes the citizen and dignifies the man.

After the failure of all these expedients, there remained but two others possible; namely, to misrepresent the Hebrew text, and to interpret it in some arbitrary manner. The former alternative has been boldly resorted to by Josephus (Ant. II. vii. 7): he observes, on no solid authority whatever, that at the end of the seven years of famine, Joseph restored to the people of Egypt the lands which by right then belonged to the king, and imposed upon them only the former tax of the fifth part of the produce; they were rejoiced to be again owners of their lands; "and by this

gave them bread for the horses, and for the cattle of the flocks, and for the cattle of the herds, and for the asses: and he supported them with bread for all their cattle in that year. 18. And when that year was ended, they came to him the following year, and said to him, We will not

means Joseph procured for himself greater authority among the Egyptians, and for the king greater love from his subjects." This would indeed have been a policy more in harmony with the general benevolence of Joseph, though it would have been still more magnanimous not even temporarily to have deprived the people of their property, and to have made them, not even *morally*, the tenants of the kings. However, that statement is both against the Biblical narrative, and against history; but it cannot be surprising in an author who, in other respects also, has fashioned the story in accordance with his own views of right and probability, of which we shall soon adduce another instance.

The second opinion above stated has been advanced by some modern expositors who, intending to glose over the objections by a dexterous evasion, maintain, that we must not "give a rigid European form to loose and metaphorical Oriental expressions"; the terms "buying and selling" are used in an "indefinite lax sense"; to *buy* is simply to *acquire* (קָנָה) and *servants* (עֲבָדִים) means merely *tenants*, not *slaves* (Kitto, History of Palestine, i. 124). But what will remain certain, if by an unceremonious and dictatorial principle, all precision is denied to Biblical language, conveniently fancied to bear the character of dim and undefined vagueness (comp. מָכַר, vers. 20, 22). To vindicate one passage, the whole Bible is desperately sacrificed. But even if we take those words in the mildest acceptation which they possibly admit, the fact remains, that the Egyptians, deprived of every property (vers. 14, 17, 18), could no longer regard as their own the lands they cultivated, but held them only at the pleasure and caprice of the ruler; and that they were compelled to

hear the humiliating compact distinctly pronounced by Joseph, "I have this day *bought you and your lands* for Pharaoh" (ver. 23).

We are, therefore, obliged to find another and more plausible clue to Joseph's policy. In order to arrive at a well-established opinion, it seems the more advisable briefly to sketch those measures, as they have, in many particulars, been differently understood.

1. During the seven years of plenty, Joseph ordered the people to deliver up to him the fifth part of the produce of the land (xli. 34); from which is evident, on the one hand, that before that time the tax was materially smaller; and, on the other hand, that even then the royal power must have been considerable; which circumstance is confirmed by the patient submission with which the people later suffered the deepest ignominy, without being tempted to rise in sedition or revolt against an oppressive policy.

2. Besides collecting that impost, Joseph "gathered all the food in the good years" (xli. 35); which certainly means, that he *bought* the corn from the peasants (else it would not have been different from a tax), though, no doubt, for a very trifling compensation: it is, therefore, an unnecessary aggravation of the charge brought against Joseph, to assume that he "took away the corn from the husbandmen, leaving them only so much as was sufficient for seed and their food" (Joseph. Ant. II. v. 7; vi. 1). It is certainly a mistake to suppose that the stores gathered by Joseph consisted in that one-fifth part only demanded as a tax; for if so, the people, possessing four-fifths of the rich crops, would have had no occasion to implore Joseph's assistance, who, on his part, would have been unable to afford it

hide *it* from my lord: but our money is spent; our herds of cattle also have *passed* into the hands of my lord; there is nothing left before my lord, except our bodies and our lands: 19. Wherefore shall we die before thy eyes, both we and our land? buy us and our land for bread, and we

for any length of time. But it may be asked, why did the Egyptians sell all their corn if they knew that a period of scarcity was impending? Were they *forced* to sell it? It is difficult to suppose such tyrannical arbitrariness. Were they not aware that they would later have to repurchase their stores at a very high price? Their impression seems, therefore, to have been that Joseph, the favoured of the Deity, the great benefactor of the land, would, in the time of want, furnish them the grain *gratuitously*; but they were doomed to cruel disappointment: at the commencement of the famine "they cried to Pharaoh for bread" (xli. 55); but Joseph *sold* them corn (כסף, ver. 56); and when their money was exhausted, then, at least, hoping to be furnished with the necessities of life from the abundance of the royal granaries, they came to Joseph with the request, "Give us bread; for why should we die in thy presence? for the money is gone" (ver. 15); but they received the cold reply, "bring me your cattle, if your money is gone; and I will give you corn for your cattle" (ver. 16). The conditions were, therefore, *not* "first proposed by the Egyptians," as has often been maintained with convenient complacency (see also *infra*). Unless it is supposed that the people felt complete confidence in Joseph's generous qualities, their levity in disposing of their corn is so inconceivable, that it has been conjectured, that they were kept in ignorance concerning the impending season of failing crops, and that, when Joseph gathered the corn, "he discovered to no one the reason why he did so" (*Joseph*. loc. cit.): but this is more than improbable; the dreams of Pharaoh, communicated to *all* the wise men of Egypt (xli. 8), naturally became known to the whole people; while

their interpretation was spread through the land by the public procession of Joseph when he became grand-vizier, and is probably implied in the Egyptian name given to him on that occasion (xli. 45): so that the opinion alluded to is not much less precarious than the extravagant fancy of a visionary critic, that Joseph produced the scarcity by artificially keeping back the inundations of the Nile in Ethiopia during seven years (*Leo*, *Vorlesungen*, p. 100). Though, therefore, Joseph's measure of buying up all corn effectually prevented its exportation to foreign countries and saved it for Egypt; it was clearly conceived with the view, later unflinchingly carried out, of totally subduing and curbing the Egyptian people; and an act of ostensible sympathy was converted into shrewd despotism.

3. It appears that the money of the people sufficed during *five* years to purchase corn (comp. xiv. 6); in the *sixth*, they gave their cattle, which they were unable to feed any longer (ver. 17, בשרהן); in the *following* or seventh year (השנה השביעית), ver. 18), they offered their persons and their lands; and as it was the last year of the famine, Joseph, on their request, gave them corn for seed (vers. 19, 24), that in the next year already the first new crops might be secured, and the fifth part be paid as a tax; for thenceforth government had an immediate interest in the cultivation of the soil (comp. *Nachmanides*, in loc.; *Rosenm.* *Schol.* on vers. 18, 19).

4. The people in offering *themselves and their lands together* (vers. 18, 19), thereby naturally intimated that they desired to work their *own* fields for Pharaoh; this is clear by the spirit of their request; and the loss of their landed property would, indeed, have been a

and our land will be subjected to Pharaoh: and give *us* seed, that we may live, and not die, and that the land do not lie waste. 20. And Joseph bought all the land of Egypt for Pharaoh; for the Egyptians sold every man his field, because the famine prevailed over them: so the land

sacrifice heavy enough to be demanded at one time and for the provision of one year; but as the period of distress and famine approached its end, Joseph, impatient to pursue his policy to the utmost consequences, and eager to use an opportunity which, perhaps, might never recur, indeed, bought both lands and owners; but heartlessly separating the one from the other, transplanted the people "from one end of the boundary of Egypt to the other": anxious to create and to keep alive in their minds a feeling of perfect dependence, unconcerned at tearing asunder all the dear and sacred ties which for generations had bound the families to their hereditary soil, and indifferent at the sight of wandering millions becoming strangers in their own country; his clear but cold intellect rejoiced in the advantage thus gained, of breaking the last remnant of popular power necessarily arising from long local associations, and of creating a populace of submissive and homeless serfs, lost to all higher political and moral aspirations, and absorbed in the toil and drudgery of servitude.

But let us here pause to enter into the chief question which in this portion concerns us. Was it indeed the intention of the Biblical writer to represent Joseph so unfavourably, as the instrument of an ambitious tyrant, and the destroyer of all power and influence of the people? *This was certainly his intention*, as clearly as his account of Joseph's capricious conduct towards his brothers; and as with regard to the latter, so with respect to Egypt, he introduced him as the medium of Providence for the realisation of predestined plans. The prophecy had been given to Abraham, that his descendants would be oppressed in a strange land (xv. 13); by which, as Jacob had every reason to

believe, Egypt was meant (see p. 684). Now it is historically certain that the Hebrews were ill-treated, from fear, by the Pharaohs only, while the *people* of Egypt cultivated with them an amicable intercourse (see on Exod. i. 11, and v. 4): therefore the picture of the social revolution here inserted is designed to show how the power of the *kings* was strengthened for the prosecution of a wanton policy; while the sympathy of the *people*, itself enfeebled and enslaved, was of no avail or practical importance to the Hebrews. Hence, the author concludes this section with a remark distinctly leading over, and pointing to, that later time, when their astonishing increase dictated the cruel measures for making them at least harmless (ver. 27; comp. Exod. i. 9, 10); and he in this place for the first time clearly mentions Israel as a growing *community* ('יִשְׂרָאֵל וְכָל הָעָם'). But though he characterises here also Joseph as the agent of Providence, he does not represent him as having that *consciousness* of his mission which he manifested in the treatment of the brothers; he describes him simply as the able and active statesman, gratefully working for the interests of his royal master; and he nowhere, as he so often and so touchingly did in the case of the brothers, makes him in any way sympathise with the distress of the sufferers: the sublimity of Joseph's character consistently displayed before, is certainly impaired; for from a servant of God he becomes a servant of Pharaoh; from a prophet, anxious to maintain the justice of Divine government, he is turned into a callous politician, eager to strengthen the hands of despotism. The place, therefore, which this section occupies in the organism of the Pentateuch is this: the author, acquainted with the *fact* of the sovereignty of the Egyptian

became Pharaoh's. 21. And as for the people, he removed them to the cities from *one* end of the boundaries of Egypt to the *other* end of it. 22. Only the land of the priests he did not buy; for the priests had a portion *assigned to them* by Pharaoh; and they ate their portion which Pha-

kings over their land (*see infra*), and believing that this arrangement in favour of the monarchs was effected by Joseph, skilfully embodied it in his narrative, so as to make it the intermediate link between the predictions given to Abraham in Canaan, and their fulfilment in a later age; but, in doing this, he was unmindful of the charges to which he exposed Joseph's conduct, and in this instance neglecting the characteristic spirit of *Biblical* history, which is that of strictly compensating justice, or of close connection between the deeds of man and his destinies, he unfolded the unspeakable misery of the Egyptians, without in the least indicating the sins and offences by which they had deserved it.

5. It is now necessary to consider the *historical* basis of this episode. It is generally asserted that the facts here stated are related by profane writers also. But this is true only with regard to some general features. Herodotus (ii. 109) observes: "It is also said that this king (Sesostris) divided the country amongst all the Egyptians, giving an equal square allotment to each; and from thence he drew his revenues, having required them to pay a fixed tax every year." It is obvious that this is very different from the statements of our text; it is almost the reverse; some conqueror (whether Sesostris or not — for the mythical history of Egypt ascribes to him all great institutions) portioned out the land to the people; he appears as their benefactor, not their oppressor; he *gives* them land, instead of *demanding* it; he is already in undisputed possession of the ground, instead of then only acquiring it; and it is but a poor subterfuge to limit the remark of Herodotus to his "crown lands" (*Wilkinson*, i. p. 263; comp. p. 74). But the

agreement between the Greek historian and the account of Genesis is decided and important. The king is the owner of the land, and the people are his tenants or farmers, who, for a fixed annual rent, cultivate the ground for him; so that the dependent state of vassalage, the origin of which is here ascribed to Joseph, is maintained by Herodotus also: and the same condition prevails with the present fellahs, who preserve their private property, not by the right of succession, but by the favour of government, and who, therefore, though they may temporarily pledge, cannot permanently sell their lands (comp. *Déscr. de l'Eg.* xvii. 189; *Hengstenb.*, loc. cit., p. 61).

The same historian writes (ii. 168), that the priests, and besides them the warriors only, possessed land; the latter holding "twelve aureæ free from tribute" (*δρελίεç*). This seems, at first sight, to be at variance with our narrative stating that "the land of the priests alone was not bought by Joseph," and "their land alone did not pass into the hands of Pharaoh" (vers. 22, 26). But, in fact, the military men were not really landed proprietors, but received their acres as a fief, which, therefore, could be taken away from them by the will of the monarch (*Her.* ii. 141); so that the expression of Diodorus Siculus (i. 73), that "the third part of the land was the property of the warrior caste" (*ἔχουσιν οἱ μάχιμοι*), is to be modified; and the remark of Strabo (xvii. 787), that "the territory was divided into three equal portions," is to be understood accordingly. But the distribution of Egypt into nomes, toparchies, and other sections, is not at all treated of in our text.

The conclusions, then, which offer themselves, are these. The *fact*, indeed, of the dependence of the people on the

raoh gave them: therefore they did not sell their lands. 23. Then Joseph said to the people, Behold, I have bought you this day and your land for Pharaoh: lo, *here is seed* for you, and you shall sow the land. 24. And when the harvest cometh, you shall give the fifth *part* to Pharaoh,

crown, with regard to their landed property, is mentioned by the classical authors also; but the manner in which that dependence originated is the *peculiar and exclusive feature of the narrative of Genesis*; for the observation of Justinus (xxxvi. 2), that "all Egypt would have perished by hunger, unless the king, on Joseph's advice, had given orders to preserve the produce during many years," contains no allusion whatever to the political consequences here connected with that measure; and it only remains to contemplate the degree of *historical probability* that can be attributed to the events narrated. Without anticipating the judgment of the reader, we shall simply state the chief difficulties: 1. Joseph *predicts* the nature of the future crops after *dreams* of Pharaoh. 2. There are just *seven* years of plenty, and *seven* years of famine (comp. 2 Sam. xxiv. 13; 2 Ki. viii. 1). 3. The inundations of the Nile cease for a period without parallel in historical annals. 4. The dearth and famine occur during the *same time* on the *whole earth* (see p. 655). 5. The produce, during the period of abundance, was "like the sand of the sea" (xli. 49), and sufficed for the subsistence of all mankind during the period of hunger (xli. 56, 57). If we add to this the *internal objections*, that the people, acquainted with the approach of a season of dearth, should have sold all their corn; that Joseph, so kind and affectionate, should, by a perfidious policy, have plunged a whole nation into permanent misery; and the other discrepancies above pointed out: it cannot be difficult to arrive at a safe decision.

We may, therefore, thus sum up our remarks: the measures of Joseph are mentioned to explain the possibility of the unmitigated thralldom later inflicted upon

the Hebrews by the Pharaohs of Egypt; but, though apparently accounting for a territorial organisation really existing in Egypt, they are unsupported by any extraneous authority, are in some points conflicting in themselves, and are in others at variance with the character of Joseph before attributed to him. However, it would be bold to deny, that this narrative is based upon genuine historical traditions regarding some great political changes introduced by Joseph; this supposition is confirmed by the very contrast of its spirit and tenour with the usual principles of Biblical history, as above pointed out; but it would be premature, and extremely uncertain, in the present fragmentary state of Egyptian history, to fix by a hazardous attempt the exact nature of those reforms, whether they consisted in a better regulation of the public revenues, or in the establishment of the absolute sovereignty of royal power by some comprehensive agrarian scheme.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS. — לָחַל is the fut. apocop. of Kal of חָל, chirek being prolonged into zere (comp. נָחַל, xli. 33; חָל, Dent. ix. 15; חָלַע, xxi. 14, etc.); analogous to חָלַע (Job xvii. 7) from חָלַע. The verb חָלַע is in meaning and etymology akin to חָלַע, to be languid or exhausted (Job iv. 2; v. 2; and in Niph. and Hiph. in Ps. lxxviii. 10; Jer. xii. 5, etc.); hence the Samaritan Codex reads חָלַע (that is, חָלַע, Job iv. 5); Sept. ἐξέλεπτε; but Kimchi, "the land became *savage* by hunger"; Michael. (Suppl. 1078) *tristis fuit*, from חָלַע; comp. Gesen. Thes. p. 744; De Pent. Samar. p. 32.—Though the whole earth suffered from the famine (xli. 54, 56, 57), Egypt and Canaan only are here mentioned (vers. 13, 14), because alone connected with the history of the Hebrews in

and four parts shall be your own, for seed of the field, and for your food, and for those of your households, and for food for your little ones. 25. And they said, Thou hast saved our lives: let us find grace in the sight of my lord,

this epoch; Vulg. "oppresserat fames terram maxime Egypti et Canaan."—About the animals of the Egyptians (ver. 17) see on Exodus ix. 3.—נָהַל (ver. 17), originally to *guide*, then to *protect*; therefore בָּלַחַם וַיִּנְהֵלֵם is "he supported them with bread" (comp. ver. 12, וַיִּכְלֵל; Sept., ἐξέθρεψεν; Vulg., sustentabat; Onkelos, וַיִּנְוֵן; Rashi, וַיִּנְהֵם. —הַשָּׁנָה הַהוּא (vers. 17, 18, not הַשָּׁנָה הָרִאשׁוֹנָה, is the *sixth* year of the famine; and הַשָּׁנָה הַשֵּׁנִית (ver. 18), the second year after it, or the *seventh* of the period of hunger: for from the time when the people could no longer buy corn for their money, began a new and decisive phase in the plans of Joseph. The computation quoted by Rashi, that הַשָּׁנָה הַשֵּׁנִית is the second year of the famine, believed to have ceased after the arrival of the pious patriarch, and to have recommenced for five years after his death, is totally against the tenour of the text; while the opinion of Abarbanel, that those words denote the second of the five years of scarcity still impending (xlv. 6), or the fourth year of the famine, is objectionable, since it would be difficult to explain why the peasants, represented as fully believing in the truth of Joseph's predictions, should have wished for seed-corn (vers. 19, 23) if three years of drought were still expected. The explanation above adopted (p. 702, No. 3) removes this difficulty, and is in perfect accordance with the narrative. —The words לֹא נִכְחַדְדֹּב (ver. 18) are to be explained: we cannot, concealing the truth, pretend that we still possess any money or cattle; but (כִּי אֵם) we have sacrificed all. It is impossible to take אֵם כִּי in the sense of כִּי: while the translation, "we cannot conceal that, since our money and cattle are gone, nothing is left to us but" etc., is modern and un-Hebrew.—"To die" admits so naturally of the general meaning of destruction or loss, that the

phrase "why shall we die, both we and our land"? (ver. 19), is the less surprising, as the distress of the people implied, likewise, the desolation of the fields, which from want of seed could not be cultivated, and were, therefore, lying *waste* (עָרָב, future Kal of שָׁם, equivalent with שָׁמָם); comp. Job xiv. 8; Ps. lxxviii. 47.—The twenty-first verse certainly records a transplantation of the people; the chief stress lies upon the second part of the sentence, that the Egyptians were removed from their former habitations throughout the whole extent of the country; and, as to every town was attached a certain number of fields, lying in its vicinity (xli. 48), the peasants living upon these grounds, were, in an administrative sense, considered as belonging to the town. It is impossible to understand the verse to intimate, that Joseph brought *all* the Egyptians into the towns, so that no peasants should live scattered in the country: this is in opposition both with historical truth and with probability; in Egypt, so strict in the distribution of castes, it would not have been easy to create a new class of agriculturalists, indispensable for the cultivation of the land. Onkelos, renders, therefore, the *sense* with sufficient correctness by translating, "he brought the people from towns into towns" (מִקְרִי לִקְרִי). But the interpretation of Targum Jon. and Jerns., "he removed the people of the country into towns, and the people of towns into the country," is impossible, because the occupation of the husbandmen was hereditary in Egypt. The opinion that the people were summoned into the towns, there to receive grain for seed (comp. xli. 48), is against the context, which requires a permanent, not a temporary, arrangement; and the reading of the Samaritan Codex הָעִבִּיר אֹתוֹ לְעִבְרִים, expressed also in the Greek version (κατεδουλώσατο

and we will be servants to Pharaoh. 26. And Joseph made it a law over the land of Egypt to this day, *that Pharaoh should receive the fifth part*; except the land of the priests alone, *which* did not become Pharaoh's.—27.

αἰσῶ εἰς παῖδας) and in the Vulgate (subjectique eam Pharaoni et cunctos populos ejus), is without support or authority, and scarcely grammatical (comp. Exod. i. 13, 14).—Diodorus (i. 57) remarks, that Sesostris raised very great mounds, and *transplanted* (μετάρσεν) upon them the towns not before built on elevations, in order to protect the inhabitants against the ravages of the inundations. With this notice Lepsius (Chron. of the Egypt. p. 482) curiously connects the translocation of the people *from one end of the country to the other*.—Some find in our text the attempt of Joseph to reclaim the masses “from a wandering life, passed in tents, to a fixed life passed in cities and villages” (Osborn, Israel in Egypt, p. 184). But the people is represented, from the commencement of the narrative, as forming settled and well-regulated communities of husbandmen (comp. xli. 47, 48). The accusative וְאֵת הָעָם is for greater emphasis placed first, after which the pronoun (אֹתוֹ) is added by pleonasm; see ii. 17; Ex. xv. 15; Isa. viii. 13; Jer. vi. 19, etc.; comp. Exod. vi. 3.—חֶקֶץ (ver. 22) is *allotted portion* (comp. Exod. v. 11; xxix. 28; Ezek. xlv. 14; Prov. xxxi. 15), namely, here of *land*, referring to אֲדָמַת כְּהֹנִים, which immediately precedes; the words אֲדָמַת פִּרְעֹה have no great stress; and the twenty-second verse simply states, that the Egyptian kings, in every other respect invested with absolute power, had spontaneously renounced a part of the arable territory of Egypt in favour of the priests, who from that time lived independently upon their property, and whose grounds were not regarded as crown-lands; “the land of the priests alone did not pass into the hands of Pharaoh” (ver. 26); and it is naturally supposed that the priests were, in the year of famine, maintained by the king. Some take חֶקֶץ here in the sense of “fixed rations” (comp. Prov.

xxx. 8; Ezek. xvi. 27), and explain the verse to mean, that the priests had no occasion to sell their land, since they received daily rations from Pharaoh (see Hengstenb. loc. cit., p. 64). However, our text implies more; it intimates, that the estates of the priests, granted by former kings as a part of the constitution of the land, belonged to them by inalienable right, so that Pharaoh was *not permitted* to acquire their land, even if he found an opportunity of doing so. It is true, whenever the priests performed the functions of their office, whether in the temple, or as judges (Diod. i. 75), or as companions of the king (i. 70), they received from the public exchequer “sacred food,” beef and geese, and “wine from the grape” (Her. ii. 37), just as the warriors, in times of actual service, as the king's body-guard, enjoyed certain additional allowances of meat, bread, and wine (Her. ii. 168). But the priests certainly were not *always* provided with food; for if so, wherefore did they have their large territorial property? Diodorus Siculus (i. 73) says distinctly, “the priests applied the revenues of their lands for the sacrificial service of the country, the maintenance of their assistants, and *their own subsistence* (ταῖς ἰδίαις χρεῖαις χορηγοῦσιν)”; and even if the priests themselves received their rations from the king, and did not for themselves “consume or expend any of their private property” (Her. ii. 37), *their families* drew their subsistence from the latter source. Among the Hindoos almost exactly the same organisation existed; the land belonged entirely to the king, who could at pleasure grant territorial property and repeal his grant; except the estates of the priests, which were above the royal power, and exempt from all burdens and taxes (comp. Bohlen, Alt. Ind. ii. 44, 45; see also Rosenmüller, Morgenland, i. 221).—N



And Israel dwelt in the land of Egypt, in the land of Goshen, and they had possessions therein, and were fruitful, and multiplied exceedingly.

28. And Jacob lived in the land of Egypt seventeen years: so the days of Jacob, the years of his life, were a hundred and forty-seven years. 29. And when the days approached for Israel to die, he called his son Joseph, and said to him, If, I pray thee, I have found grace in thy sight, put, I pray thee, thy hand under my thigh, and do to me kindness and truth: bury me not, I pray thee, in Egypt: 30. But I will lie with my fathers, and thou shalt carry me out of Egypt, and bury me in their burying-place. And he said, I will do in accordance with thy

(ver. 23) is a Chaldaism instead of  $\text{וְהָנָח}$  or  $\text{וְהָנַח}$ ; comp. Ezek. xvi. 43; Dan. ii. 43.— $\text{לְפָנָיו לְחַמֵּשׁ}$  (ver. 26) is *for* (or in favour of) Pharaoh, *with regard* to the fifth, which had been mentioned before (ver. 24; comp. xxvi. 7); Onkel. "that they should give one-fifth to Pharaoh."

28—31. Jacob, long since prepared to enter the eternal rest, was at last, by increasing decrepitude, reminded of his approaching dissolution. The natural wish, almost universally prevalent among the ancient nations, of being buried in the land of their ancestors, or in the tomb of relatives or dear friends, was, in Jacob, enhanced by the religious sentiment, that Canaan was the land of promise, where his descendants should wield the sceptre of dominion, and unfurl the banner of truth (see p. 452; comp. *Hom.*, II. xxii. 338—343; xxiii. 83, 84, 91; *Soph.*, Elect. 760, 1134, 1135; *Eurip.*, Orest. 1067; *Phœn.* 1055, 1056; *Virg.*, *Æn.* vi. 503; *Ovid*, *Met.* iv. 157; *Trist.* III. iii. 32, etc.; and on Exod. xiii. 19). Knowing that Joseph alone had the power of securing his interment in Canaan, he pledged him by the holy oath of the Hebrew covenant (see p. 460), not to deny him this last and greatest service of love, and "to do to him mercy and truth" (comp. xxiv. 27, 49). So comforted, the exhausted patriarch calmly awaited the summons of death.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—The Chinese law makes it the sacred duty of sons to remove the body of their father, if he happens to die in a different part of the land, to the grave of his ancestors (comp. *Rosenm.*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 225, 241).—The words  $\text{וַיִּשְׁתָּחוּ יִשְׂרָאֵל}$  (ver. 34), are parallel with  $\text{וַיִּשְׁתָּחוּ עַל הַמִּשְׁכָּב}$  in 1 Ki. i. 47, and signify, "Israel bent down, or reclined, to the head of the bed," that is, he lay down again; for he had sat up while receiving the oath of his son (comp. xlviii. 2; xlix. 33); that modification of the meaning of the verb  $\text{וַיִּשְׁתָּחוּ}$ , though not often occurring, follows easily from its fundamental sense; it is, therefore, as erroneous on the part of the Septuagint to read  $\text{ἐπὶ τῷ κεφαλῇ}$ , and to translate *ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον τῆς ῥάβδου αὐτοῦ*, as on the part of Rabbinical expositors to understand a *prayer* of Jacob, "he worshipped God on the pillow of the bed" (though  $\text{וַיִּשְׁתָּחוּ}$  is used in this sense, xxii. 5); both which notions have been combined in the New Testament (Hebr. xī. 21), *καὶ προσκύνησεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον τῆς ῥάβδου αὐτοῦ* (comp. p. 690), where, moreover, this act is referred to the occasion when "Jacob blessed the sons of Joseph" (ch. xlviii.); so that critics desirous to account for this inaccuracy, are compelled to say, "Jacob worshipped twice leaning upon the top of his staff,

words. 31. And he said, Swear to me: and he swore to him. And Israel reclined upon the head of the bed.

Moses thinking it unnecessary to mention it more than once" (*Th. Smith, Zaphn. Paan*, p. 196). The Vulg. has, *adoravit*

*Israel Deum conversus ad lectuli caput*; others understand, Jacob bowed before Joseph! (comp. xxxvii. 9).

## V.—THE ADOPTION OF EPHRAIM AND MANASSEH.

### CHAPTER XLVIII.

**SUMMARY.**—Jacob acknowledges the two sons of Joseph, Manasseh and Ephraim, who were born before the settlement of his family in Egypt, as his own sons, and concedes to them, in the future Hebrew commonwealth, equal authority with the rest of his own children, and a double portion in the land of Canaan promised to his descendants; but in blessing them, he gives the preference to the younger, Ephraim, who should occupy the more prominent position, and form the more powerful tribe. The other sons of Joseph, born after Jacob's immigration, should be incorporated in the families of their two elder brothers.

1. And it happened after these things, that Joseph was told, Behold, thy father is ill: and he took with him his

1—22. The principal statements of the following section refer so plainly and unmistakably to events in the later history of the Hebrew nation, they have so little of the obscurity or indistinctness usually peculiar to prophetic compositions, that their general import has but very seldom been misunderstood, and that, with perhaps the only exception of the lives of Jacob and Esau, they furnish the most instructive insight into the nature of the anticipative style of the Pentateuch. This is true to such an extent, that the historical books furnish not only illustrations, but perfect parallels of our narrative.

The book of Joshua relates, that the descendants of Joseph addressed that general in terms of complaint: "Why hast thou given me but ONE LOT AND ONE PORTION to inherit, since I am a great people? The hill is not enough for us." To which Joshua replied: "Thou art a great people, and hast great power; thou shalt not

have ONE LOT ONLY; mount Ephraim is too narrow for thee; go therefore to the wood-country, and settle there in the land of the Perizzites and of the Rephaim" (Josh. xvii. 14—18; comp. xiv. 4). This passage is evidently the first and broadest historical basis of the transaction here recorded. "I give thee," said Jacob to Joseph, "one portion above thy brethren, which I take of the band of the Amorite with my sword and with my bow" (ver. 22). Yet it would not be correct to say, simply, that the tribe of Joseph, originally forming one of the twelve tribes of the Hebrews, in the course of time grew so great in numbers, in influence, and territorial power, that the division into two distinct sections became necessary or advisable. For if so, why was this not done with respect to the tribe of Judah, seldom much inferior, and often considerably superior, to that of Joseph in political authority? And what should be the

two sons, Manasseh and Ephraim. 2. And Jacob was informed, saying, Behold, thy son Joseph cometh to thee: and Israel strengthened himself, and sat up on the bed. 3. And Jacob said to Joseph, God Almighty appeared to me in Luz in the land of Canaan, and blessed me, 4. And said to me, Behold, I will make thee fruitful, and

standard for determining whether a division was requisite or not? Or is it supposed that the occupation by the Josephites of lands *both in the east and the west of the Jordan*, either suggested or rendered necessary the separation into two tribes? This view cannot be defended; since the people of Manasseh and Ephraim did *not* respectively hold abodes on the two sides of the river; for the former lived partly in the east and partly in the west of it. Further, who should decide in a matter of such high practical importance? A tribe, by being divided into two, at once obtained double weight in the national councils, and grew vastly in dignity and moral influence by its twofold organisation in heads of tribes, houses, and families, both during the times of peace and of war. It is true, that we perceive in Hebrew history the desire of preserving the number of *twelve* tribes, adhered to by the Ishmaelites and other Eastern nations also, no doubt in consequence of the astronomical significance of that number (see xvii. 20; xxii. 20—24; xxv. 13—16; *Ewald*, *Gesch.* Isr. i. 467—478); and that, therefore, the progeny of Joseph is reckoned as *one* tribe where it was deemed necessary to introduce Levi also, as in the last prophecies of Jacob and of Moses, or at the census of the Hebrew *families* in the desert (xlix. 22; Deut. xxxiii. 13, 17; Num. xxvi. 28; comp. 1 Chron. xii.); whereas, in the political or military arrangements of the community, Manasseh and Ephraim are stated separately, because there Levi is not mentioned as an independent tribe (comp. Josh. xiv. *et seq.*). But nobody will seriously contend, that this *ideal* or *literary* consideration exercised any decisive influence on the real and actual distribution of the Hebrew people; or that

whenever a minor tribe became unable to maintain its independence, the bipartition of a more powerful one necessarily took place: for though, for instance, the tribe of Simeon gradually became so insignificant that it almost merged in that of Judah (comp. on xlix. 5—7), no new tribe was on that account formed to replace it.

We may, therefore, thus historically explain the origin of the two tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh. The descendants of Joseph grew, at an early period, into one of the most numerous tribes of the Hebrews. In the second year after the departure from Egypt they counted 72,700 warriors, whilst the tribe of Judah consisted only of 47,600 (Num. i. 27, 33, 35): at the end of the wanderings, when the census was taken in the plains of Moab, their number was 85,200, against 76,500 of Judah (Num. xxvi. 22, 34, 37): their influence was powerful enough to cause some important modifications in the social and agrarian constitution of the people (Num. xxxvi. 1—5): and the number of the soldiers capable of assisting David in the establishment of his dynasty was 38,800, exclusive of the men of Manasseh in the east of the Jordan; whereas the armed force of Judah is stated at 6,800 (1 Chr. xii. 24, 30, 31, 37). The authority of the sheikh or the chief of the tribe was, in a material point of view, so limited, and rested so essentially on purely moral influence, that it was unable to unite and to govern so large a population, as soon as several families, stimulated by ambition, and confiding in their own power, rose in rivalry, and disputed with each other the first rank in the community. Such opposition existed, indeed, within the tribe of Judah also; it is embodied in his earliest genealogy, in the birth of the

multiply thee, and I will make of thee a multitude of people; and will give this land to thy seed after thee *for* an everlasting possession. 5. And now thy two sons, who were born to thee in the land of Egypt before I came to thee into Egypt, *are* mine; Ephraim and Manasseh shall be mine, like Reuben and Simeon. 6. But thy issue,

*twins*, Perez and Zerah, after the destruction of Er and Onan, and in the impetuous struggle of Perez, which caused "a breach" in his house (see pp. 626, 690). But it appears that the geographical position of the province of Judah, extending to the very borders of the desert, and exposing the territory to perpetual invasions of daring and valiant tribes from the south and east, forced the people from the beginning to a closer organisation and a stricter unity, naturally much increased when Judah became the ruling tribe, and the centre of a powerful kingdom, with a large army and a strong executive. But in the tribe of Joseph, the most determined emulation of different branches seems to have commenced at a very early stage of Hebrew history; and it is here embodied in the preference which Jacob gave to the younger Ephraim, but which at first was not approved of by Joseph himself (vers. 17—19). Nor was the rivalry within that tribe confined to the families of Manasseh and Ephraim; other branches aspired later to a distinguished position, and even to independence; but they were at length compelled permanently to range themselves under one or the other of the two chief divisions. These interesting facts seem to be referred to in the words of Jacob: "But thy issue which thou hast begotten after them, shall be thine; they shall be called after the name of their brothers in their inheritance" (ver. 6). Thus we need not be surprised that, in the Old Testament, other sons of Joseph besides Ephraim and Manasseh are nowhere mentioned; the families represented by them, though at one period ambitiously entering the lists in the contest for superiority, were later so completely absorbed in the larger com-

munities, that they ceased to possess any individual distinction or power, and ultimately vanished from the public rolls.

When the commotion among the people of Joseph had in a great measure subsided, and the internal struggle gave way to a greater consolidation of parties, two groups of families remained to dispute with each other the chief authority. Neither of them, however, possessed for a considerable time sufficient power to force the other into submission. For their relative influence underwent very material fluctuations. While, shortly after the exodus from Egypt, the Ephraimites surpassed the men of Manasseh in numerical strength by upwards of 8,000 soldiers, and then bore one of the four great banners of the Hebrew hosts, with Manasseh and Benjamin following their standard; the men of Manasseh, immediately before the entrance into Canaan, exceeded the Ephraimites by more than 20,000 men (Num. i. 33,35; x. 22—24; xxvi. 34,37; cf. Ps. lxxx. 2): which changes, though very considerable, may be readily accounted for by the supposition that the minor families, in our chapter called the *later* or younger branches (ver. 6), now joined Ephraim, and now Manasseh. A spirit of jealousy was roused, and imperceptibly wrought mutual estrangement. Thus it was not only natural, but almost inevitable, considering the unsettled condition of the Hebrews in the earliest periods of the conquest, that these two groups of clans should constitute themselves into two separate communities, with independent internal organisations, or that *they should form two distinct tribes*. The division was confirmed by several collateral circumstances. A large portion of the people of Manasseh felt a predilection for

which thou hast begotten after them, shall be thine; they shall be called after the name of their brothers in their inheritance. 7. And as for me, when I came from Padan, I saw Rachel die in the land of Canaan on the way, when *there was* still a distance of land to come to Ephrath: and I buried her there on the way of Ephrath, that is Beth-

breeding of cattle; when they, therefore, on their way from Egypt to Canaan, found the districts of Gilead abounding in choice pasture grounds, they there took up their abodes, together with the men of Reuben and Gad: while the whole of the Ephraimites, preferring the excitement of war and adventure, passed the Jordan to acquire wealth and territory. A union between the two rival families could now scarcely any longer be contemplated or expected; and the circumstance that the separation originated considerably before the conquest of Canaan, and already in the east of the Jordan, throws light upon the fact, that it is in our section traced back to Jacob himself, who alludes to the *future* occupation of the Holy Land (ver. 22; see *infra*). It is true, that one part of the men of Manasseh settled likewise in the west of the Jordan; but, in doing this, they maintained the distinction between the two tribes which had then been long and firmly established. This is certain from an occurrence preserved in the book of the Judges. When the Midianites oppressed and in every way annoyed the Israelites, Gideon, the son of Abi-ezer, from the town Ophrah, *in the western part of Manasseh* (Judg. vi. 11, 15, 24; compare viii. 4), gathered the soldiers of the northern provinces, and totally defeated the Midianites and their powerful and most numerous allies (vi. 3, 5, 33, 35; vii. 12, etc.). But *he did not invite the Ephraimites* to take part in the battles; although a due regard for the success of his expedition later urged him to ask their assistance for the persecution of the fleeing enemy (vii. 24). This event shows, likewise, why a part of the people of Manasseh, not sharing the taste of the rest for nomadic pursuits, but more

intent upon military fame, had, like the Ephraimites, left the eastern provinces and sought lands in the west. The victories of Gideon were, indeed, among the most glorious feats performed in the time of the Judges, and they were long remembered with praise and enthusiastic admiration (compare Pa. lxxxiii. 10, 12; Isai. ix. 4; x. 26). They inspired such confidence and respect, that the greater portion of the Israelites spontaneously offered to the hero the royal dignity, and promised to make it hereditary in his family (Judg. viii. 21). But Gideon, modest and unostentatious by nature (Judg. vi. 15), felt that prudence recommended him to decline the tempting honour. For the jealous rivalry within the tribe of Joseph, or between the branches of Manasseh and Ephraim, had continued in the west, as it had commenced in the east of the Jordan. Ephraim coveted and acquired cities within the boundaries of Manasseh; whereas Manasseh occupied important parts of the territory of Issachar and Asher (Josh. xvii. 9, 11). But it may be readily imagined, that in the west the Ephraimites maintained an easy ascendancy over the men of Manasseh, who were separated from a large portion of their kinsmen, from whom they could not even expect any moral support: for the two tribes and a half in the east of the river, afraid that living far from the holy Tabernacle of the Lord, they might be regarded as dwelling in an unclean land, found it advisable to erect a conspicuous altar to the God of Israel, lest at some future period they should either be required to emigrate from their property and to settle in the west, or should be deemed not to belong to the worshippers of God and to the chosen people, because they were

lehem.—8. And Israel saw Joseph's sons, and said, Who *are* these? 9. And Joseph said to his father, They *are* my sons, whom God hath given me here. And he said, Bring them, I pray thee, to me, and I will bless them. 10. But the eyes of Israel were dim from old age, *so that* he could not see. And he brought them near to him;

secluded from the rest by the river Jordan (Josh. xxli. 9—34). The Ephraimites, therefore, indignant that they had not been allowed to take a chief part in the wars against the Midianites, and apprehending that triumphs so signal and essential might secure to Manasseh a decided preponderance; severely and in the authoritative tone of conscious superiority, argued on that account with Gideon, who knew no other mode of appeasing their exasperation and gratifying their vanity, than by humbly acknowledging that their deeds had, in fact, been more important than his own. "What have I done," said he, "in comparison to you? Is not the gleanings of the grapes of Ephraim better than the vintage of Abi-aser?" (Judg. viii. 1—3). When, therefore, the crown was placed within his reach, afraid of rousing civil discord, and certain that the formation of a Hebrew monarchy would be premature, he replied: "God shall rule over you" (Judg. viii. 22); and thus endeavoured to strengthen the theocratical views of the nation. It appears, that at this time the prosperity and fame of both Manasseh and Ephraim were so considerable and so universally acknowledged, that then the blessing, mentioned in our narrative, became proverbial in Israel: "May the Lord make thee like Ephraim and Manasseh" (ver. 20); but the precedence in this formula assigned to the younger Ephraim points to his greater material power. However, the services which Gideon had rendered to the Hebrew tribes, were so considerable, and the veneration for his name became so deep and strong, that after his death, his sons, though living at Ophrah in Manasseh, exercised over Ephraim a moral influence powerful enough to be regarded as equivalent to

royalty (Judg. ix. 2, 5). But it was impossible that this dependence, however lenient, should be long tolerated by the proud Ephraimites, so jealously watchful of their dignity. They, therefore, enabled Abimelech to gather troops, by the aid of which nearly the whole house of Gideon was extirpated (Judg. ix. 1—5). This deed is historically of peculiar importance. It marks the point, from which the power of Manasseh was more and more weakened, while that of Ephraim was more and more confirmed. Nor was any individual better fitted to indicate that transition than Abimelech, belonging to Manasseh by his father Gideon, and connected with Ephraim by his mother from Shechem (Judg. viii. 31). Henceforth the influence of the Ephraimites was so constantly progressive, that it soon obscured, and almost absorbed, not only the fraternal branch of Manasseh, but nearly all the northern and eastern tribes. Great reminiscences helped to give prestige to their name. Joshua, the conqueror of Canaan, was sprung from their tribe; Deborah, the sublime and heroic, judged within their territory; and soon Samuel, the man of undaunted energy, the true founder of an organised Hebrew commonwealth, was to be born in the same boundaries (1 Sam. i. 1; Josh. xxiv. 30; Judg. iv. 5; comp. v. 14). The immediate consequence of Abimelech's carnage in Manasseh was his elevation to the throne; proclaimed king in Shechem, "he reigned over Israel three years" (Judges ix. 6, 22). But, though he was not possessed of qualities and virtues either for permanently maintaining or for rendering popular the monarchical form of government, he had given an example which, in due time, was revived and followed. The tribe of

and he kissed them, and embraced them. 11. And Israel said to Joseph, I had not hoped to see thy face; and, behold, God hath allowed me to see thy seed also. 12. And Joseph brought them forth from his knees, and he prostrated himself before his face to the ground. 13. And Joseph took them both, Ephraim in his right hand towards

Ephraim, continuing its internal development, had in the latter part of the period of the Judges, grown so much in power and self-reliance, that it ventured to inveigh against Jephthah, after his brilliant victories over the Ammonites, in almost the same haughty language in which it had before indulged against Gideon, and from the same motives of jealous rivalry; though the ungovernable temper of Jephthah took severe and sanguinary revenge for that presumption (Judg. xii. 1—6). When, by a series of circumstances, the explanation of which would be foreign to our subject, the tribe of Judah, one of the first to conquer and to settle in western Canaan (Judg. i. 1, 2), arrived at royal power; the Ephraimites, after a short resistance in favour of Ishbosheth, acknowledged indeed the sceptre of David, like all the other tribes (2 Sam. ii. 8, 9, 10; v. 1—5): but even then continuing to foster their ambitious plans of sovereignty, and assuming the same attitude of opposition against Judah which they had before successfully occupied against Manasseh, they seized the very first opportunity offered by the neglect and failings of David's immediate successors, to place themselves at the head of the northern part of the people, which even in the time of that great monarch had claimed the larger share of political authority (2 Sam. xix. 41—43); and they established an independent kingdom, with an efficient army and a strong administration. Jeroboam, the first sovereign, in order to make the separation more decided by breaking the most powerful link of union, organised a distinct religious worship in Ephraim, forbidding his subjects to visit the temple of Jerusalem (comp. 1 Ki. xi. 26, *et seq.*; xii.). From

this time Ephraim was acknowledged as the dominant tribe of the north; it was not only designated with the name "house of Joseph" (Ezek. xxxvii. 16; Am. v. 6; Rev. vii. 8), though this term originally, of course, comprised Manasseh also (Josh. xviii. 5; Judg. i. 22, 23); but "Ephraim" became the name of the whole northern empire (Isai. vii. 2; Hos. iv. 17; v. 9; xii. 1; Zech. ix. 10, 13), which was so important in territory and population, that it assumed for itself alone or received the general and honoured appellation of "Israel" (2 Sam. ii. 9, 10, 17; Jer. iii. 6, 8, 11, etc.), and that its re-union with the empire of Judah formed one of the most fervent hopes of the prophets in their descriptions of the strength and glory of the Hebrews (Isai. xi. 13; Ezek. xxxvii. 15—22, 24, etc.). These facts sufficiently prove the vast ascendancy which the younger branch of Joseph's house ultimately obtained over the older lines; and if we add to this, that the province of Ephraim, partly conquered from a mighty enemy, and partly reclaimed from a primeval wilderness (Joshua xvii. 14—19), was distinguished by exceeding fertility (Hos. ix. 13; Jer. i. 19); that woody mountain-chains alternated with grassy highlands and luxurious plains and valleys; that numerous brooks rendered the labours of agriculture both easy and productive (comp. xlix. 25, 26; Deut. xxxiii. 13—16); and that, therefore, it was, in ancient times, as it is still, one of the most cultivated parts of Palestine (comp. *Jos. Ant. V. i. 22*); that it contained the sacred mountains, Ebal and Gerizim, and many towns of the greatest political and religious importance, as Shiloh, for a very considerable time the station of the Tabernacle; further, Bethel, Ramah,

Israel's left hand, and Manasseh in his left hand towards Israel's right hand, and brought them near to him. 14. And Israel stretched out his right hand, and laid *it* upon Ephraim's head, who *was* the younger, and his left hand upon Manasseh's head, laying on his hands deliberately; for Manasseh *was* the firstborn. 15. And he blessed

and Shechem, each of which could boast of a long and varied history (comp. pp. 331, 335); and that it occupied a central position, peculiarly favourable to the extension and maintenance of dominion: we shall understand the force of Jacob's words, when Joseph reminded him of the birthright of Manasseh: "I know it, my son, I know it: he also shall become a people, and he also shall be great: but truly his younger brother shall be greater than he, and his seed shall become an abundance of people" (ver. 19). It will, further, be understood, on the one hand, that the division of the tribe of Joseph was more than "a political, priestly, or mythical, idea" (*Hüllmann*, *Staatsverf.*, p. 76; *Böhlen*, *Gen.* p. 432); and on the other hand, that it does not involve a formal transfer of the primogeniture from Reuben, who had forfeited it by immorality (xliv. 4), upon Joseph, accordingly receiving two portions, or made the father of two tribes (ver. 22; comp. *Deut.* xxi. 16, 17; *Baumgarten*, *Gen.* p. 359, and many others); for the words "Ephraim and Manasseh shall be mine like Reuben and Simeon" (ver. 5) signify, that the former two *grand-sons* of Jacob shall be regarded as founders of separate tribes exactly like all his *sons*; it seems, indeed, that a later time adopted the view just referred to; but the first Book of Chronicles (v. 1, 2), which makes that statement, by adding, that "the genealogies were not reckoned after the birthright of Joseph," sufficiently indicates that his primogeniture was never *practically* acknowledged, but that it was supposed as a *historical theory*, in order to account for, or to justify, by a familiar and plausible notion, the *historical fact* of the double tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh: and in the chapter under consideration,

we find no allusion whatever to such conception (see *infra*, comp. *Ezek.* xlvii. 13). It must, however, be observed, in conclusion, that this section does not refer to events later than the second part of the Judges, when Ephraim had triumphed over the competition of Manasseh, and had secured a proud position among the northern tribes: it does not allude to the rupture with Judah (comp. xxxviii. 29); nor to the idolatrous worship in the empire of Israel (comp. 1 *Ki.* xii. 26—33); nor to the *kings* who would spring from Ephraim (ver. 19; comp. xvii. 6, 16; xxxv. 11; xlix. 26); and though the two former points may have been designedly suppressed in the *blessing* of Joseph; yet, if considered in connection with the third omission, they are of decided importance for the chronology of this chapter.

We have now but briefly to consider our narrative in its connection with the lives of the patriarchs.

When illness supervened to the increasing weakness of Jacob, and threatened to accelerate his dissolution (comp. xlvii. 29—31); Joseph hastened to him from the royal residence, stimulated partly by filial love, and partly by the desire of conferring with him on a subject of the very highest moment for the future of his house. He had married an *Egyptian* wife, and had by her, during his separation from his family, and in a foreign land, become the father of his two first-born sons. Therefore, not groundlessly apprehending that his children might be excluded from the hopes and the promised inheritance of the Hebrews; he brought Ephraim and Manasseh, then about twenty years old (comp. xli. 50), before Jacob, in order to obtain his pledge of their unqualified admission as members



Joseph, and said, God, before whom my fathers Abraham and Isaac walked, the God who was my shepherd from my birth to this day; 16. The Angel who redeemed me from all evil, may bless the youths; and let in them my name be called, and the name of my fathers Abraham and Isaac; and let them increase into a vast multitude in the midst

of his house (ver. 1). But these thoughts had occupied Jacob not less seriously than Joseph. When he, therefore, was informed of his son's visit, he was determined finally to arrange the matter (ver. 2). In order to prove that he was invested with the lawful authority for unrestricted decision, he mentioned the manifestation of God which, after the period of his internal repentance and atonement, had been granted to him at Bethel, in confirmation of a Divine vision before accorded to him at the same place, when on his flight from Canaan to Mesopotamia (xxxv. 11, 12; comp. xxviii. 13—15). In virtue of the blessings which he then received, as the spiritual heir of Abraham and Isaac, he was enabled to bestow blessings on his own descendants; and in virtue of the promise which was then made to him regarding the possession of Canaan, he was entitled to divide the land among his progeny according to his own option (vers. 3, 4). He, therefore, adopted the two eldest sons of Joseph, securing to them in every respect equal rights with his own sons, and appointing them as the chiefs over their younger brothers (vers. 5, 6). Thus Joseph obtained from his father even more than he had intended to solicit. It can scarcely be doubted, that this great partiality in favour of Joseph is in our narrative understood as an acknowledgment of his eminent services for his family, of his noble character, and of his unchanged piety in spite of the temptations of a brilliant position: but it cannot be conceived as a "substitution of the prerogatives of merit for those of nature"; for, as we have remarked, the transaction recorded in our chapter does not imply a change in the primogeniture, which, according to the Mosaic law, could not be trans-

ferred from the firstborn of the less beloved to the firstborn of the more favoured wife (Deut. xxi. 15—17). Yet it appears that Jacob was rejoiced at the opportunity of distinguishing the eldest son of Rachel, whom, after the lapse of so many years, he still loved with undiminished affection. He felt that he honoured her memory by the peculiar privilege which he granted to Joseph. If these were his sentiments, it was but natural that he should, on that occasion, mention Rachel; and as his thoughts had long since wandered to his eternal rest, and he had shown such deep anxiety with regard to the place of his own burial, he, in sorrowful terms, reminded Joseph that his mother had been interred in a forlorn spot; and he described it with all possible distinctness, that he might help to protect it against oblivion (ver. 7; comp. xxxv. 16—20). The allusion, therefore, to Rachel's grave, forms an essential part of the patriarch's last instructions.

Only after he had, of his own accord, fulfilled the secret wish of Joseph, he noticed the presence of Manasseh and Ephraim; for his eyes were dim with old age (comp. xxvii. 1; 1 Sam. iii. 2; 1 Ki. xiv. 4, etc.); and breaking forth in spontaneous expressions of gratitude to God who had so marvellously guided Joseph and himself, he intimated his intention of blessing his grand-sons (vers. 8—12). Joseph is not represented as endowed with the gift of prophecy, or as favoured with direct Divine inspirations (see pp. 607, 608). He expected, therefore, that the greater blessing would be bestowed upon his firstborn son, Manasseh. But Jacob, capable of penetrating with his mental eye into unborn ages, gave the preference to Ephraim, because he knew, that though the younger son, he would found the more

of the land.—17. And when Joseph saw that his father laid his right hand upon the head of Ephraim, it displeased him: and he held up his father's hand to remove it from Ephraim's head to Manasseh's head. 18. And Joseph said to his father, Not so, my father: for this is the first-born; put thy right hand upon his head. 19. And his

powerful tribe. He designedly laid his right hand upon the head of Ephraim, and his left upon the head of Manasseh (vers. 13, 14). The imposition of hands (כַּחֲמַיִם, *chuphoesia*), an old symbol of conferring certain powers or blessings, and forming a part of the sacrificial ritual also, became later, both in the Synagogue and the Church, a usual mode of initiation into sacred offices, but was discontinued among the Jews about the year 350 of the vulgar era, in the time of the patriarch Hillel II. (comp. Num. viii. 10, 12; xxvii. 18, 23; Deut. xxxiv. 9; Matt. xix. 13, 15; Acts vi. 6; viii. 17; 1 Tim. iv. 14; v. 22; *Buxtorf*, Lex. Talm. p. 1498; *Bähr*, Symbol. ii. 291, 306, 338—343). The right hand was naturally regarded as superior to the left (comp. 1 Ki. ii. 19; Ps. xlv. 10; ex. 1, 15; *De Wette*, Psalmen p. 500); and in auguries, it was considered as auspicious, while the left was generally held ominous (comp. יָמִין, *right hand* and *happiness*; Isai. lxii. 8; Eccl. x. 2).—Jacob pronounced the benediction in measured language, and with threefold invocation. As he viewed the *religious truth*, understood and cherished by his ancestors, as the source of all true blessings, he began by commending the happiness of his grand-sons to the God of Abraham and of Isaac: but gratefully remembering that the same Deity, through His visible aid and agency, had beneficently watched over his own chequered career, both by satisfying his *material wants*, and his *moral cravings*, leading him from poverty to wealth, from dangers to safety, and from sin to peace and harmony of mind; he concluded with two corresponding supplications to "God the shepherd" who "had brought him to green pastures and to waters of rest, who had dispelled his

fears even when threatened with the shadow of death, and who had guided him in the path of righteousness for His name's sake" (Ps. xxiii. 1—4; lxxx. 2). After so much mercy, he might well indulge in the hope, that his house would grow into a numerous and flourishing community; and he might think himself entitled to expect the glorification of his family, in an eminent degree, from the descendants of that favourite son who, by his wisdom and his virtues, had made the Hebrew name illustrious over the whole globe (vers. 15, 16). Joseph might well wonder at the marked preference given to the younger son (vers. 17, 18). What had Ephraim done to deserve the distinction? and what had Manasseh committed to forfeit it? We have, indeed, on more than one previous occasion seen the superiority transferred from the elder to the younger brother; as in the instance of Cain and Abel, of Ishmael and Isaac, and of Esau and Jacob; but in all these cases there existed some obvious reason to justify the change; it was base jealousy which rendered Cain unworthy of the Divine favour (see p. 136); Ishmael, the son of a bondswoman, preferred the life of the marauding archer in the desert to the peaceful pursuits of the nomad (see p. 378); and Esau showed a most blameable indifference to the higher or spiritual privileges of his family (see p. 490; comp. p. 663). But no reproach whatever attaches to Manasseh, whom, indeed, Joseph seems to have loved fondly, and whose prerogatives he was anxious to protect. If, therefore, the transaction related in our chapter were simply a personal occurrence in the house of Jacob, the preference accorded to Ephraim would be arbitrary partiality, which could but vaguely be palliated by

father refused, and said, I know *it*, my son, I know *it*: he also shall become a people, and he also shall be great: but his younger brother shall be greater than he, and his seed shall become an abundance of people. 20. And he blessed them on that day, saying, By thee shall Israel bless, say-

the idea that it was an election by the grace of God, and as such not subject to the ordinary standard of human justice and the test of human reason. But this defect in the composition loses its weight if it is remembered that our narrative is designed to embody, in a transparently prophetic form, the undeniable historical facts which we have above developed. When, therefore, Joseph desired to redress what he believed to be a serious and untoward mistake on the part of Jacob, the latter repeated in emphatic words what he had before but generally expressed by a symbol, and added another formal blessing, which later became proverbial in Israel, and in which he advisedly mentioned the younger before the elder brother (vers. 17—20; comp. ver. 5; Dent. xxxiii. 17).—As he thus had adopted Ephraim and Manasseh as his own sons (comp. ver. 5), it might appear that he intended Joseph to form *three* tribes; but as this was not the case, he found it necessary to add, that Joseph should receive *one* portion (שָׁכֵם) more than his brothers in the land which he was certain would, after severe and protracted warfare, be conquered from the Canaanites (vers 21, 22; comp. ver. 4; xli. 4).

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS. — וַיֵּאמֶר (vers. 1, 2) is used in intransitive signification, like וַיֵּדַע (ver. 2); Sept. ἀπεγγεῖλε; Onk. אִיתְאָמַר; comp. xi. 9; xxxv. 8, p. 587.—About Luz or Bethel, see p. 335.—מְוֹלָדָת (ver. 6) is *progeny*; comp. Lev. xviii. 9.—The words וְאִשְׁר הוּלָדָת need not to be rendered, “if thou shouldst later beget any” (Onk. and Jon. רְתוּלִיד; Sept. ἢ ἰὰν γενήσῃς; Vulg. quos genueris, etc.), which would assume a very anomalous meaning of the preterite (הוּלָדָת): they may be simply translated, “which thou hast begotten,” though no other names of

Joseph’s sons, except Ephraim and Manasseh, are preserved in the Bible (see p. 711).—Many conjectures have been ventured to account for the mentioning of Rachel’s death and grave (ver. 7); but they are too curious and artificial to be plausible. It is frequently asserted that Jacob, in adopting Ephraim and Manasseh, intended, as it were, to increase the children of Rachel, who was the mother of two sons only. But the seventh verse, which speaks of Rachel, contains no allusion whatever to the adoption.—פָּרָן, instead of אָרָם פָּרָן (xxv. 20; xxviii. 2, 5—7).—עָלַי is like the *dativus ethicus* in Greek (*Hom.*, Od. iv. 569, etc.; comp. *Hor.*, Ep. I. iii. 15; Gen. xxxi. 41; *Gesen.*, *Lehrg.* p. 736); it is scarcely “near me,” or, “at my side”; and much less implies the notion of *suddenness* (comp. Num. vi. 9).—About כְּבֵרֶת אֶרֶץ, see p. 589; and about Ephrath or Bethlehem, p. 588.—בְּיָזָה (ver. 9) is *here*; Onk. הִכָּא; comp. xxxviii. 21; Num. xxi. 19; and הֵנָּה hence, xxxvii. 17; xlii. 15, etc.—רָאָה (ver. 11), instead of רָאִיתָ; comp. קָלָה, Prov. xvi. 16, and, on the other hand, נִשְׁתָּח, Isa. xxi. 13, instead of נִשְׁתָּחָה.—The subject to וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוּ (ver. 12) is Joseph; the Sept., Samar., Vulg., Syr., and others, render the plural, and refer it to the sons.—The words שָׁבַל אֶת־יָדָיו (ver. 14) are almost like a parenthesis, explaining the preceding part of the sentence. The Piel שָׁבַל occurs in this passage only; it is, therefore, but natural that it should have been understood to have *originally* the meaning obviously required by the context, namely, to *cross* the hands, to which the

Arabic verb شَكَلَ, to *bind* or *twine*, has been compared. Thus translate Sept. (ἰναλλάξ or ἰναλλάξας τὰς χεῖρας); Vulg. (*commutans manus*); Targ. Jon. and Jer.

ing, May God make thee as Ephraim and Manasseh: and he put Ephraim before Manasseh. 21. And Israel said to Joseph, Behold, I die: but God will be with you, and bring you back to the land of your fathers. 22. And I give to thee one portion above thy brethren, which I take

(פרנ ית ידיו). But it is safer to adhere to the sense in which the root שכל is used in the Old Testament, and to attribute to the Piel the meaning in which the Hiphil is often employed, namely, to *attend to something*, or to *act wisely*; so that שכל would be, "he laid on his hands *deliberately*"; so translate Onk. אחכמנו (לדוהי), Gr. Ver. (ἐφένωσε τὰ χεῖρε), *Suad., Rashi, Ebn Ezra*, and others; comp. פיהו, לב חכם ישכיל פיהו, Prov. xvi. 23.—As the *angel* of God, or His visible manifestation, appears often identical with God Himself (see p. 399); it cannot be surprising to find, first אלהים and then המלאך, as subjects to the same predicate, יברך (vers. 15, 16): it is, therefore, not necessary to consider the fifteenth verse as incomplete or elliptical, and to render "God may bless the youths *through His angel*" (comp. xxiv. 7); nor is the particular angel here alluded to who wrestled with the patriarch on his return from Mesopotamia (xxxii. 23—29). The reading of the Samar. Cod. המלך is suspicious and otherwise unsupported.—In pronouncing the benediction over Ephraim and Manasseh, Jacob blesses Joseph himself (ver. 15; אה יוסף; Sept. *αβρούς*; Vulg. *filiis Josephi*).—מעור is "since my being or existing" (ex quo sum); Onk. מראיתני; Sept. *ἀνέστης μου*; comp. Num. xxii. 30.—The words, "my name shall be called in them" (ver. 16), do not refer to the kingdom of Ephraim, which assumed the name of the empire of *Israel*, in opposition to that *Judah*; for they are followed by the words, "and the names of my fathers, Abraham and Isaac," and this chapter does not point to the time of the divided monarchy (p. 715): they express only the wish that the race of Abraham may be propagated by them, and flourish in their descendants (comp. Deut. xxviii.

10, etc.).—מלא הנוים (ver. 19) is synonymous with המון נויים (xvii. 5), a multitude of people; comp. Isai. xxxi. 4, where מלא רעים and המון stand in parallelism; Onkelos renders freely שליטין בעממא.—The phrase בך יברך (ver. 20) is different from בך נברכו (xii. 3), or בך יתברכו (xxii. 18; xxvi. 4); for the tribe of Joseph was only regarded as an *example* of prosperity for the rest of the Hebrews, whereas the Israelites were viewed as the *cause* of blessing for all the other nations (comp. p. 336).—As Jacob gives his instructions concerning the *future* division of the land of Canaan (ver. 21), it must be observed with regard to his concluding words (ver. 22). 1. The preterite לקחתי has the sense of a future ("I shall take"); for as the conquest of Canaan had so repeatedly been promised by God both to himself and to his ancestors (comp. ver. 4), his believing mind considered it then already as accomplished: a use of the "perfectum propheticum," analogous to the "præsens visionis propheticae" in Latin (comp. Isai. v. 13; xi. 1, 2, 6, etc.; *Hor. Od. I. xv. 9*, 10, etc.). 2. *Past* events are here certainly not alluded to; for the additional portion (שכם), accorded to Joseph, cannot be the piece of ground near Shechem where Jacob had dwelt after his safe return from Haran (John iv. 5), and where, indeed, Joseph's remains were later interred (Josh. xxiv. 32); for this the patriarch had not acquired "by his sword and his bow," but purchased from Hamor for a hundred kesitahs (xxxiii. 19): nor is it the town Shechem itself, which Jacob did not consider as his property, since he abhorred and denounced the sanguinary attack made upon it by Simeon and Levi, and from the vicinity of which he had removed from fear of the surrounding tribes (comp.

out of the hand of the Amorite with my sword and with my bow.

xxxiv. 30). The word שֵׁכֶם, therefore, signifies here a *share*; it is originally *shoulder*, and hence metaphorically *tract of land*; like שֵׁכֶם, Josh. xv. 8, 10; xviii. 12, 13, etc.; comp. Num. xxxiv. 11; Dent. xxxiii. 12; Isai. xi. 14; so also *dorsum, terga montia*, مَنكَب, etc. Yet as

Shechem was one of the chief towns of Ephraim (see pp. 331—333· compare Josh. xxi. 20, 21; xx. 7), the word שֵׁכֶם seems to be designedly used in order to recall it into the reader's mind by the ambiguity of the term. Several of the ancient versions have rendered the sense correctly (Onk. חלק חר יתיר על אחר; Syr. مَنكَب; Vulg. partem unam; Gr. Ven. μερίδα

μὲν, etc.); whereas others understand the town Shechem (Sept. Σίχημα ἑκατέρων, κ. τ. λ., whence this acceptance, no doubt, passed into the New Testament, comp. John iv. 5; *Jon.* ית קרתא דשכם, but adding חולק חר למתנא יתיר על—“addition to,” “above”; comp. Pa. cxxxvii. 6; Eccl. i. 16, etc. To the phrase, “with my sword and my bow” (בחרבי ובקשתי) compare Ex. xxiii. 23, 27, 28; Josh. xi. 19; 2 Ki. vi. 22; Onk. interprets wrongly “by my prayer and my supplication.”—That the *Amorites*, the most powerful of the tribes of Canaan, are employed for all the heathen inhabitants of the land, has been observed above (p. 272; comp. xv. 16; 1 Sam. vii. 14, etc.).

## VI.—JACOB'S LAST ADDRESS, DEATH, AND BURIAL; JOSEPH'S LAST INJUNCTIONS.

### CHAPTERS XLIX AND L.

## CHAPTER XLIX.

### THE LAST ADDRESS OF JACOB, VERS. 1—28.

#### INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

A belief prevailed among nearly all ancient nations, that the human mind, at the approaching hour of death, is capable of penetrating into the mysteries of the future, and of distinctly revealing them in prophetic speech. We are on this point not restricted to obscure inferences. We find the idea clearly and explicitly stated by more than one classical author. Cicero<sup>1</sup> observes: “When death is near, the mind assumes a much more divine character; and at such times, easily predicts the future.”<sup>2</sup> Socrates, when defending himself in the capital charge preferred against him, and foreseeing a condemnatory verdict, is recorded to have reminded the judges, that with death before his eyes, he was in that state which enables men to utter prophecies.<sup>3</sup> Xenophon relates, in his “Institution of Cyrus,” that this prince, when feeling his impending dissolution, summoned his sons and friends to his death-bed; and, in order to impress

<sup>1</sup> De Divinat. i. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Idque facilius evenit appropinquante morte, ut animi futura augurentur.

<sup>3</sup> Plat., Apol. i. p. 90, Bip.: Ἐνταῦθα γίγνεται ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα ἄνθρωποι χροσμεδούσιν ὅταν μέλλωσιν ἀποθανεῖσθαι.

upon them the doctrine of immortality, used the following argument: "Nothing resembles death more closely than sleep; but it is in sleep that the soul of man appears most divine, and it is then that it foresees something of the future; for then, as it seems, it is most free.<sup>4</sup> In a perfectly analogous manner, Pythagoras and other philosophers, according to Diodorus Siculus, considered it a natural consequence of the belief in immortality, that the soul, in the moment of death, becomes conscious of future events.<sup>5</sup>—In harmony with these views, Greek and Roman writers not unfrequently introduce persons in the last stage of their existence predicting the destinies of those survivors who at that time particularly absorb their attention. Patroclus, mortally wounded, foretells, in Homer's *Iliad*,<sup>6</sup> the immediate death of Hector, from the hand of Achilles; and when this prophecy was literally verified, Hector, in his last moments, augurs that Apollo and Paris would, at the Scæan gate, soon destroy Achilles, who, convinced of the truth and reality of such forebodings, exclaims: "I shall accept my fate whenever Jupiter and the other immortal gods choose to inflict it."<sup>7</sup> In the *Æneid* of Virgil, the expiring Dido, prophesies, not only the chief incidents in the future life of Æneas, his laborious and exhausting wars with Turnus, the Rutulians, and the Latins; his separation from his beloved son, Iulus, when imploring assistance in Etruria; and his early death, unhonoured by the sacred rites of sepulture: but she alludes to the inextinguishable hatred and the sanguinary enmity that would rage between the Romans and the Carthaginians, and to Hannibal himself, who would avenge her sufferings, and as a fearful scourge of war, desolate the beautiful plains of Italy;<sup>8</sup> a subject continued by a later writer, Silius Italicus, who depicts the subsequent misfortunes of the Carthaginian hero, his flight, exile, and violent death.<sup>9</sup> In the same epic poem, Orodes, before closing his eyes in death, threatens his victorious antagonist, Mezentius, that he would not long enjoy his triumph, but would soon also be hurled into the lower regions: which menace, indeed, Mezentius haughtily scorns; but recognising the possibility of its fulfilment, he laughs "with mixed wrath."<sup>10</sup> Posidonius makes mention of a man of Rhodes, who not long before his demise, stated the exact order in which six of his friends would successively die.<sup>11</sup> When Alexander the Great, at the termination of his days, was asked, whom he appointed his successor, he replied "the best; for I foresee that great funeral games will be celebrated for me by my friends;" and this remark is adduced by Diodorus as an example of the astonishing realisation of prophecies pronounced shortly before death.<sup>12</sup> And Cicero, extending the same power of presentiment to perfectly uncivilised tribes, mentions the uneducated Indian Calanus, who, when about to burn himself, predicted the almost immediate death of the Macedonian monarch.<sup>13</sup>

Similar notions, entertained by the Hebrews also, particularly recommended the insertion of a comprehensive prophecy, addressed by Jacob to his assembled children, when on the verge of his grave.<sup>14</sup> It is true, that we have, in the preceding parts of Genesis, met with more than one passage where later historical facts are unmistakably represented in the form of prophecy,<sup>15</sup> a mode of writing naturally chosen with

<sup>4</sup> *Xenoph.* Cyr. VIII. vii. 21.

<sup>5</sup> *Diod. Sic.* xviii. 1: ... τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπάρχειν ἀθανάτους, ἀκολούθως δὲ τῇ δόγματι τοῦτο καὶ προγινώσκειν αὐτὰς τὰ μέλλοντα καθ' ὃν ἂν καιρὸν ἐν τῇ τελευτῇ τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος χωρισμὸν ποιῶνται.

<sup>6</sup> xvi. 851—854.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* xxii. 355—360, 365, 366.

<sup>8</sup> *Virg. Æn.* iv. 615—629:—

"Nullus amor populis, nec fœdera sunt,  
Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor,

Qui face Dardanios ferroque sequare colonos,

Nunc olim quocunque dabunt se tempore vires."

<sup>9</sup> *Sil. Ital.* ii. 699—707.

<sup>10</sup> *Virg. Æn.* x. 739—741.

<sup>11</sup> *Cic. De Div.* i. 30.

<sup>12</sup> *Diod. Sic.* xviii. 1.

<sup>13</sup> *Cic. De Div.* i. 23; comp. *Tusc.* ii. 22.

<sup>14</sup> *Vers.* 29, 31; xlvi. 21.

<sup>15</sup> Compare the notes on ix. 25—27;

pre-dilection by epic writers of all nations;<sup>1</sup> indeed the forty-eighth chapter, with its clearly defined history of the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh, is alone entirely sufficient to illustrate the manner in which the Pentateuch, by obvious anticipation, transfers posterior events into the lives of the patriarchs: but it will readily be conceded that the deep-rooted belief just adverted to enhances the propriety, and may have formed an additional motive, for introducing this prophetic blessing; just as, in later times, Moses, Joshua, David, and others, are related, at the approach of their death, to have blessed and exhorted the people or their children.<sup>2</sup>

Hence the fact, that not individuals, but the twelve tribes of Israel are here addressed, has been mistaken by few; and it is distinctly enough stated in the text itself.<sup>3</sup> Some, indeed, entirely denying that the poem is intended as a prophecy, find in it nothing but occurrences which happened in the land of Goshen or in the lives of the patriarchs;<sup>4</sup> while others maintain that some of the predictions have never been realized; that especially the tribe of Levi was at no period so hopelessly scattered through the land; and that, therefore, the song dates from a time "when the clerical office of the tribe of Levi was not at all expected nor even thought of." But the first verse of the chapter clearly proves that the poem is designed as a prophecy, "I shall tell you what will befall you in later days"; and the homeless dispersion of the Levites, during many generations, can be substantiated by indisputable historical evidence.<sup>5</sup> Many consider a revelation of the future altogether dangerous, since it would tend to *call forth* the predicted events. But the poem discloses its character strikingly enough in several passages, where facts happening *after the conquest of Canaan*, are plainly mentioned as *past* events: "And Issachar saw the rest, that it was good, and the land, that it was pleasant; and he bent his shoulder to bear, and became a tributary servant."<sup>6</sup> And we are certain, no one will seriously contend that Hebrew writers never employed the form of *real prophecy*, that is, of announcement of later events; so absurd an assertion would be disclaimed and refuted by a large portion of the Old Testament.<sup>7</sup>

The principal question, therefore, which now arises, is: To what period of the history of the Israelites does this portion refer? or the political condition of what age does it describe? It appears to us manifest:

1. That it does not apply to a time *anterior to Saul*; for it contains unequivocal allusions to the royal dignity in the words, "the sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor the ruler's staff from between his feet."<sup>8</sup> Ewald (Gesch. Isr. i. 91, *et seq.*) maintains that

xxv. 23; xxvii. 28, 29, 39, 40; see also Num. xxiii.; xxiv.; besides, Abraham is called "a prophet" (xx. 7); the patriarchs have Divine visions (xv. 1; xvi. 24; xli. 2, etc.), and Joseph interprets dreams in the name of God (xl. 8; xli. 16).

<sup>1</sup> We remind only of the detailed predictions which, in the *Æneid*, the manes of Anchises unfold to Æneas regarding the destinies of his immediate and later descendants down to the death of Marcellus, the youthful hero, son-in-law of Augustus, who, in the poet's time, had prematurely died; predictions which, without the knowledge of Roman history, are nearly unintelligible (*Æn.* vi. 756—892); compare also *Eurip.* *Hec.* 1259—1281; *Hor.* *Od.* I. xv.; and that most remarkable of all ancient productions in this class of composition, the fourth eclogue of Virgil, which contains a pro-

phesy of the return of the golden age, in the principal traits and the whole tenour so singularly similar to many Biblical passages, that it was extensively believed to apply to the Messiah: it certainly proves that the classical nations were not unfamiliar with even the highest form of the prophetic style (comp. *Isai.* ii. 4; vii. 14—17; ix. 1—6; xi. 1—16, etc.).

<sup>2</sup> Deut. xxxii.; xxxiii.; Josh. xxiii.; 1 Ki. ii. 1—6.

<sup>3</sup> Vers. 16, 28.

<sup>4</sup> So Hensler, Stähelin, and others.

<sup>5</sup> See notes on vers. 5—7; pp. 735—745.

<sup>6</sup> Ver. 15; comp. vers. 23, 24.

<sup>7</sup> See the references in note 15, p. 721; compare, also, 1 Sam. ii. 30—36; 1 Ki. xi. 30—39; xiv. 7—16, etc., etc.

<sup>8</sup> Ver. 10; see notes on vers. 8—12, pp. 745—752.

it points to the second part of the period of the Judges, after Gideon, during the time of Samson's power.<sup>9</sup> But his arguments are far from convincing. "The twelve tribes," he observes, "are described as living separated and dispersed, as was the case in the time of the Judges": but as long as the twelve tribes existed, they necessarily spread over the whole extent of Canaan; and "a dispersion" of the whole people is not even remotely alluded to. He continues: "A time of dissolution and of deficient national organisation is described." But the sentence just quoted from the blessing of Judah proves the contrary; it gains additional force by the words: "The children of thy father shall prostrate themselves before thee"; and the curse itself, uttered against Simeon and Levi, "I shall divide them in Jacob, and scatter them in Israel," presupposes a connected common-wealth, and represents the nation as a whole.<sup>10</sup> The assertion that this poem relates to the same age as the song of Deborah, has not been corroborated by a single argument, and it loses every probability by the circumstance, that in the lay of the prophetess the tribe of Judah is not even mentioned, while it here occupies the most prominent place. The chief stress in support of his opinion, has by that scholar been laid on the terms in which the tribe of Dan is mentioned. Such language, he contends, was only possible with reference to the time of Samson, the Danite, when the small tribe, stimulated by its heroic leader, felt courage enough to defy the powerful Philistines; the more so as the authority of Dan vanished with Samson himself. But the blessing, which on the whole is neither copious nor detailed, dwells on the great achievements of each tribe irrespective of the period in which they had been accomplished; and if Dan, after Samson's time, gained no higher distinction, there is no reason why the glory it had before attained should later fall into oblivion, or should be passed over in a poem which proposes to itself to treat of all the tribes of the Hebrew nation.

2. It does not refer to *Saul's reign*, since the tribe of Benjamin, from which this monarch had sprung, is but very briefly and almost passingly noticed (ver. 27). But Tuch<sup>11</sup> has defended that opinion, and by conjecture attributed the authorship to Samuel, "to whose person, however," as the judicious writer confesses, "we are led by no distinct trace." At that time alone, he maintains, the position of the Levites was such as to agree with the picture here drawn of their unenviable lot.<sup>12</sup> But we shall, in our remarks on the tribe of Levi, endeavour to prove that it remained in the same unsettled state even considerably after the reign of Saul.<sup>13</sup> "Though the tribes," that author further remarks, "were in possession of the land, they were still compelled to defend their territory by warfare against neighbouring enemies." But at what period of Hebrew history was this not the case? Moreover, the verses which are asserted to contain this fact (vers. 17, 19, 23), speak in but very general terms of defence and resistance, and may with as much, and even greater propriety, be understood of *past* exploits; the allusion to the tributary dependence of Issachar (ver. 15) may point to some political or military arrangements concluded with Zebulun, and not with a foreign nation; it is in itself indistinct, and receives no light from historical evidence.<sup>14</sup> Indeed, the blessing of Moses, which by nearly all Biblical critics is assigned to the time of the Hebrew monarchy, adverts to dangers from external enemies in much more explicit language than the poem under discussion,<sup>15</sup> which in the words addressed to Judah unfolds a beautiful picture of the most perfect tranquillity and security.<sup>16</sup>

3. It cannot relate to the reigns of David and Solomon, since the tribe of Joseph is so delineated as to appear the powerful rival of Judah, and is, besides, also called

<sup>9</sup> Compare also *Lengerke*, Kenaan i. p. 359.

<sup>10</sup> Compare ver. 16, "like one of the tribes of Israel," and ver. 26, "the crowned of his brethren."

<sup>11</sup> Genesis p. 559.

<sup>12</sup> Compare vers. 5—7.

<sup>13</sup> See pp. 739, 740.

<sup>14</sup> See p. 754; comp. Deut. xxxiii. 18.

<sup>15</sup> Comp. Deut. xxxiii. 7, 17, 20, 22.

<sup>16</sup> Vers. 9, 11, 12.



"the crowned of his brethren."<sup>1</sup> Jacob's blessing has, indeed, been confidently attributed to the time of David,<sup>2</sup> and its authorship to the prophet Nathan;<sup>3</sup> but the advocates of this view have never attempted to account for the terms of royalty employed with regard to Joseph; and some have been compelled to propose very curious explanations of the verses appropriated to Judah, and to explain the words "till he comes to whom it belongs,"<sup>4</sup> to imply an assertion of Solomon's rights to the throne in opposition to Adonijah's usurpation.<sup>5</sup>

4. The poem can, therefore, only refer to the time of the *divided empire*, with the *earlier* period of which the whole spirit and every single trait completely agree, as we shall endeavour to prove in the following notes. It portrays a time, when the tribes had individually ceased to possess a prominent history, or individually to achieve memorable deeds, such as they doubtless performed at the period of the conquest and the subsequent wars; only Judah and Joseph ruling over, if not absorbing, the other clans of Israel, were then still playing active and conspicuous parts; and hence they are alone treated with greater copiousness and almost ardent interest, while the others are introduced very briefly, and in some instances obscurely and almost abruptly.<sup>6</sup>

The view we advocate will appear still more plausible if we compare this address with the blessing of Moses contained in the concluding section of Deuteronomy.<sup>7</sup> Both lays certainly exhibit many parallels: Simeon holds a subordinate place in either, being in Genesis coupled with Levi in an imprecation, and entirely omitted in Deuteronomy;<sup>8</sup> Zebulun is described as carrying on maritime trade, and inhabiting the coast of the sea;<sup>9</sup> Dan is in both cases compared with a death-spreading, lurking animal, in Genesis with a serpent insidiously lying in wait on the road, and in Deuteronomy with an infuriated lion bounding forth from a forest mountain;<sup>10</sup> Asher is in the one, as in the other, praised for the fertility and excellence of the soil yielding the choicest produce;<sup>11</sup> and Joseph, above all, is in both poems partially introduced with almost identical traits, a large population, brilliant victories over numerous and war-like enemies, a beautiful land with abundant, never-failing harvests, and ultimate authority over fraternal tribes: the same thoughts and metaphors are not only expressed in different words, but in some instances the same terms recur literally, and several of the phrases are so peculiar, that it is impossible to suppose that two authors writing independently of each other should have equally employed them.<sup>12</sup> All these coincidences prove indeed irrefutably that Moses' blessing is composed with our poem as its basis and guide. But the contrasts, on the other hand displayed in both productions, as undoubtedly warrant the fact, that the former is a *thoughtful adaptation* of the latter, with respect to the material changes which in the meantime had taken place. The harsh censure here pronounced upon Reuben is, in Deuteronomy, considerably softened, if not converted into a benediction;<sup>13</sup> Simeon, formerly but weak, has in the subsequent blessing entirely disappeared; Levi, before persecuted with a severe curse, is later praised, and almost glorified;<sup>14</sup> Joseph has long triumphed over his enemies, and the remembrance of the earlier struggles and attacks is so far eclipsed by later success,

<sup>1</sup> Ver. 26; comp. notes on vers. 22—26, p. 762; and the remarks on the words עַד כִּי יָבֵא שִׁילָה, ver. 10, p. 749.

<sup>2</sup> By Heinrichs, Eichhorn, Vater, Schumann, Knobel, and others.

<sup>3</sup> By Friedrich and Bohlen.

<sup>4</sup> As they understand שִׁילָה עַד כִּי יָבֵא.

<sup>5</sup> 1 Ki. i. 5—31; thus Bohlen.

<sup>6</sup> Compare vers. 13, 19, 21; Gesenius, De Pentat. Samar. p. 6; and Rashbam on ver. 10.

<sup>7</sup> Deut. xxxiii. 1—24.

<sup>8</sup> Gen. xlix. 5—7.

<sup>9</sup> Gen. xlix. 13; Deut. xxxiii. 18, 19.

<sup>10</sup> Gen. vers. 16, 17; Deut. ver. 22.

<sup>11</sup> Gen. ver. 20; Deut. ver. 24.

<sup>12</sup> Gen. vers. 22—26; Deut. vers. 13—17;

compare לראש יוסף ולקרקר נזיר אחיו; תהום רובצת תחת; and the fertility of the land is designated with the same images.

<sup>13</sup> Deut. ver. 6; comp. notes on vers. 3, 4, pp. 729, 730.

<sup>14</sup> Comp. Deut. xxxiii. 8—12.

that the observations, "the archers harassed him, and they assembled in multitude, and persecuted him,"<sup>15</sup> could give way to a simple expression of strength and majesty, "his horns are like the horns of the unicorn, with which he throws down the nations to the end of the land";<sup>16</sup> Judah, in the one poem emphatically described as a royal, redoubted, and happy tribe, is, in the other, introduced with few and almost desponding words, "Hear, O Lord, the voice of Judah, and bring him to his people; may his hands be many; and may he find help against his enemies"; an allusion to the permanent government of Judah, not to be endangered by any political changes of the federal tribes, was deemed unnecessary at a time when the dynasty of David was not only acknowledged but secured by general consent and the lapse of centuries; and a temporary embarrassment could be then safely mentioned without derogating from its dignity or impairing its influence. The later composition further adverts to the revelation in which God appeared to Moses at the burning bush;<sup>17</sup> to the law promulgated to the Israelites;<sup>18</sup> and perhaps to the grave of the lawgiver in the territory of Gad.<sup>19</sup>—The very arrangement of the tribes in both blessings is significant. In Genesis it is made at once according to the *mothers* and the relative *age* of the children; first come the sons of Leah, then those of the maidservants, and, lastly, those of Rachel: a few irregularities only are to be excepted; Zebulun is introduced before Issachar, apparently on account of a certain political preponderance exercised by the former over the latter;<sup>20</sup> and Naphtali, owing to its decreasing influence, is mentioned after Gad and Asher. But in Deuteronomy the succession of the tribes is mainly determined by their respective *dignity*: 1. *Reuben*, the first in birth; 2. *Judah*, the first in power; 3. *Levi*, the first in holiness, the representative of the nation of priests; then follows, 4. *Benjamin*, in Genesis the last, because he had given the first king to the Hebrew people; while the time of the enmity between the house of David and the house of Saul<sup>21</sup> had been removed to such a distance that there was no inducement to conceal the historical fact, that Benjamin had once enjoyed that distinction; and after him, 5. *Joseph* is named, likewise attaining royal dignity, though later than Benjamin. These more important tribes are succeeded by the rest chiefly arranged after their mothers; Issachar and Zebulun, the two youngest sons of Leah; Dan and Naphtali, the sons of Bilhah; only Gad and Asher, the sons of Zilpah, are separated; and Asher, the younger son of the maid of the less beloved wife, appropriately occupies the last place.—The language also exhibits a manifest difference in both compositions; the blessing of Jacob, though itself possessing but little of the soaring imagery, primitive power, and bold originality of many other Hebrew poems, and though itself containing but few archaic terms or irregular forms and constructions,<sup>22</sup> bears yet proofs of higher antiquity and greater independence than the blessing of Moses, which in some instances verges on poetical prose, and in others is a close imitation of its earlier model.—From all this it results, that indeed the age portrayed in the address of the lawgiver is in many respects widely different from that described in our song, and especially that the commonwealth had, in the intervening period, very considerably advanced in its *religious*

<sup>15</sup> Gen. xlix. 23.

<sup>16</sup> Deut. xxxiii. 17.

<sup>17</sup> Deut. ver. 16, שָׁכַן סֵנָה.

<sup>18</sup> Vers. 2, 4.

<sup>19</sup> Ver. 21.

<sup>20</sup> Compare the notes on vers. 14, 15; see xxx. 17—20; Deut. xxxiii. 18.

<sup>21</sup> Compare 2 Sam. iii. 1.

<sup>22</sup> The rarer words are פָּחוּ (ver. 4), מִכְרָה (ver. 5), יִקְחוּ (ver. 10), סוֹת (ver. 11), חֲכָלִיל (ver. 12), פָּחוּ (ver. 24); the poetical forms, עָלָּ for עָלָ (ver. 3), אֲסָרִי, עִירָה, עִירָה, סוֹתָה (ver. 11, for אֲסָרִי, עִירָה,

חֲכָלִיל (ver. 12, for חֲכָלִיל), בָּנָה (ver. 22, for פָּרִיָּה), רָבָה (ver. 23, for רָבָה); a few alliterations occur, in ver. 8, (רָן יִדִּין) (יהוּדָה אֶתָּה יִדִּין), and ver. 19 (כִּי נָדָד וְכִי); and some freer constructions, in ver. 4 (פָּחוּ כְּמִים), and ver. 10 (עֵד כִּי יִבָּא וְכִי), ver. 20 (מֵאֲשֶׁר יִשְׁמְנָה לְחֶמֶן), ver. 22 (צַעֲרָה), and vers. 24 and 25, which contain an ellipsis.

development, which we find in the later poem exclusively entrusted to the tribe of Levi; but that the *political* organisation is, on the whole, the same in both epochs; for Judah and Joseph possess the decided preponderance: and if it is generally conceded that the song of Moses refers to the time of the Hebrew monarchy, although it does not mention the royal dignity of Judah, it must be admitted that the benediction of Jacob applies to a time when the kingdom of Ephraim was also flourishing, that is, to the *earlier period of the divided empire*, as in the course of an enthusiastic praise Joseph is distinctly called the "crowned of his brethren."

With regard to the form of our blessing, we may remark, that it contains not only the three usual classes of parallelism, the synthetic,<sup>1</sup> the antithetic (the more powerful, as sometimes not members, but whole verses, correspond with each other),<sup>2</sup> and the synonymous;<sup>3</sup> it offers not only the simple rhythmic advance of the verses,<sup>4</sup> but in remarkably numerous and clear instances, the strict combination of the synonymous and synthetic parallelism,<sup>5</sup> a form which unites power and richness of diction with vigorous progress of ideas, and secures to the poem not a little of its animation, force, and comprehensiveness.<sup>6</sup>

#### TRANSLATION.

1. And Jacob called his sons, and said, Assemble, that I may tell you what will befall you in later days. 2. Gather yourselves and listen, ye sons of Jacob; and listen to Israel your father.

3. REUBEN, thou *art* my firstborn,  
My strength and the firstling of my vigour,  
Superiority of dignity and superiority of power:
4. Ebullition like water —  
Thou shalt not be superior;  
For thou didst ascend thy father's bed;  
Then didst thou defile it: —  
My couch he hath ascended.
5. SIMEON and LEVI are brethren;  
An instrument of violence is their burning rage
6. Into their council my soul shall not come;  
In their assembly my glory shall not join:

<sup>1</sup> In vers. 4, 8, 13, 14.

<sup>2</sup> Vers. 3 and 4; 23 and 24.

<sup>3</sup> Vers. 9, 11, 12, 20, 22, 27; see on Exod. p. 261.

<sup>4</sup> Vers. 5, 16, 18, 19, 21, 23.

<sup>5</sup> Vers. 3, 6, 7, 10, 15, 17, 24, 25, 26.

<sup>6</sup> Some consider this portion, without a semblance of probability, as a choral song,

with the words לִישְׁמֹעַתָּךְ קוֹיָתִי (ver. 18) as a refrain. About the literature of the poem, see *Bohlen*, Genes. pp. 438, 440, 441; *Tuch*, Genes. p. 561; *Knobel*, Gen. pp. 324, 325. Most of the ancient works on the subject, down to the beginning of the present century, are uncritical and un-historical, and therefore at present of subordinate value.

- For in their anger they slew men  
And in their self-will they hamstrung oxen.
7. Cursed *be* their anger, for *it is* fierce,  
And their wrath, for it is cruel:  
I will disperse them in Jacob,  
And scatter them in Israel.
8. JUDAH, thee thy brethren shall praise;  
Thy hand *is* on the neck of thy enemies;  
Thy father's sons shall prostrate themselves before  
thee.
9. Judah is a lion's whelp;  
From the prey, my son, thou ascendest:  
He stoopeth down, he croucheth, like a lion,  
And like a lioness; who will rouse him?
10. The sceptre shall not depart from Judah,  
Nor the ruler's staff from between his feet —  
Even when they come to Shiloh —  
And to him *shall be* submission of nations.
11. He bindeth his foal to the vine,  
And his young ass to the noble vine;  
He washeth his garments in wine,  
And his raiment in the blood of grapes:
12. His eyes *are* sparkling from wine,  
And his teeth white from milk.
13. ZEBULUN will dwell on the coast of seas;  
Indeed he *will dwell* on the coast of ships;  
And his side *will extend* to Zidon.
14. ISSACHAR *is* a bony ass  
Crouching between the folds:
15. And he saw the rest that *it was* good,  
And the land that *it was* pleasant;  
And he bent his shoulder to bear,  
And became a tributary servant.
16. DAN will judge his people  
As one of the tribes of Israel.
17. Dan will be a serpent by the way,  
A viper in the path,  
That biteth the heels of the horse,

- That its rider falleth backward.—
18. For Thy help I hope, O Lord!—
19. GAD, a host will oppress him:  
But he will oppress *them* on *their* heels.
20. Of ASHER the bread will be fat,  
And he will furnish royal dainties.
21. NAPHTALI is a graceful hind:  
He uttereth words of beauty.
22. JOSEPH is a fruitful bough,  
A fruitful bough by the well:  
*His* branches spread over the wall.
23. And the archers harassed him,  
And they assembled in multitude,  
And they persecuted him:
24. But his bow remained in strength;  
And the arms of his hands were brisk.—  
From the hands of the Mighty of Jacob,  
From Him, the Shepherd, the Rock of Israel,
25. From the God of thy father who may help thee,  
And from the Almighty who may bless thee,  
*May come upon thee* blessings of heaven from above,  
Blessings of the deep that spreadeth beneath,  
Blessings of the breasts and of the womb.
26. The blessings of thy father prevail  
Above the blessings of the eternal mountains,  
*Above* the delight of the everlasting hills:  
They may come on the head of Joseph,  
And on the brow of the crowned among his brethren.
27. BENJAMIN is a wolf *that* teareth to pieces:  
In the morning he devoureth prey,  
And at even he rendeth spoil.
28. All these *are* the twelve tribes of Israel: and this *it*  
*is* that their father spoke to them, and blessed them; every  
one according to his blessing he blessed them.

---

COMMENTARY.

1, 2. After Jacob had expressed his will and pronounced his predictions regarding the future development of the tribe of Joseph, he assembled all his sons, in order

to address similar disclosures to each of them individually. This is apparently the connection intended by the author between this and the preceding chapter; and though it may be conceded that the thread is but slight and loose, it is as certain that the general situation is in both sections perfectly identical, that the completest harmony prevails in the nature and arrangement of the facts, and that if our poem has been inserted by the author from an older source, in the manner now recognised by all critics,<sup>1</sup> it occupies in every respect an appropriate place. Though Ephraim and Manasseh are not introduced as two distinct tribes,<sup>2</sup> their existence is distinctly enough alluded to in the words "Joseph is a fruitful bough" *his branches spread over the wall*"; on the one hand, the notice of *Joseph* as one of the sons, was indispensable in the last address of *Jacob*; and on the other hand, the division of his tribe into two would have raised the number of the tribes to *thirteen*, since Levi, as yet neither deprived of his political hopes, nor installed in his religious dignity, could here not be omitted.<sup>4</sup>

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—קָרָא in the sense of *happening* or *befalling* (see xlii. 4, 38), is equivalent to קָרָה (compare Exod. iii. 18 with v. 3; where נָקְרָה and נָקָרָא are used promiscuously, and especially 2 Sam. i. 6, נָקְרָא נָקְרִיתִי; see also Num. xxiii. 3, 15; Exod. i. 10, and Comment. on Exod. pp. 57, 58).—אֲחֵרִית is not only the *latest* or *last*, but a *later part* (Num. xxiii. 10; Job viii. 7; Prov. v. 11, etc.). Thus בְּאַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים is here not in the *last days* (as in Isai. ii. 2; Mic. iv. 1,<sup>5</sup> where the most distant Messianic time with its unbroken peace and perfect virtue and knowledge is described); but merely *at a future time* (as in Num. xxiv. 14; Dent. iv. 30; Hos. iii. 5; Jer. xxiii. 20; xxx. 24; xlviii. 47; xlix. 39; Ezek. xxxviii. 16; Dan. x. 14, equivalent with בְּאַחֲרֵית הַשָּׁנִים in Ezek. xxxviii. 8). Most of the ancient translations render incorrectly the former sense (*Sept.* ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν; *Vulg.* in diebus novissimis; *Targ. Onk. and Jonath.* יוֹמֵי אֲחֵרִית, etc.) The concluding part of the first verse is, therefore, analogous to the words in Dent. xxxi. 29, וְקִרְאת אֶתְכֶם וְהָרַעָה בְּאַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים.

#### I. REUBEN, VERS. 3, 4.

In all Biblical genealogies, from the earliest down to the latest times, the primogeniture is, without exception, attributed to Reuben.<sup>6</sup> It is, indeed, expressly recorded that at no stage of Hebrew history the first place was denied to him in the national rolls.<sup>7</sup> Yet it would be rash and illusory to conclude from this circumstance, that the tribe of Reuben was really, at some period, invested with the leadership in Israel. Such an inference is entirely overthrown by the testimony of history. As far as the existing records reach, they contain no notice whatever of a conspicuous position at any time occupied by the Reubenites. A material ascendancy was, above all, impeded, if not rendered impossible, by their geographical situation. They had settled in the east of the Jordan, apart from the principal stock of their brethren, separated from them by a great river, and by the Dead Sea still more debarred from their intercourse than Gad and Manasseh, in a territory which could be considered impure, and beyond the

<sup>1</sup> See p. 85; some attribute it to the Elohist (*De Wette, Gramberg, Bleek, Stihelin*), others to the Jehovist or redactor (*Eichhorn, Schumann, Astruc*), while the more probable opinion is, that it is older than even the time of the former (so *Tuch*, Genes. p. 556; *Lengerke*, Kenaan lxxxv.).

<sup>2</sup> Vers. 22—26.

<sup>3</sup> בֵּן פֶּרֶת (ver. 22), with an alliteration to אֶפְרַיִם; comp. xli. 52.

<sup>4</sup> But in the blessing of Moses "the myriads of Ephraim and the thousands of Manasseh" are expressly mentioned (Dent. xxxiii. 17); because there the tribe of Simeon is left out.

<sup>5</sup> Comp. 1 Pet. i. 5, 20; Hebr. i. 1; *iv* κατὰ ἐσχάτων; *ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν χρόνων*.

<sup>6</sup> See xxix. 32; xxxv. 23; xli. 8; Exod. i. 2; Num. i. 20; xxvi. 5; Deut. xxxiii. 5; etc.

<sup>7</sup> Comp. 1 Chr. v. 1.

immediate protection of the God of Israel,<sup>1</sup> and which reaching in the east to the very borders of the deserted tracts of Arabia, was incessantly exposed to the rapacious invasions of lawless hordes,<sup>2</sup> and though the men of Reuben occasionally repelled such attacks not without glory or success,<sup>3</sup> their existence became, by continual dangers, so precarious that they were contented if their community was but preserved from complete extinction, and maintained itself as an independent tribe; in which sense the later blessing of Moses exclaims, "May Reuben live and not die, nor may his men be few."<sup>4</sup> Their abodes abounded, indeed, in excellent pasture land, forests, and meadows; and many became wealthy proprietors of cattle;<sup>5</sup> but they were by these very blessings alienated from the spirit of war and conquest, and almost from a progressive political life;<sup>6</sup> and in the time of the Judges they could not, even by long discussions, be roused to abandon for a while their herds and villages, and to take part in the glorious national war immortalised by the song of Deborah.<sup>7</sup> The two tribes and a half which had settled in the east of the Jordan, laboured, besides, under a common disadvantage. Their habitations spread over an extent of country disproportionately large for their numbers, and hence most onerous to maintain; their cities, in many instances scattered at considerable distances from each other, could mutually afford but little aid against the Ammonites and the other hostile tribes living within the same boundaries and in the very midst of the Hebrews; and the latter were, therefore, compelled to have their folds,<sup>8</sup> for better protection, within the walls of their towns which were thus necessarily enlarged, and became more difficult for defence and control.<sup>9</sup> Indeed during protracted periods the people lived partially in tents, in the manner of nomads,<sup>10</sup> frequently wandering from district to district, changing old abodes with new ones, and cultivating the soil but little or subordinately. Hence arose not only great uncertainty in the definition of the boundaries, but considerable fluctuations in the possession of the towns; different tribes succeeded each other in the occupation of the same regions and cities, which, on the other hand, were not unfrequently inhabited by a mixed population; so that, for instance, the town Heshbon, according to the predominant element of its inhabitants, was at one time counted to Reuben and at another to Gad;<sup>11</sup> or that the town Dibon, built or restored by the Danites, decidedly fell within the territory of Reuben.<sup>12</sup> How could, then, tribes without unity and almost without connection, far from the chief seats of Hebrew progress in politics, literature, and religious development, and engaged in pursuits forming nearly the lowest steps in the great ladder of civilisation, at any time acquire sway and authority over their much more advanced kinsmen? It is impossible to account for the silence of history on this point by the circumstance, that the eminence of Reuben dates back to so remote and primitive ages, and was lost so early and so completely, that it could find no place

<sup>1</sup> See p. 712.

<sup>2</sup> As the possessions of Reuben were bounded in the south by the river Arnon, which marked the northern limit of the district of the Moabites, they fell within the present province of Belka, and included the cities Heshbon, Elealeh, Nebo, Baal-Meon, and Sibmah; see *infra*; comp. Num. xxxii. 1—39, 57, 58; xxiv. 14, 15; Josh. i. 12—17; xiii. 15—23; xxii.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Chr. v. 10, 19; 2 Ki. x. 33.

<sup>4</sup> Deut. xxxiii. 6. — The numerical strength of Reuben seems originally not to have been insignificant; the tribe is recorded to have counted, at the exodus from Egypt, 46,500 men above 20 years of age, able to carry arms (Num. i. 20,

21); but to have diminished at the end of the wanderings to 43,730 (Num. xxvi. 7); while the military men of the *two and a half* eastern tribes are, in 1 Chr. v. 18, together stated at 44,760.

<sup>5</sup> Comp. 2 Ki. iii. 4.

<sup>6</sup> Comp. Num. xxxii. 6, 7.

<sup>7</sup> Comp. Judg. v. 15, 16.

<sup>8</sup> דְּרוֹרוֹת צֹאן.

<sup>9</sup> Comp. Num. xxxii. 36, 16, 24.

<sup>10</sup> 1 Chr. v. 10; compare וְצִירֹת וְצִירֹת, Josh. xix. 6—8; Num. xxxi. 10; Gen. xxv. 16, p. 484.

<sup>11</sup> Josh. xiii. 17; xxi. 37.

<sup>12</sup> Num. xxxii. 34; Josh. xiii. 17; *Euseb.* Hier. sub Δαβών.

in the later annals of the organised Hebrew people, the less as after the many and essential changes in the whole of Israel, it possessed but little practical importance.<sup>13</sup> It cannot be imagined that the national records should have so tracelessly effaced, or so entirely ignored, Reuben's ancient glory and greatness, as they are everywhere so scrupulously just in reserving to him the first chronological rank among the Israelites. Even if at the time to which our poem refers, Reuben had already been deprived of its influence, the author would, as in the case of some other tribes, have gone back into the glorious past, and have dwelt upon some great and prominent deed worthy of being preserved in the recollection of the nation.

The conclusion, therefore, resulting from these considerations is, that Reuben was indeed the *first* of those Hebrew tribes, which, deriving their origin from the regions of the Euphrates, and for some time living in Egypt, ultimately advanced into Palestine from the east of the Jordan; but that so far from being able to turn this priority of settlement to advantage, it forfeited its authority by haughty wantonness, and still more by repulsive immorality of life and conduct, which the kindred clans regarded with disgust, and almost with execration.<sup>14</sup> All this is sufficiently transparent from the tenour of the verses under discussion. Reuben is the firstling of power who might well have acquired a superior and pre-eminent position; but he did not obtain it, because he polluted the honour of the house of Israel.<sup>15</sup>

Thus it is clear that "the right of primogeniture," if understood to mean double or, at least, larger property, was never possessed by Reuben; and hence it is irrelevant to enquire by which tribe that privilege was inherited, after it was lost by Reuben. And is it, as a general principle, historically probable or even possible, that the privilege of "the firstborn" should have been transferred to any later or younger tribe? How should it be recognised? Was it a standing and necessarily permanent dignity? This is certainly no less improbable than the uniform distribution of the people in *twelve* tribes after an imaginary or astrological principle.<sup>16</sup>

However, the question, which tribes successively occupied the most decided influence among the Hebrew immigrants and conquerors, is not only of great interest, but of very high historical importance. It is commonly maintained that the chief authority was first exercised by the tribe of Joseph, on account of the exalted virtue and wisdom attributed to its founder, but that it later virtually passed over to the tribe of Judah.<sup>17</sup> But though the accounts regarding the tribe of Joseph are preserved to us in considerable copiousness and completeness, they never record, nor even allow the inference, that the *south* of Palestine at any time acknowledged its superiority; here, on the contrary, the tribe of Judah exhibited, from the beginning, the energy and disposition of appropriating to itself the supremacy; not even Gideon, the powerful and much revered hero, could venture to defy the jealousy of Judah by accepting the crown which was offered to him, and in due time became hereditary in the family of Jesse.<sup>18</sup> But while David and Solomon confirmed and extended the power of their house at home and abroad, the tribe of Ephraim also continued its development with zeal and steadiness, and gradually grew so much in strength and self-reliance, that despotism and imbecility on the part of Solomon's immediate successors, encouraged it to proclaim its

<sup>13</sup> Comp. *Ewald*, *Gesch.* i. 481, 482, 534, 535.

<sup>14</sup> Comp. Num. xvi. 1; xxvi. 9, 10; Deut. xi. 6.

<sup>15</sup> See xxxiv. 22; comp. Lev. xviii. 8; 2 Sam. xvi. 21, 22, where the deed here attributed to Reuben is considered equivalent to aspiring to the power exercised by the father; iii. 7; Num. xvi. 1, *et seq.*; *Hom.* II. ix. 449—457.

<sup>16</sup> See on xlviii. p. 710.

<sup>17</sup> Comp. *Ewald*, *Gesch.* i. 534, 535.

<sup>18</sup> See p. 713. The expression, "the firstborn of his bullock possesses majesty" (in Deut. xxxiii. 17) does not apply to the tribe of Joseph as the firstborn, but to Ephraim, who, among the descendants of Joseph, enjoyed superior power (xlviii. 14, 17—20).



independence and to found a separate kingdom, which was acknowledged by nine other tribes; so that thenceforth the empire of the north and Ephraim as its recognised head, with a nice balance of power, co-existed with the southern monarchy of Judah. This is the point of view occupied by our poem, which describes both Judah and Joseph as royal tribes, flourishing, happy, and victorious.<sup>1</sup>

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—The third verse stands in antithesis to the fourth, the former describing the authority due to the tribe with respect to its antiquity, the latter advertising to the fact and the cause of its actual inferiority among the people of Israel. —וְאֵן is synonymous with אֵן (comp. Ia. xl. 26, 29; Hos. xii. 4; Job xviii. 7; xl. 16; see also Job xx. 10; Hos. xii. 9), and hence וְאֵן אֵשֶׁת אֹנִי with בְּכָרִי (as is evident from Deut. xxi. 17; Ps. lxxviii. 51; cv. 36; *Onk.* וְרִישׁ תּוֹקֶפִי; *Sept.* ἀρχὴ τίκτων μου, etc.). Although אֵן has also the meanings of *grief* and *misdeed* (xxxv. 18; Deut. xxvi. 14; Hos. ix. 4; Job xviii. 12; Prov. xi. 7, etc.), the relation pointed out between the two verses treating of Reuben, renders it improbable that the first should contain an expression of censure or pain (*Vulg.* principium doloris mei; *Aq.* λύπη; *Sym.* δόνη, etc.); especially as it concludes with the words וְיָתֵר אֵן (as is evident from which no reasonable doubt can exist. יָתֵר means *excellence, superiority* (Prov. xvii. 7); אֵשֶׁל (from אֵשֶׁל) is *elevation*, hence *dignity* (comp. Ps. lxix. 5; Job xiii. 11; xxxi. 23; Hab. i. 7); and וְיָ, in this passage alone used instead of וְיָ, *might, power*,<sup>2</sup> has the same favourable sense as the preceding אֵשֶׁל, with which it is parallel: the phrase under consideration signifies, therefore, literally “*thou art, or shouldst be, superiority of dignity, and superiority of power*,” so that the abstract are used for the concrete substantives, as is very frequent in poetry; and they mean here “*thou shouldst be superior in dignity and superior in power*.” Thus וְיָ is (in ver. 4) employed instead of וְיָ (comp. Num. xxiii. 10; Isai. viii. 5; Judg. v. 6; Ps. xxxv. 6; cix. 4; Job xxxvi. 18; *Gesen.* Lehrs. p. 726). All versions expressing another sense are both against the usage of the Hebrew words and against the context; this is, above all, the case with the translation of the *Septuagint*, which, blaming the character of Reuben as self-willed and arrogant, renders quite freely, σκληρὸς φέρεσθαι καὶ σκληρὸς αὐθάδης (comp. Isai. xix. 4, and אֵשֶׁל in Deut. xxviii. 50; Dan. viii. 23; see Eccl. viii. 1). *Onkelos* renders the traditional view of the Jews, ascribing to Reuben an intended threefold privilege of primogeniture, priesthood, and royalty (comp. *Rashi*, *Ebn Ezra*, *Rashbam*), thereby, of course, totally abandoning the Biblical text; and the Targum *Jonathan* and *Jerusalem*, carrying out the same idea, add, that on account of Reuben's transgression, the three dignities were transferred to Joseph, Judah, and Levi respectively. Similar notions, are implied in many of the later translations; *Vulgate*, prior in donis (alluding to the double portion falling to the share of the firstborn); *Luther*, the highest in sacrificing (Der Oberste im Opfer), since originally the firstborn performed the priestly functions for the family (see notes on vers. 5—7; comp. אֵשֶׁל אֵשֶׁל to give a present, 2 Sam. xix. 43; אֵשֶׁל tribute, 2 Chr. xvii. 11; and אֵשֶׁל present, xliii. 34; Esth. ii. 18; Jer. xl. 5, etc.).

The root אֵשֶׁל (ver. 4), kindred with אֵשֶׁל, has the sense of a trembling, unquiet, and fluctuating movement; it hence includes the notion of vehement impetuosity and violence, and is, therefore, aptly rendered by the *Sept.* ἐξυβρίζειν (ἐξυβρίσας ὡς ἔδωρ); it thus occurs in some Talmudical phrases (אֵשֶׁל עָלַי יָצָר, “my passion has overwhelmed me,” Nedar. ix. 2; comp. *Buxtorf*, *Lex. Talm.* p. 1711); and it then assumes the meaning of effervescent ebullition (*Sym.* ἐπὶ ἐξυβρίσας), producing an empty or hollow

<sup>1</sup> The remark in 1 Chr. v. 1, 2, “that after the firstborn, Reuben, had been rejected, the birthright was given to Joseph, while Judah enjoyed the greatest power,”

is to be understood in the sense pointed out in p. 715.

<sup>2</sup> Am. v. 9 is uncertain.

noise; thus we read נביאים פוחזים (Zeph. iii. 4), a term receiving a welcome illustration by the word פחזות (in Jer. xxiii. 32), which coupled with שקר, denotes the recklessly rash, vainglorious, and hollow speech of false prophets (comp. Judg. ix. 4, אנשים רקים ופחזים; *Aq. ἐθαμβευσας*; *Luther*, Du fährst leichtfertig dahin). The metaphor of the first words of the fourth verse is, therefore, taken from the bubbling over of boiling water, which, in eastern phraseology, is not unfrequently used as a figure to describe the wild and fervent violence of passion or love (*Sym. ὑπερζέσας*; *Sam. vers. אררחת, effervisti*; *Vulg.* more indistinctly, *effusus es*; others, vapour, etc.); comp. וזר and ἀσέλεια in 2 Chr. xii. 21, and Eph. iv. 19, corresponding to the Syr. פחזות; and *Targ. Jon.* renders יבעט with פחזו. The substantive פחז has the sense of the verb פחזת, as the translations already quoted, and most of the others express it (see *supra* יתר); and it is, therefore, neither necessary to read, with the Samaritan Codex פחזת, nor, with several others, to take פחז as the predicate to the preceding יתר “thy superiority vanishes away like water” (*Clericus, Herder, Vater*, etc.).—Although, then, Reuben ought to occupy a superior rank (יָתֵר), the poet observes אֶל־תִּתֵּר, that is, thou shalt be the reverse of יָתֵר, inferior in power and authority (*Aq. μη περισσεύσας*; *Sym. οὐκ ἔσθ' ὑπερσώτερος*; *Gr. Ven. περισρεύσας*; *Vulg.* non crescas). The Septuagint, erroneously continuing the metaphor of פחז, translates *μη ἐκζέσας* (אל תרתח). The Hiphil פוֹתֵר has intransitive meaning, *to excel*; while Gesenius (*Theas.* p. 645) takes that form for the Hophal, instead of פוֹתֵר, analogous to הוֹדֵר (*Lev.* iv. 23, 28), and יוֹתֵר (*Prov.* xi. 25).—After אֲנִי חָלַלְתָּ, we must supply the preceding כִּשְׁכְּבִי אֲבִיךָ, with which יָצוּעִי is parallel; although in the corresponding passage, 1 Chr. v. 1, חָלַל is connected with יָצוּעִי אֲבִיךָ (וּבְחַלְלִי יָצוּעִי אֲבִיךָ). For in the pithy brevity and the rising pathos of the speech, the father, as if, even in the distant recollection, turning with undiminished horror from the nefarious crime of his son, changes the form of the address, passing from the second to the third person, and in an unconnected exclamation once more weighs and realises to himself the enormity of the deed: “he hath ascended my couch!” Similar transitions occur in vers. 9 and 26, and often in the Psalms and other poetical books. The *Sept.* renders, therefore, inaccurately ἀνέβης; *Onk.* סליקתא, etc.; and still more freely the *Vulgate*, et maculasti stratum ejus (omitting עלה, and translating אֲנִי with et). Too artificial is the interpretation of Ewald (*Gesch.* i. 481), who takes עָלָה as synonymous with עֲלָה, *degree, rank* (comp. *Ezek.* xl. 26), and translates “my couch of dignity”; while the version “trespasser, offender!” and the proposed reading עָלָה (infinitive) “ascending my couch,”<sup>3</sup> are unsupported and forced.

## II. SIMEON, VERS. 5—7.

The destinies of the tribe of Simeon were, in some points, not unlike those of the Reubenites, but in other respects decidedly more melancholy. Though in the reminiscence of the nation regarded as the second of the tribes, it never succeeded, like Reuben, in acquiring for habitation large or fertile districts. It is true, that the Simeonites were from early times distinguished and renowned for daring prowess, which emboldened them to seek abodes in most dangerous regions, cautiously avoided, except for occasional invasions, by the rest of the Hebrew tribes, in those south-western parts of Palestine, adjoining Egypt, where they had perpetually to contend with powerful and merciless enemies, as the Edomites and Amalekites; and tradition attributes to them a degree of courage which at an early period enabled them, in conjunction with Levi, to conquer a town situated so far northward as Shechem (xxxiv. 25—31). But following the traces afforded by our song, we are justified in concluding, that their valour too soon degenerated into sanguinary ferocity, which prompted

<sup>3</sup> Similarly *Luther*, and several others.

them to undertake wild and reckless, and often impious and rapacious, expeditions, sadly reducing their numbers and their strength, and calling down upon their name the hatred and abomination both of their antagonists and their kinsmen. The decrease of their population is indeed more striking and extraordinary than in any other tribe; for while they numbered, in the first year after the departure from Egypt, no less than 59,300 warriors, they had during the wanderings in the desert fallen to 22,200, or to nearly one third of their former strength.<sup>1</sup> Nor did they ever in later periods recover from their fatal losses, or increase in any proportion to the steady growth of other tribes.<sup>2</sup> For their enterprising audacity was not deterred even by their numerical weakness from most hazardous schemes. Repressed to narrow and not very blooming or productive strips of land, and desirous to gain larger scope and more favourable opportunities for breeding of cattle, to which occupation they were chiefly led by their own reverses and the general history of their nation, they are recorded so late as the eighth century, in the time of king Hezekiah, to have made brilliant and successful attacks upon some southern or Hamitic tribes, and to have taken possession of their tempting and fertile districts.<sup>3</sup> But these emigrations far beyond the proper boundaries of the land of the Israelites,<sup>4</sup> and partially extending to Mount Seir, where they expelled the rest of the Amalekites, were only in harmony with the tastes displayed by the Simeonites at much earlier stages of their existence. Too much weakened by anterior misfortunes to attempt alone the conquest of a part of Canaan, they joined the infinitely more powerful tribe of Judah, relying upon its generosity for the ultimate acquisition of adequate abodes. Their confidence was not betrayed. The men of Judah subdued districts too vast for their own occupation, and they willingly conceded to Simeon the southern tracts on the coast of the Mediterranean, which included a large portion of the territory of the Philistines. It was, therefore, at all times avowed that the Simeonites, as if they had no independent or equal claim, "obtained their inheritance in the midst of the inheritance of the men of Judah."<sup>5</sup> They received seventeen cities with the surrounding villages;<sup>6</sup> but too powerless to maintain, or too few to occupy them, they were compelled to give up some to the tribe of Judah, and to abandon others to their heathen neighbours.<sup>7</sup> How could they, therefore, be expected to conquer the strong Philistine towns situated within their own boundaries? And yet such an attempt was necessary for the realization of the plans and ideas upon which the Hebrew conquest of Canaan was based. The sword of Judah performed this duty also for the fraternal tribe: however, the success was but temporary; and Gaza, Ascalon, and Ekron, though taken by Judah, could not be defended and maintained by Simeon.<sup>8</sup> This tribe, therefore, was imperceptibly, but long before the exile, entirely absorbed by that of Judah, with which it naturally was joined after the division of the empire; and it ceased so completely to form an independent or united community, that it could entirely be passed over in the blessing of Moses;<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Num. i. 22, 23; xxvi. 12—14; 1 Chron. iv. 38.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Chron. iv. 27.

<sup>3</sup> See 1 Chron. iv. 39—44.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. *ibid.* ver. 42.

<sup>5</sup> See Josh. xix. 1, 9; Judg. i. 3, 17; comp. Josh. xxi. 9.

<sup>6</sup> Josh. xix. 2—8; comp. 1 Chr. iv. 24—33.

<sup>7</sup> Beer-sheba and Hormah assigned to Simeon, are, in the time of Ahab and David respectively, mentioned as belonging to Judah (comp. Josh. xix. 2, 3, with 1 Ki. xix. 3; 1 Sam. xxx. 26); while Ziklag, originally falling to the share of

Simeon, is, at a subsequent period, related to be in possession of the Philistines, whose king, Achish, then ceded it to David (comp. Josh. xix. 4 with 1 Sam. xxvii. 6).

<sup>8</sup> Comp. Judg. i. 18; Josh. xv. 45—47.

<sup>9</sup> Deut. xxxiii. Hence the empire of Judah is in some passages stated to consist of *one* tribe only, which, together with the *ten* tribes of Israel, made up the whole nation of *twelve* tribes (see 1 Ki. xi. 13, 30—32, 35, 36); since Simeon, no more counted separately, was included in Judah. But in 1 Ki. xii. 21 it is stated, that Rehoboam assembled "the whole house of Judah and the tribe of Benjamin to fight

though it was not forgotten in the ideal distribution portrayed by the prophet Ezekiel, who, in describing the restoration of the Hebrew people in its integrity, of course introduced all the *twelve tribes*.<sup>10</sup> Nothing is, therefore, more in harmony with the later fate of the Simeonites than the menace pronounced upon them in our poem: "I will disperse them in Jacob, and scatter them in Israel."

### III. LEVI, VERS. 5—7.

The history of the tribe of Levi, remarkable and extraordinary in itself, is eminently calculated to open a deep insight into the internal development of the Hebrew nation. But in proportion to its interest and importance are its intricacies and perplexities; it offers contradictions which appear irreconcilable; and it is entangled in dilemmas which seem to defy every critical effort. The difficulties commence with the words attributed to the dying patriarch with reference to that tribe. We find here the Levites coupled with the Simeonites in a severe rebuke and curse, denouncing with horror their violence and oppression, and describing their dispersion through Israel as a dire calamity and well-merited chastisement. How is this to be brought into harmony with the privileged position assigned to them in the ordinances of the Pentateuch? how could it be said of the holy representatives of the people, of the Divinely chosen priests, "into their council my soul shall not come; in their assembly my glory shall not join?" And was there ever a time when the Levites were or could be regarded as labouring under so fatal a malediction? We shall follow the safe guidance of the historical statements contained in the Biblical records, and may thus be able to arrive at some satisfactory conclusion.

First it appears that the men of Levi were not at all times unwarlike or unworldly. National tradition assigns to Levi a principal share in the massacre at Shechem;<sup>11</sup> Benaiah, the son of the *priest* Jehoiada, was, by David, appointed one of his *generals*;<sup>12</sup> and Solomon not only confirmed this appointment, and employed Benaiah for sanguinary commissions,<sup>13</sup> but he preferred Azariah, the son of his first priest Zadok, to a prominent office of political administration.<sup>14</sup> However, the men of Levi seem, like the Simeonites, in the earlier periods to have been utter strangers to moderation and self-control; so that our song could exclaim, "an instrument of violence is their burning rage; cursed be their anger, for it is fierce, and their wrath, for it is cruel." The consequences were not very different from those which attended the similar vices and crimes of the fraternal tribe. The number of the Levites fell to the small amount of 22,000, a figure lower even than that reached by the Simeonites at the second census.<sup>15</sup> Such a paucity of military men rendered it difficult for them to conquer a portion of Palestine for their hereditary abodes; and as they were not even, like the Simeonites, able to enlist the sympathy and co-operation of a more powerful tribe, they never acquired connected territory sufficient to hold their limited population. The analogies in the early history of the two tribes are indeed so striking and manifold, that our poem could appropriately combine the prediction concerning both in one joint address. Thus the Levites were compelled to seek shelter in any part of the country in which access was permitted to them. In small and divided groups, they settled in a large part of the cities both in the east and in the west of Jordan, both in the north and in the south;

against the house of Israel"; it appears, therefore, that *parts* of Benjamin fell, after the division, to Judah, as was almost unavoidable from the geographical position of both tribes (see on ver. 27; comp. Ezr. iv. 1; x. 9); while the small tribe of Simeon is there alluded to by the words, "and the rest of the people" (וְיִתְרֵם הָעָם), *ibid.* ver. 23).

<sup>10</sup> Ezek. xlviii. 24, 25; comp. Rev. vii. 7.

<sup>11</sup> xxxiv. 25—31.

<sup>12</sup> 1 Chr. xxvii. 5; comp. 2 Sam. viii. 18; xx. 23; 1 Ki. ii. 35.

<sup>13</sup> 1 Kings ii. 25, 35.

<sup>14</sup> 1 Kings iv. 2, 4; comp. ii. 35.

<sup>15</sup> Num. iii. 39; see *supra* p. 734.

and they could, therefore, justly be represented as "dispersed in Jacob and scattered in Israel."

This is manifestly the course of events which decided the ultimate destiny of the tribe of Levi; and from this point of view alone the severe terms of our song can be accounted for and may be rendered intelligible. It is of no avail to force upon the words a construction repudiated by the first rules of interpretation, and to refer them to the measures of the Pentateuch, which assigns to the Levites, throughout the country, forty-eight cities, with certain inalienable lands around them as pastures for their cattle.<sup>1</sup> For the Pentateuch represents that arrangement in a very different light from that in which it is viewed in our poem. It is there not regarded as a curse for merciless and unbridled atrocities: but because "the Lord hath singled out the tribe of Levi to bear the Ark of the Covenant, therefore Levi shall have no portion or inheritance with his brethren; *the Lord is his inheritance*."<sup>2</sup> Thus the want of territorial property on the part of the Levites, is considered as the necessary consequence of their selection for the most precious spiritual privileges; they were not to obtain any worldly power, because they should entirely devote their lives to the service of God, who had taken them under His paternal protection, and who, in order to secure their material welfare also, repeatedly enjoined upon the other tribes, "take care not to forget the Levite all the days that you are in your land,"<sup>3</sup> and otherwise most amply provided for their subsistence.<sup>4</sup>

But this is not the only nor the greatest discrepancy. The very mission and services of the Levites, during a long period after Moses, appear very different in the historical accounts and in the statements of the Pentateuch. Let us remind the reader of the chief precepts of the Law concerning the tribe of Levi.

1. Originally the firstborn sons of all Israelites were intended to perform the priestly functions; for they belonged to God, who had miraculously delivered them at the last Egyptian plague;<sup>5</sup> but in order less to disturb the domestic relations of the people, and to secure greater efficiency in the sacred offices, the religious primogeniture was conferred on the tribe of Levi; so that 22,000 firstborn Israelites were replaced by as many Levites, and each of the rest<sup>6</sup> was redeemed by five shekels.<sup>7</sup>

2. The sacrifices were to be offered "before the door of the Tabernacle, before the Lord," at the place which the Lord would choose among all tribes, to let His name dwell there; and the Israelite was commanded, "take heed that thou offer not thy burnt-offerings in every place that thou seest."<sup>8</sup>

3. The service at the altar and within the Holy Tent was to be performed exclusively by Aaron and his descendants; every stranger who attempted to officiate, or even to approach the sacred precincts, was to be put to death.<sup>9</sup>

4. The descendants of Moses, or the Levites in the more restricted sense, were associated to the priests as their ministers, to do all the subordinate services at the Tabernacle; "but they should not come near the vessels of the sanctuary and the altar; lest they die together with the priests";<sup>10</sup> nor was an Israelite of any of the other tribes

<sup>1</sup> Six of those towns were the cities of refuge; see Com. on Exodus p. 393; and thirteen of them situated within the districts of Judah, Benjamin, and Simeon, not far from the sanctuary at Jerusalem, were appropriated to the *priests* or *Aaronites*; comp. Lev. xxxv. 32—34; Num. xxxv. 1—8; Josh. xiv. 4; xxi. 1—40; 1 Chr. vi. 39—66.

<sup>2</sup> Deut. x. 8, 9; xii. 12; Num. xviii. 20; comp. Josh. xiii. 14, 33; xiv. 3, 4; xviii. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Deut. xii. 19; xiv. 27, 29.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. Num. v. 6, *et seq.*; Lev. xxv. 32—34; Num. xviii. 14; See Num. xviii. 8, *et seq.*; Deut. xii. 18; xvi. 11.

<sup>5</sup> Comp. Exod. xiii. 2, 13.

<sup>6</sup> 273 in Numbers.

<sup>7</sup> Num. iii. 11—13, 40—51; comp. viii. 16—18; see Com. on Exod. p. 220.

<sup>8</sup> Deut. xii. 11, 13, 14; Lev. i. 3; iv. 4; viii. 3, 4, etc.

<sup>9</sup> Num. iii. 10; xviii. 1, 7.

<sup>10</sup> Num. xviii. 3, 6.

allowed to perform the Levitical offices, "that there might be no plague when the children of Israel approached the sanctuary."<sup>11</sup>

If we compare these laws with the facts recorded in the historical books, we are surprised by striking and remarkable contrasts.

1. The people offered sacrifices to God at Bochim, a place the sanctity of which is in no wise guaranteed, and where certainly the Tabernacle did not stand at that time.<sup>12</sup> The reason, alleged by some, that the Divine vision happening at Bochim<sup>13</sup> had hallowed the spot, and rendered it, as it were, "a place of meeting," or a temporary Tabernacle,<sup>14</sup> is an unsatisfactory evasion, utterly against the spirit of the precepts of the Pentateuch, which recognises but one Tent of Meeting, and allows no room for fluctuations or exceptions.

2. Gideon, *from the tribe of Manasseh*, brought sacrifices to God at *Ophrah*, far from the common sanctuary.<sup>15</sup> The fictitious principle "*wherever* God appears, there is a temple as long as the vision lasts, and he to *whom* God appears becomes temporarily a priest,"<sup>16</sup> altogether overthrows the positive regulations of the Law, which centre in the fact that the holy service should be *exclusively* carried on by the priests at the only national place of worship.

3. Manoaah, the father of Samson, *of the tribe of Dan*, offered sacrifices at *Zareah*, an unsanctified place.<sup>17</sup>

4. Micah, a man of mount Ephraim, had in his residence "a house of God, and made an ephod, and Teraphim, and consecrated one of his sons, who became his priest."<sup>18</sup> That image was afterwards taken away by a number of Danites, who, on their way to the northern parts of Canaan, passed through the town of Micah; "and the children of Dan set up for themselves the graven image of Micah, all the time that the house of God was in Shiloh."<sup>19</sup> It appears, therefore, that it was not unusual for the Israelites, down to a late period, to have private sanctuaries with a regular and permanent service. But this is in direct antagonism with the absolute unity of religious worship prescribed in the Pentateuch. The only refutation that has been attempted is by calling Micah "a villain and a knave," and the Danites "rough and reckless fellows."<sup>20</sup>

5. The people assembled at Mizpeh "to the Lord" (אל יְהוָה), while the holy Ark was not there.<sup>21</sup> The remark, that wherever the people of God met consciously as such, it "assembled to the Lord," is even more fallacious and untenable than the subtleties we have above quoted; for if so, the Hebrews would have required no holy place of meeting and no Tabernacle at all.

6. When the Ark of the Covenant came to *Beth-shemesh*, the people "offered burnt-offerings and sacrificed sacrifices to the Lord."<sup>22</sup>

7. Most important for our purpose is the history of Samuel. According to the genealogy of the first book of Chronicles, this great man belonged to the tribe of Levi, descending from Kohath, *but not from the line of Aaron*.<sup>23</sup> As he was, therefore, no

<sup>11</sup> Num. viii. 19; iii. 10, 38; xvii. 5.

<sup>12</sup> Judg. ii. 5.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* ver. 1.

<sup>14</sup> *Hengstenberg*, *Authentic des Pentateuchs* ii. 40, 41.

<sup>15</sup> Judg. vi. 11—20.

<sup>16</sup> *Hengstenberg*, *loc. cit.* pp. 41, 58, 59.

<sup>17</sup> Judg. xiii. 19, 20.

<sup>18</sup> Judg. xvii. 5.

<sup>19</sup> Judg. xviii. 3, 27, 30, 31.

<sup>20</sup> *Hengstenberg*, *loc. cit.* pp. 52, 64.

<sup>21</sup> 1 Sam. vii. 1, 5; x. 17.

<sup>22</sup> 1 Sam. vi. 15.

<sup>23</sup> 1 Chr. vi. 12, 13, 18, 19; comp. *Joseph. Ant. V. x. 2* (Λευίτης ἀνὴρ). It is true that the impression produced in reading the first book of Samuel is, that he was from the tribe of Ephraim, an opinion still entertained by many critics. His father is introduced, not only as "a man of Ramathaim-zophim, of Ephraim" (comp. vii. 17), but as "an Ephraimite" (אֶפְרַתִּי, i. 1), which term, where it is not "a man of Ephraim," that is, of Bethlehem (1 Sam. xvii. 12), always denotes a person belonging to the tribe of Ephraim (Judg. xii. 5; 1 Ki. xi. 26). The passage,

priest, he ought, according to the precept of the Pentateuch above quoted,<sup>1</sup> under penalty of death, to have abstained from all those higher functions exclusively reserved for the progeny of Aaron. But do our records allow of such a conclusion? When the man of God announced to Eli the rejection of his family from its sacred offices, he alluded to Samuel in the following terms, "I will raise up for me a faithful priest, and I will build him a sure house, and he shall walk before my anointed for ever."<sup>2</sup> And accordingly we find Samuel not only described as a prophet,<sup>3</sup> or acting as judge, making annually a circuit through the principal towns of Israel, such as Bethel, Gilgal, and Mizpeh;<sup>4</sup> but we see him in every respect officiating as a true priest, or as a member of Aaron's family. When the Philistines threatened the Israelites then assembled at Mizpeh, with a fierce attack, "Samuel took a sucking lamb, and offered it for a burnt-offering wholly to the Lord."<sup>5</sup> At Ramah, his usual abode, where he ordinarily judged the people, "he built an altar to the Lord."<sup>6</sup> The people brought at fixed periods offerings "on a high place," but they did not eat until Samuel "had blessed the sacrifice."<sup>7</sup> When he went to Bethlehem to anoint David instead of Saul, he took a heifer with him, and said to the family of Jesse, "I am come to sacrifice to the Lord: sanctify yourselves, and come with me to the sacrifice"; upon which "he sanctified Jesse and his sons, and called them to the sacrifice."<sup>8</sup> Who requires more incontrovertible proofs of the thoroughly priestly offices discharged by the Levite Samuel? And yet, in the Pentateuch, Korah, though likewise a Levite, and likewise from the family of Kohath, was punished with a fearful death because he coveted a dignity completely appropriated by another branch of his tribe.<sup>9</sup> It is only necessary to mention the feeble and arbitrary argument advanced by a zealous critic in explanation of Samuel's priesthood:<sup>10</sup> "Together with the sanctuary, the priesthood also had been rejected by God; and with regard to either, a *provisional* arrangement was adopted till a restoration was possible": as if the binding and decided precepts of the Pentateuch admitted of any temporary modification of the sacred service; they were permanent and unchangeable, and death awaited the slightest infringement. It is, therefore, not a little astonishing to see a profound and sagacious scholar resting satisfied with so vague and inconclusive a reason, that "the confusion of the times, and the dictatorship conferred by God on Samuel in consequence of that confusion," fully account for his anomalous position.<sup>11</sup> An assertion so light and ungrounded is not likely to counterbalance in unprejudiced minds the numerous and distinct historical facts leading to very different inferences.

8. During a long period after Moses, down to the end of the time of the Judges, the

Judg. xvii. 7, "a young man from Bethlehem-Judah, of the family of Judah, and he was a Levite," is not parallel to 1 Sam. i. 1; for there the words, "of the family of Judah" do not occur after the *genealogy* (as אֶפְרַיִם in 1 Sam. ), but after the name of his residence, and are explained by the words אֶפְרַיִם נָרָה; the Levite had till then dwelt in a town occupied by men of Judah. However, the statement in the first book of Chronicles cannot reasonably be doubted; an intentional falsification with regard to the descent of so distinguished a man, contrary to the reminiscence and tradition of the people, cannot possibly be supposed even in a composition which is throughout pervaded by a Levitical spirit: and we must understand the word אֶפְרַיִם simply to signify, that Elkanah's family, by its long residence in Ephraim,

could be considered as belonging to that tribe; while his dwelling in Ramathaim-zophim, which was not a Levitical town, cannot be surprising, since in those times and later, Levites lived in other cities besides those assigned to them according to the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua (Judg. xvii. 7; xix. 1; see *infra*.)

<sup>1</sup> Num. xviii. 3, 6.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Sam. ii. 35; comp. ver. 28.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Sam. iii. 20; ix. 6—14; x. 5—13; xix. 20—24.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Sam. vii. 6, 15—17.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* vii. 9, 10.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* ver. 17.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* ix. 12, 13.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* xvi. 2, 5.

<sup>9</sup> Num. xvi. 1, 8—10; xvii. 5; compare iv. 15; xviii. 2, 3.

<sup>10</sup> Hengstenberg, *Auth. des Pent.* ii. 51.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* p. 60.

position of the Levites was very dissimilar to that provided for them in the Pentateuch. Instead of conveniently living in the Levitical towns, supported partly by the gifts of the Israelites, and partly by the lands which formed a certain basis for their subsistence, they wandered through the length and breadth of the land, homeless and breadless; they were happy to be maintained by the benevolence of pious individuals; and were by no means scrupulous whether the towns in which they settled were holy or not.<sup>12</sup>

9. After the Ark of the Covenant had left Shiloh, in the time of Eli, it remained for a long period in Kirjath-jearim, where, during the whole of Saul's reign, it remained without priests, sacrifices, or sacred worship, neglected and abandoned in the house of a private Israelite. Why did the Levites suffer this profanation? Why did they bestow no care or attention on the most sacred part of the Tabernacle, which, without it, was deprived of its very life and centre.<sup>13</sup>

10. The people celebrated the election of Saul as king at Gilgal by "sacrificing burnt-offerings and peace-offerings before the Lord," although the holy Ark was not then at Gilgal.<sup>14</sup>

11. Nor did the irregularities of the religious service cease in the earlier epochs of the Hebrew monarchy. When Samuel did not arrive at the appointed time in Gilgal, Saul, though a Benjamite, anxious to march against the enemy, offered the sacrifices for the assembled army; and the displeasure of Samuel at this step was attributable to perfectly personal and political, not religious, motives; since Samuel himself, the Levite, was not justified in presiding at the sacrifice.<sup>15</sup>

12. When the people had sinned by eating meat together with its blood, Saul, in order to expiate the transgression, built an altar, and commanded that every man should offer up his ox or his lamb; which is indisputably against the spirit of the Mosaic injunctions.<sup>16</sup>

13. David left the Ark of the Covenant for three months in the house of Obed-Edom, in Gath, because he believed its presence to be dangerous, and brought it to Jerusalem only when he learnt the abundant blessing experienced by Obed-Edom.<sup>17</sup>

14. On this occasion, David, though of the tribe of Judah, arrayed in the "linen ephod,"<sup>18</sup> the characteristic garment of the priests,<sup>19</sup> "offered burnt-offerings and peace-offerings before the Lord, and blessed the people in the name of the Lord of hosts";<sup>20</sup> though he had around him the priests Zadok and Abiathar, through whom he was accustomed to consult the Divine oracle.<sup>21</sup>

15. At the time of the pestilence, David built an altar on the threshing-floor of Araunah, offered burnt-offerings and peace-offerings, and the plague ceased.<sup>22</sup>

16. "The sons of David were priests."<sup>23</sup> Instead of this notice, indeed, the Book of Chronicles, quite in harmony with its usual Levitical tendency, writes: "the sons of David were the first about the person of the king."<sup>24</sup>

17. Adoniah, the son of David, offered sacrifices at the meeting of his friends, assembled by him for the purpose of securing their assistance in his attempt to deprive Solomon of the throne.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>12</sup> See Judg. xvii. 7—12; xviii. 1—31; xix. 1; 1 Sam. xxi. 1—6; comp. ii. 36.

<sup>13</sup> 1 Sam. vii. 2; 1 Chron. xiii. 3; see the strange explanations of *Hengstenberg*, *loc. cit.* pp. 48—50.

<sup>14</sup> 1 Sam. xi. 15; comp. vii. 1; 2 Sam. vi. 3, 4; and Judg. xx. 26, 27.

<sup>15</sup> 1 Sam. xiii. 9, *et seq.*

<sup>16</sup> 1 Sam. xiv. 32—35.

<sup>17</sup> 2 Sam. vi. 9—12.

<sup>18</sup> עֲפֹד כֹהֵן.

<sup>19</sup> Comp. 1 Sam. ii. 18; xxii. 28; 2 Sam. vi. 14; while ephod alone is employed to

denote the well-known vesture of the *high-priest*, 1 Sam. ii. 28; xiv. 3; xxiii. 9; xxx. 7; compare, however, Judg. xvii. 5; xviii. 17, 20; see Com. on Exod. pp. 530—533.

<sup>20</sup> 2 Sam. vi. 14, 17, 18; comp. Deut. xxi. 5; Ps. cx. 4.

<sup>21</sup> 1 Sam. xxiii. 9; xxx. 7.

<sup>22</sup> 2 Sam. xxiv. 25.

<sup>23</sup> כְּנִי דָוִד כֹהֲנִים הָיוּ, 2 Sam. viii. 18.

<sup>24</sup> הָרִאשִׁימִים לִיד הַמֶּלֶךְ, 1 Chron. xviii. 17.

<sup>25</sup> 1 Kings i. 9.



18. It has been mentioned above, that the priests Benaiah and Azariah filled military and secular offices (see p. 735).

19. Before the building of the Temple, not only Solomon, but any Israelite who chose, sacrificed on the heights, on one of which, at Gibeon, which was "the great height," the king offered a thousand burnt-offerings on an altar.<sup>1</sup> The Book of Chronicles adds, as a justification of this latter act, "for there was the Tent of Meeting of God, which Moses the servant of the Lord had made in the desert";<sup>2</sup> but even, if this was the case, the sacrifices must be regarded as illegitimate, since the Ark was at that time in Jerusalem; the worship of Solomon at Gibeon is, in the Book of Kings, introduced with the censure, "only he sacrificed and burnt incense in high places";<sup>3</sup> and after having obtained a Divine vision, the king went to Jerusalem, stood before the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord,<sup>4</sup> and offered up burnt-offerings, and made peace-offerings.<sup>5</sup>

20. At the consecration of the Temple, Solomon sacrificed together with the people;<sup>6</sup> he blessed the latter;<sup>7</sup> kneeling before the altar of the Lord, and his hands raised to heaven, he pronounced a fervent supplication for the prosperity of Israel, asked for the gracious fulfilment of every prayer, for forgiveness of all sins, for blessing in peace and success in war,<sup>8</sup> and concluded with another ardent benediction on the people of Israel.<sup>9</sup> In fine, Solomon himself consecrated the holy edifice; except that the Ark was placed into the Holy of Holies by the priests, who, however, are mentioned at no other part of the ceremonies.<sup>10</sup>

21. And those who do not think all these combined statements conclusive, and perhaps regard many of them as exceptional or isolated, may consider the notice that Solomon, even after the inauguration of the Temple, regularly, "three times every year, offered burnt-offerings and peace-offerings upon the altar which he had built to the Lord, and he burnt incense upon the altar that was before the Lord."<sup>11</sup>

The obvious results to be drawn from these facts are, that during a long period after the conquest of Canaan, the Israelites extensively preserved the patriarchal organisation of their households; that the head of the family, at regular intervals, performed the sacerdotal functions in the name of the other members;<sup>12</sup> that, in general, the priestly power remained combined with the secular authority, so that among the Hebrews, as was the case among all ancient nations, kings, military leaders, or other public dignitaries, offered sacrifices for the people, and discharged other religious offices; that these rites were performed at any place where an occasion arose, and not exclusively at the Tabernacle; that the Levites, weakened and humbled in consequence of political misfortunes and reckless warfare, were far from possessing any special claim to the priesthood, could still less obtain or exercise great hierarchical power, and appear almost everywhere in a condition of dependence, and sometimes of helplessness. If the reader, from these considerations, turns once more to the words of our poem applying to Levi, he will understand their full force and propriety.

However, it is, on the other hand, undeniable, that the Levites showed, from a remote period, a *tendency* to occupy the position marked out for them in the Pentateuch, and that the principal religious institutions there delineated are, with more or less distinctness, traceable in the history of the Hebrews after Moses. In harmony with the notice in the Book of Joshua, that "the whole congregation assembled at Shiloh, and there set up the Tabernacle of Meeting,"<sup>13</sup> we find during a large part of the period

<sup>1</sup> 1 Kings iii. 2—4.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Chr. i. 3, 13; comp. 1 Chr. xvi. 39; xxi. 29.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Kings iii. 3. <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* ver. 15.

<sup>5</sup> Comp. p. 741, note 20.

<sup>6</sup> 1 Kings viii. 5, 62, 63.

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.* vers. 14—21. <sup>8</sup> *Ib.* vers. 22—53.

<sup>9</sup> *Ib.* vers. 54—61. <sup>10</sup> *Ib.* vers. 6—11.

<sup>11</sup> 1 Kings ix. 25; comp. xii. 31; xiii. 33; see also Exod. xviii. 12; xxiv. 5, עָרָא בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל; and Comment. pp. 319, 338.

<sup>12</sup> 1 Sam. xx. 6; comp. Job i. 5; xlii. 8.

<sup>13</sup> Josh. xviii. 1.

of the Judges,<sup>14</sup> a true sanctuary and a real religious centre at Shiloh. It is designated with the distinct names *House of God*, *Abode of the Lord*, and *Tent of Meeting*.<sup>15</sup> It contained the Ark of the Covenant,<sup>16</sup> which symbolised the presence of God,<sup>17</sup> and bore the mysterious figures of the Cherubim;<sup>18</sup> which was regarded as Israel's most precious treasure, or their "honour,"<sup>19</sup> and accompanied the armies on military expeditions, for their own most powerful protection, and to the consternation of their enemies.<sup>20</sup> At Shiloh was "the light of God,"<sup>21</sup> burning from evening to morning;<sup>22</sup> here the people "appeared before the Lord,"<sup>23</sup> offered up and redeemed vows, killed sacrifices on a holy altar, and consumed the meals of the eucharistic offerings in the society of their families.<sup>24</sup> Shiloh was the place of popular assembly for deliberation on national affairs; there met the delegates of the tribes; and there were sometimes the head-quarters of the army.<sup>25</sup> The prophet Nathan said to David, in the name of God, "I have not dwelt in any house since the time that I brought up the children of Israel out of Egypt, even to this day, but have walked in a Tent and in a Tabernacle";<sup>26</sup> which words confirm the existence of a national place of worship after the time of Moses; and the prophet Jeremiah also mentions Shiloh as the religious centre before the erection of the Temple on Zion, and calls it the place where "God made His name dwell at first."<sup>27</sup>—But all these points do not prove the *unity* of the sanctuary;<sup>28</sup> they show merely that solemn or religious actions were *frequently*, perhaps even *chiefly*, performed at Shiloh, or at the place where the Ark happened to be: that this was not *exclusively* the case, as would be required by the commandments of the Pentateuch, is abundantly clear from the many deviations and exceptions which have been above pointed out.<sup>29</sup>

Quite analogous is the case with the Levites. We find them at all times after Moses employed for religious offices, often honoured with great confidence, and sometimes consulted on difficult questions; they carried the Ark, and their services for sacred functions were taken with predilection; so that, for instance, Micah, after having obtained a Levite to superintend his domestic worship, exclaimed with joyful satisfaction: "Now I know that the Lord will do me good, since I have a Levite to be my priest."<sup>30</sup> The authority of the Levites grew considerably from the time of Samuel: among the servants of Saul, no Hebrew was found who would lay hands on the priests of Nob; Doeg the Edomite alone showed himself ready to perform the

<sup>14</sup> Judg. xviii. 31.

<sup>15</sup> בית אל, 1 Sam. i. 7, 24, and בית ה, היכל יהוה, Judg. xviii. 31; האלהים, 1 Sam. i. 9; iii. 3; אהל מועד, 1 Sam. ii. 22.

<sup>16</sup> ארון ברית יהוה, 1 Sam. iv. 3, etc.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* iv. 3, 7, 8; vi. 19.

<sup>18</sup> 1 Sam. iv. 4; 2 Sam. vi. 2; comp. on Exod., p. 480.

<sup>19</sup> 1 Sam. iv. 18, 21, 22; comp. Psalm lxxviii. 60, 61.

<sup>20</sup> 1 Sam. iv. 3; comp. Num. x. 35. The Ark was, however, temporarily also at Beth-el (Judg. xx. 26, 27; xxi. 2, 4), and at other places, as in Gibeon: comp. 1 Chr. xvi. 39; xxi. 29; 2 Chr. i. 3; comp. 1 Ki. iii. 4.

<sup>21</sup> נר אלהים, 1 Sam. iii. 3.

<sup>22</sup> See on Exod. xxvii. 20, 21; compare Lev. xxiv. 2—4.

<sup>23</sup> נראה את פני יהוה, 1 Sam. i. 22; comp. Deut. xvi. 16.

<sup>24</sup> 1 Sam. i. 3, 4, 21; ii. 33; xiv. 3, etc.; comp. Deut. xii. 17, 18.

<sup>25</sup> Comp. ver. 10; Josh. xxi. 2; Judg. xviii. 31; xxi. 12, 19. That the Philistines, after their great victory in the time of Eli, took Shiloh and destroyed the Tabernacle, is an unfounded conjecture (*Ewald*, *Gesch.* ii. 424; comp. 1 Sam. xiv. 3).

<sup>26</sup> 2 Sam. vii. 6.

<sup>27</sup> Jer. vii. 12; comp. xxvi. 6.

<sup>28</sup> As is asserted, for instance, by *Hengstenberg*, *Auth. des Pent.* ii. 52—56.

<sup>29</sup> Not conclusive for establishing the *unity* of the public service are the following passages generally quoted for this purpose: Judg. xviii. 31; xxi. 19; 1 Sam. i. 7; 2 Sam. ii. 15—17; they prove not more than the result we have just stated.

<sup>30</sup> Judg. xvii. 13; see xx. 28; 1 Sam. i. 9; vi. 5; vii. 1; xiv. 3; 2 Sam. xv. 24; 1 Kings viii. 3, 4, 6; comp. Josh. iii. 3; viii. 33; see also Num. xxvii. 19; xxxii. 2; Deut. xxvii. 9; Josh. xvii. 4; Jer. xviii. 18; *Joseph.*, *Ant.* v. i. 1.

impious deed;<sup>1</sup> though Saul himself had so little respect for the class, that he committed at Nob, the town of the priests, a general massacre of men and beasts.<sup>2</sup> Solomon was reluctant to kill the priest Ebiathar, who had joined the usurper Adoniah, "because he had borne the Ark of the Lord"; yet he deposed him from his priestly office, and expelled him from the capital.<sup>3</sup> The same monarch, though himself consecrating the Temple and blessing the people, ordered the Ark and the other holy vessels to be brought into the sacred edifice by priests and Levites;<sup>4</sup> priests were not seldom the mediators between the king and the people, and the councillors of the crown;<sup>5</sup> and not long afterwards we find the men of the tribe of Levi as the legal and exclusive servants of the Temple.<sup>6</sup> Then they steadily advanced towards obtaining that prominent position accorded to them in the Pentateuch, which, for instance, appoints them the judges in all difficult cases, and enjoins the punishment of death upon every disregard shown for their decisions;<sup>7</sup> for "the priests, the sons of Levi, the Lord hath chosen to minister to Him, and to bless in the name of the Lord, and by their word shall every controversy and every offence be tried";<sup>8</sup> till their condition entirely corresponded with the enthusiastic praise bestowed upon them in the blessing of Moses: "They shall teach Jacob Thy judgments, and Israel Thy law; they shall put incense before Thee, and whole burnt sacrifice upon Thy altar";<sup>9</sup> they became ultimately the regular and appointed instructors of the people in the precepts of Mosaicism; and the respect entertained for them deepened into veneration and spontaneous submission.<sup>10</sup>

Hence we may thus briefly sketch the progress of the tribe of Levi. The first solid foundation for its future distinction was laid by the noble character and brilliant genius of Moses. One of the chief objects of his attention was the regulation of the religious affairs of his people. This task was peculiarly arduous at a time when the Hebrews had largely imbibed the idolatrous notions of the pagans, and were with difficulty restrained from superstitious worship. But it appears that Moses was in his plans vigorously supported by the members of his tribe.<sup>11</sup> The memory of this laudable co-operation is preserved in the narrative of the zeal with which, after the worship of the golden-calf, the Levites seized the sword to punish the offenders, and to vindicate the glory of the only God of Israel, when, subduing their dearest human feelings, they slew "every man his son, and every man his brother."<sup>12</sup> Some such act was considered as their initiation in the sacred covenant with God, and as a claim to His peculiar blessing; and the song of Moses alludes to it with unmistakable terms: "Levi said to his father and to his mother, I have not seen him; he did not acknowledge his own brothers, nor know his own children; for they have observed the word of God, and kept His covenant."<sup>13</sup> When, therefore, the men of Levi, after the immigration into Canaan, failed to secure territorial property, because the warlike part of the tribe hazarded wild and suicidal expeditions resulting in all but total destruction, the remaining more peaceful part, followed, with enhanced energy, in the path traced out by their great model, their leader and legislator. Compelled to seek a scanty subsistence in all parts of the country, they availed themselves of their dispersion for obtaining a legitimate influence in religious matters. And it may be easily imagined, that many Israelites, and more especially the chiefs of the families, absorbed as they were by their agricultural and domestic pursuits, and not unfrequently engaged in protracted wars,

<sup>1</sup> 1 Sam. xxii. 18.    <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* ver. 19.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Kings ii. 26, 27.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Kings viii. 3, 4, 6—11. About the statements in 1 Chr. xv. 16; xxv. 1 *et seq.*, etc., see *Bohlen*, *Genes.*, Introd. pp. 125—128.

<sup>5</sup> 2 Sam. xix. 12; 1 Ki. i. 7, 39; iv. 4.

<sup>6</sup> Comp. Joel i. 9, 13, 16; ii. 14, 17, etc.

<sup>7</sup> Deut. xvii. 8—13.

<sup>8</sup> Deut. xxi. 5; comp. 1 Chr. xxiii. 4.

<sup>9</sup> Deut. xxxiii. 10; comp. 2 Chr. xix. 11.

<sup>10</sup> 2 Chr. xvii. 7—9; Mal. ii. 37.

<sup>11</sup> Comp. 1 Sam. ii. 28.

<sup>12</sup> Exod. xxxii. 26—29; see Comment. p. 578.

<sup>13</sup> Deut. xxxiii. 9.

gladly entrusted the management of their sacrifices and other sacred duties to men who had exhibited sincerity and eagerness in upholding the purity of faith, and who, without property and worldly cares, seemed anxious to extend and to strengthen the religious institutions. *Thus the Levites were gradually substituted for the firstborn sons*, with respect to the priestly functions originally devolving upon the latter.<sup>14</sup> But the Levites did not obtain these valuable prerogatives without serious opposition. In the first place, they were not free from jealousy within their own tribe. The elder branches of them, the Aaronites, had reserved for themselves the performance of all higher rites, especially at the common national sanctuary, the interior of which they claimed as their exclusive sphere of action; while they admitted the other lines of the house of Levi only to the inferior offices, and regarded them as their subordinate servants.<sup>15</sup> The dissatisfaction of the latter is reflected in the rebellion of Korah, who demanded equal privileges with the most favoured of his kinsmen;<sup>16</sup> though even Samuel, who was no Aaronite, without obstacle or hesitation, entirely acted in the capacity of *priest*. But further, the increasing spiritual power of the Levites naturally roused, in a still higher degree, the animosity of many Israelites, who were unwilling altogether to renounce a most essential part of their dignity and authority; and that adverse feeling was, of course, strongest in the *firstborn* tribe of Reuben, which, if any part of the people was to be singled out for the priesthood of the nation, was pre-eminently entitled to such distinction; whence we find, in the history of Korah, besides the two hundred and fifty Israelites who embraced his plans, "princes of the congregation, men of fame and renown," three Reubenites, Dathan, Abiram, and On, expressly named as the chiefs and instigators of the sedition.<sup>17</sup>—The growing influence of the Levites was further materially retarded, if not checked, from another side, namely, by the activity of the *prophets*. This circumstance was most fortunate for the Hebrew commonwealth, and ultimately proved no less beneficial for the stability of the Levitical institutions. The tendency to an oppressive spiritual supremacy, which seems inseparable from a permanent and hereditary priesthood, was during a long period successfully counteracted by those free and enlightened teachers, who insisted upon piety of the heart rather than rigid ceremonies, who incessantly diffused fresh and fruitful ideas, and thus happily obviated a stagnation of religious life invariably resulting from a prematurely fixed final standard of religious thought. The prophets, drawing their lessons from the eternal sources of the mind, fettered by no conventional form, and eager to spread that truth and virtue which are the common ends of all mankind, constantly corrected, enlarged, and refined, the current notions, till the latter assumed that degree of purity which recommended them as an excellent basis of national faith, and took a hold on the people strong enough to spiritualise and to render innoxious even a complicated system of rituals. Hence it may be accounted for, that the priesthood attained its greatest development only when the prophetic element of the nation fell into dissolution and decay; that a degeneracy of priests and prophets was usually simultaneous, and was in both deplored as an equal calamity for the nation;<sup>18</sup> that for a long time the former listened to the authority of the latter, and, to avoid conflicts, adopted their advice and warning; but that at last the priests, not unfrequently supported by the strong arm of the kings, felt assurance and power enough obstinately to oppose their will to that of the prophets, and if arguments failed, to have recourse to material force and persecution.<sup>19</sup> Thus the blessing of Moses, addressed to Levi, could conclude with

<sup>14</sup> Exod. xiii. 2, 13; see *supra*, p. 736.

<sup>15</sup> Num. xviii. 2, וילוו עליך וישתרות; ver. 6, the Levites are "a gift given to the Lord" לעבר את עבדת אהל סועד.

<sup>16</sup> Num. xvi. 1, *et seq.*

<sup>17</sup> Num. xvi. 2.

<sup>18</sup> Mic. iii. 11; Jer. v. 31; vi. 13; xxiii. 11; Lament. iv. 13; Ez. xxii. 6; Zeph. iii. 4.

<sup>19</sup> Comp. Jer. xx.; xxvi. 7, *et seq.*, etc.

the menacing and confident words, "Smite the loins of those who rise against him, and of those who hate him, that they may rise no more."<sup>1</sup>

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—Simeon and Levi are emphatically called אחים *full brothers*, kindred not merely by birth, but by sanguinary and violent disposition, a *par nobile fratrum* (*Hor. Sat. II. iii. 243*), and hence sharing a similar fate.—כָּלִי חַמָּם is undoubtedly the correct reading; not כָּלִי, as the Samarit. Cod. offers, and the Sept. renders (*συνέτελεσαν*; comp. *Isai. xxxii. 7*).—כִּכְרָה is derivable from the root כִּיר, the meaning of which is clear from the substantives פִּיֹּר, *fire-pan*, פִּירִים, *oven* (*Lev. xi. 35*), and כּוּר, *furnace*; namely to *boil* or *seethe*, which is confirmed by the Syriac אַטְוַאֲוִי, *astuavit*. כִּכְרָה, signifies, therefore, *the heat and ardour of anger*, raging and destructive, like murderous weapons, a metaphor so natural that it is familiarly used in all languages (comp. חָזָה, *astus*, heat, *xxvii. 44*; *Jer. vi. 11*; *Job xxi. 20*; from חָמָם, to be warm, which is used of the fever of angry passion; comp. *Ps. xxxix. 4*; *Hos. vii. 6*, 7, שְׁפִטִּים אֶת שַׁמְטָם וְאָכְלוּ and as frequently rare words are explained by the addition of more usual terms, עָבַרְתָּם and עָבַרְתָּם follow here as a welcome illustration. The plural מַכְרוֹת is used instead of the singular, like מַשְׁכָּבִי in *ver. 4* (comp. *Ges. Gr. § 106. 2*); as on the other hand the singular is poetically used for the plural (*ver. 6*, אִישׁ and שׁוֹר; *ver. 15*, שְׂכָמוֹ; *ver. 11*, לְבָשׁוֹ and סוּתָה, etc.). The explanation which, in the next place, deserves consideration is that of many modern translators, who, connecting מַכְרָה with the Greek μάχαρπα, or deriving it from כּוּר, to pierce through, render *sword* (comp. *הִרְנוּ*, *ver. 6*; so *Rashi*, *Luther*, *Grotius*, *Herder*, *Hasse*, *Rosenm.*, *Stähelin*, *Friedr.*, *Bohlen*, *Gesen.*, etc.; comp. *Pirke Aboth, c. 38*; *Tanchum. 53*; *Jerome in Quæst. arma eorum*; *Vulg. vasa iniquitatis bellantia*). A variety of other, less plausible, interpretations has been proposed;

namely, 1. *Wicked councils* or *machinations* (after the Arabic etymology of مَكْر *dolum struxit*; so *De Dieu*, *Schultens*, *Castelli*, *Maurer*, and others; Sept. ἐξαίρεσις; comp. *Isai. xxxii. 7*; *Tuch* derives מַכְרָה from כָּרַר, to turn round, so that it is equivalent to תַּחְבִּלוֹת, *Prov. xii. 5*; compare מַרְמָה, *Gen. xxxiv. 13*). 2. *Their dwellings* or *habitations* (מַכְרֵיהֶם is considered synonymous with מְנוּחֵיהֶם, *Ezek. xvi. 3*; *xxi. 35*; so *Onkel.* תּוֹתִיבוֹתֵיהֶן, *בְּאֶרֶץ תּוֹתִיבוֹתֵיהֶן*; *Kimchi, English Version*, etc.). 3. *Their nature* or *character* (like מַכְרָה (comp. χαράρις, *Syr.* מִן כִּינְהוֹן). 4. *Their alliance* (אֲחוּתָם), *Rashbam*, with reference to *Ezek. xvi. 3*). 5. *Their family* or *kindred* (*Mendelssohn*, *Schumann*, *Fürst*, *Concord. p. 550*; comp. *Ebn Ezra*). 6. *Their sale* or *traffic* (from מָכַר, to sell). Their betrothals, with regard to xxxiv. 14—17 (*desponsationes*; compare *Syr.* מַכּוּרִיָּא, *Cleric.*, *Michael.*, *Knobel*, etc.).—סוֹר (from יָסַד, to place or establish), is a council or assembly (parallel with קָהָל); Sept. βουλῆ; comp. *Ps. lxiv. 3*; *cxl. 1*; *Jer. xv. 17*; *xxiii. 18*; *Ezek. xiii. 9*, etc.—נַפְשׁ, corresponding with נֶפֶשׁ, or with חַיִּים (*Ps. vii. 6*), or לב (*Ps. xvi. 9*; *cviii. 2*), is the *mind* or *soul*, the most honoured or distinguished part of man (comp. *Ps. xxx. 13*; *lvii. 9*), in which sense יְחִידָה (the *unique, incomparable*) occurs in *Ps. xxii. 21*; *xxxv. 17*, and ἡρώς in *Hom. Il. v. 250*; *xi. 115*; *xxiv. 50*. The Sept. renders τὰ ἡπαρά μου (from כָּבֵד); but the liver, by the Hebrews, was not considered to represent the soul.—The feminine הַחַיָּה is used in connection with the masculine כְּבוֹד, because this substantive has here the meaning of the preceding נַפְשׁ, the *Samarit. Cod.* reads unnecessarily יָחַד; and the Sept. renders ἰπῖσαι (perhaps after the reading יָחַד).—רָצוֹן is here akin in meaning to אָף; Sept. ἰαθυμία; uncontrolled *self-will*.—In a synonymous parallelism, it is sufficient that the notions should correspond in a general way; hence אִישׁ (*ver. 6*), in the first member, does not compel us to understand שׁוֹר, in the second, also of human beings (comp. xxxiv. 28).—עָקַר is undoubtedly "to cut the foot-

<sup>1</sup> Deut. xxxiii. 11.

nerves, or to hamstring" animals, in order to render them useless, as was usually done with horses which the victors found impossible to take with them (comp. Josh. xi. 6, 9; 2 Sam. viii. 4; 1 Chr. xviii. 4); whence the Sept. renders most aptly *λευκοκόπησαν* (comp. *Strab.* xvi. 772; *Polyb.* xxxi. 12; Kor. vii. 75; *Ges.* Thes. p. 1062). To be rejected, therefore, is the translation of the Vulg. *suffoderunt muram* (אִשׁוּ, ver. 22; *Ebn Ezra*, חוֹסֶה, *Eng. Ver.* "they digged down a wall.") Some curiously apply אִשׁוּ to Shechem or חֶסֶר (xxxiv. 2); and others even to Joseph, with reference to the expression בְּכֹר שׁוֹרֵי (in Deut. xxxiii. 17), and to the terms אֶתֶר and אֵיל, used of heroes or princes (Isai. xiv. 9; Eze. xvii. 13; Ps. xxii. 13; lxviii. 31; comp. *κτελος*, *Hom.* Il. iii. 196, etc.).—In order to transform the curse into a praise, the *Samar. Codex* changes arbitrarily אֶתֶר (ver. 7) into אֶתֶרֶת, mighty, powerful; while *Targ. Jon.* and *Jerus.* refer the curse to the town of Shechem; and *Ebn Ezra*, taking אֶתֶר in the uncertain sense of decreasing, renders "their wrath will or may abate."—In the rising elevation of the language, the concluding words of Jacob, "I will disperse them in Jacob, and scatter them in Israel," appear as the decree of the Deity (comp. xlviii. 22).

## IV. JUDAH. VRS. 8—12.

After describing the deplorable and certainly insignificant political condition of the eldest tribes, the poem proceeds to delineate with glowing colours, and with unmistakable enthusiasm, the eminence, the glory, and brilliant prosperity of Judah, manifest by a slight glance at its history.

From very remote times the men of Judah exercised a certain preponderance in the Hebrew nation. On the wanderings through the desert, after the exodus from Egypt, they marched before all the other tribes.<sup>2</sup> They long owed this authority to their acknowledged power as a community, rather than to the prominent distinction of individual members; the earliest chiefs were not chosen from their ranks; they unmurmuringly recognised the leadership of the Levite Moses, the Ephraimite Joshua, and the Benjamite Saul;<sup>3</sup> yet in difficult or national schemes, the initiative was willingly entrusted to their hands; and each successive undertaking fortified their own strength and the reliance of the Hebrews in their singleness of purpose and unwavering energy. At the conquest of Canaan, they were the first to secure property and to expel or subdue the heathens; and on that occasion they achieved memorable feats of heroism faithfully preserved in the records of the nation.<sup>4</sup> With an honourable disinterestedness, they assisted the weaker tribes in their wars for the acquisition of territory. When Benjamin had provoked the vengeance of the brother tribes, they were appointed as the first to march out in the federal army.<sup>5</sup> From them sprung Othniel, the first Judge of Israel,<sup>6</sup> who obtained glorious victories over the distant and mighty nations of Mesopotamia; and the circumstance that they gave, perhaps, no other Judge to the people,<sup>7</sup> may justly be adduced as a proof of their advancing power, since Judges arose only when external dangers or internal confusion was to be averted by a strong administration, such as was ordinarily enjoyed by Judah. From a kindred reason, this tribe is scarcely mentioned in the subsequent periods of the Judges; it is passed over in the song of Deborah, certainly not because it was too unimportant, but because it had then already assumed an independent position in reference to the other tribes,

<sup>2</sup> Num. ii. 3; x. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Though Caleb, the valiant companion of Joshua, and, besides him, the only man of the Egyptian generation who entered Canaan, was from the tribe of Judah (comp. Num. xiii. 6; xiv. 30; xxvi. 65; xxxii. 12; Josh. xiv. 6—14; xv. 13—19).

<sup>4</sup> Judg. i. 1—20.

<sup>5</sup> Judg. xx. 18.

<sup>6</sup> Judg. iii. 9, 10.

<sup>7</sup> Since the descent of Ibzan (Judg. xii. 8—10) and Shamgar (*Ibid.* iii. 31; v. 6) is uncertain (comp. *Ewald*, *Gesch.* ii. 310).

and could rely upon its own power for safety and progress. With its habitual moderation, it subordinated itself to the young and small tribe of Benjamin, when the people, anxious for monarchical government, had accepted Saul as the first king. But when the latter showed his incapacity for a firm and beneficent rule, the tribe of Judah did not hesitate to come forward and to claim the distinction due to it by its healthful and vigorous condition, and ultimately accorded to it after a long and determined warfare with its rivals. David was, at last, proclaimed king over all Israel,<sup>1</sup> and his reign heralded the most brilliant epoch in the history of the Hebrews; he made their name respected over a large part of Asia; he inspired them with a wholesome self-respect, which expanded their energies and raised their aims and hopes; he enlarged the boundaries of the realm, and knew how to defend them; he brought the surrounding nations, so long a scourge and a terror to Canaan, under his sceptre;<sup>2</sup> he founded a commonwealth, which could proudly take rank among the great empires of the East; and he laid a strong political basis for the growth of those truths and ideas which secured to the Israelites an imperishable monument in history, and made them the instructors of the human race. The work commenced by David was worthily continued by his gifted son. Solomon added splendour to the solidity of the preceding reign; he knew how to apply the treasures, accumulated by his father, and how to acquire even greater wealth by the enterprises of navigation and commerce; he created a lasting centre of religious worship by building a magnificent temple, round which a large part of the piety, learning, and intelligence of the nation gradually rallied, and which proved a safeguard against a permanent relapse into ignorance and superstition; he encouraged literature, and was himself one of its most successful cultivators; he gave, in a word, an effectual impulse to all the arts that adorn, and the intellectual pursuits which refine the mind. At no time of their existence could the Hebrews look with greater satisfaction upon the affairs of their country than in the middle of Solomon's reign, when peace prevailed at home and abroad, powerful kings courted their alliance, the national resources were flourishing and vastly increasing, when agriculture obtained its due share of attention, and the graces of civilization spread a charm of beauty over public and social life. To this time refers the chief portion of the words which in our poem are addressed to Judah. His royal dignity; the willing submission of the other tribes, rejoicing in his glory, because it partially redounds on themselves; the complete prostration of heathen nations; the tranquillity and peace with which, like an unapproachable lion, he enjoys the fruit of his victories;<sup>3</sup> the abundance of the most precious produce of the soil,<sup>4</sup> and of other property;<sup>5</sup> all this is so clearly and forcibly expressed in the blessing that it scarcely requires further elucidation.

But several weighty circumstances rendered it impossible that Judah should retain the undisputed dominion for a considerable period. Simultaneously with Judah, the tribe of Ephraim had steadily grown in authority and organisation, by a series of events which we have before attempted to trace (see pp. 709—715). It was hence but natural that the Ephraimites, always aspiring, and conscious of their importance, should eagerly avail themselves of the least weakness or mistake on the part of Judah, to vindicate their independence, and to undermine the power of their rival. When, therefore, the latter half of Solomon's reign exhibited symptoms of decline, and when the accession of the following king, Rehoboam, was accompanied with acts devoid of all wisdom and discretion; Ephraim proclaimed its own sovereignty, which was readily acknowledged by nine other tribes. The question, which of the two kingdoms would gain the

<sup>1</sup> 2 Sam. v. 1—5.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. 2 Sam. viii. 1—14.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. 1 Ki. v. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. Num. xiii. 23, 24; Joel i. 7, *et seq.*; Cant. i. 14.

<sup>5</sup> Comp. 1 Sam. xxv. 2; Am. i. 1; 2 Chron. xxvi. 10.

predominance, might for some time have appeared seriously doubtful. In territorial extent,<sup>6</sup> in numerical strength,<sup>7</sup> and in the possession of cities of ancient sacredness, such as Shiloh, Gilgal, and Bethel, Ephraim was decidedly superior to Judah; and the ambition of the new dynasty left no doubt that it would fully avail itself of such important advantages. On the other hand, the kingdom of Judah enjoyed a concentration and unity which proved mighty bulwarks of strength; its citizens had inherited the manly sense of independence which had always distinguished their forefathers; they had in their midst the Temple, which, by keeping alive their religious feelings, steelled their moral courage, and beneficially influenced their life and conduct; and they were, by two long and successful reigns, fully accustomed to the rights and duties of monarchical government. When, therefore, by the co-operation of the prophet Abijah, and most probably by a public proclamation at Shiloh, his native town and for centuries the place of general or national assemblies,<sup>8</sup> the division was accomplished, and the power of both kingdoms appeared so equally balanced that the subjection of one of them by the other could only be realised by a desperate and destructive war; the moderate and prudent men of Israel reasonably wished that both realms should recognise and respect each other, and, without mutual envy, pursue their own growth and advancement. This is the point of view from which our address is to be understood: *The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, even if many flock to Shiloh, and join the crown of Joseph.*<sup>9</sup> In this sense we interpret those words, which from the earliest times have been a subject of the most vehement dispute,<sup>10</sup> and which have called forth an incredible variety of expositions.<sup>11</sup> The spirit of our passage may therefore be best illustrated by the following words, which, in the First Book of Kings, the prophet Abijah addresses to Jeroboam: "To his [David's] son will I give one tribe, that David My servant may have a light always before Me<sup>12</sup> in Jerusalem, the city which I have chosen for Me, to let My name dwell there. And I will take thee, and thou shalt reign according to all that thy soul desireth, and shalt be king over Israel. . . . And I will for this afflict the seed of David, but not for ever."<sup>13</sup> In fact, Judah and Joseph are in our song treated almost alike; both possess royal power;<sup>14</sup> both are lords over fraternal tribes;<sup>15</sup> both conquerors living in security after obstinate and difficult struggles;<sup>16</sup> and both are blessed with the bounty of nature and of a fertile soil.<sup>17</sup> These coincidences will appear the more significant if compared with the corresponding parts of the benediction of Moses. While there a fervent supplication is offered up for Judah, that he may be rescued from his powerful and numerous enemies,<sup>18</sup> Joseph is deprived of none of the great benefits bestowed upon him in the song of Jacob, and receives, in addition, an even more emphatic promise of agricultural fertility, and of the growing supremacy of Ephraim.<sup>19</sup> The picture in Genesis leads to the beginning of the divided empire, when both kingdoms were in a certain equilibrium, which principally caused and perpetuated the separation; while the description in Deuteronomy points to later trials and troubles, not unfrequent in the kingdom of Judah, when it was menaced, attacked, and severely oppressed by foreign enemies, and counted among its most dangerous antagonists *the kingdom of Ephraim itself*.<sup>20</sup> It cannot, however, surprise us, that Judah is, in our poem, *more explicitly* characterised as the royal tribe;<sup>21</sup> the heroic greatness of David, and the far-famed

<sup>6</sup> Comp. Josh. xv. and p. 709.

<sup>7</sup> Comp. 1 Sam. xi. 8, where the men of Israel are stated at 300,000, those of Judah, at 30,000; and 1 Sam. xv. 4, according to which, among 200,000 Israelites, the tribe of Judah counted 10,000. See also Num. i. and xxvi.

<sup>8</sup> See p. 741; comp. 1 Ki. xiv. 2, *et seq.*

<sup>9</sup> Comp. vers. 10 and 26.

<sup>10</sup> עַד כִּי יָבֵא שִׁילָה וְכ.

<sup>11</sup> See the Philological Remarks.

<sup>12</sup> כָּל הַיָּמִים לִפְנֵי <sup>13</sup> 1 Ki. xi. 36—39.

<sup>14</sup> Vers. 10, 26. <sup>15</sup> Vers. 8, 26.

<sup>16</sup> Vers. 8, 9, 23, 24.

<sup>17</sup> Vers. 11, 12, 25, 26.

<sup>18</sup> Deut. xxxiii. 7. <sup>19</sup> *Ibid.* vers. 13—17.

<sup>20</sup> Comp. Isai. vii., viii.; 2 Ki. xvi. 1—5.

<sup>21</sup> Vers. 8, 10.



wisdom of Solomon, had endeared the name of Judah to every Hebrew; their successors were, in the eyes of many, who deplored the division as an inevitable source of misery, feud, and weakness, alone entitled to the right of government; and the ultimate re-union of Judah and Ephraim belonged to the most fervent hopes of the patriots. The lesser degree of prominence given to the royal dignity of Joseph may be further accounted for by the shortness of time which had elapsed since the division: at that period the dynasty of Judah could be considered as old and long-established, was surrounded by the halo of existence during a number of generations, and, in public opinion, easily maintained the moral prevalence over the monarchy of the Ten Tribes, young, unconsolidated, and but loosely connected.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—יהודה is here, as in xxix. 35, combined with the Hiphil הורה.—The pronoun אתה emphatically precedes the following suffix (יורוך); comp. on xxiv. 27, p. 465.—The words ירך בערף איבך receive light by the similar phrases, נתתי את כל איבך אליך ערף (Exod. xxiii. 27); ואיבי נתת לי ערף (Ps. xviii. 41; 2 Sam. xxii. 41; comp. Josh. x. 24, 25); פנה, הפך, הפנה ערף (Josh. vii. 8, 12; Jer. xlviii. 39).—Judah is then compared with a crouching lion, whom none dares to approach or to rouse; a favourite image of Hebrew poets, occurring also in Num. xxiii. 24; xxiv. 9 (כלביא מי יקימנו) (כרע שכב כארי וכלביא מי יקימנו); Deut. xxxiii. 20 (כלביא שכן) (כרע שכב כארי וכלביא מי יקימנו); וטורף זרוע אף קדקד (comp. *ibid.* ver. 22; Job xli. 2; Mic. v. 7; Isai. v. 29).—As the literal acceptance of the words מטרף בני עליית, “from the prey thou ascendest, my son,” yields the appropriate sense that the lion, after having assured himself of his booty, repairs to his mountain dens (comp. Cant. iv. 8; Ps. civ. 21, 22);<sup>1</sup> there is no reason to abandon it, especially as the quiet devouring of the prey, and the subsequent unconcerned rest, are described in the succeeding words, כרע רבץ (Sept. ἐκβάζουσι δὲ δὲν; Vulg., erroneously, *ad prædam* ascendisti, “thou hast risen, or acquired greatness” (so Luther, Teller, Michael., Justi, Gesen., and others). The preterite (עליית) is here, and in the following verses, employed to point to the fulfilled prophecy.—Nothing is more natural than to compare the invincible and redoubtable hero with the king of beasts (see Ps. vii. 3; lvii. 5; Isai. v. 29; Ezek. xix. 2—9, etc.), or with other strong or dangerous animals; as the serpent (ver. 17; comp. Ps. lviii. 5); the bear, the leopard, and buffalo (Hos. xiii. 7, 8; 2 Sam. xvii. 8; Ps. xxii. 22); the wolf and the jackal (ver. 27; comp. Hab. i. 8); and even the dog and ass (Ps. xxii. 17, 21; ver. 14; comp. Gen. xvi. 12; Hom., *Il.* xi. 558).—About רבץ, see on iv. 7, p. 139; comp. ver. 14.—לביא is here synonymous with אריה, and is not intended to refer to the greater rage of the female lion when provoked or attacked (comp. Job iv. 10, 11; but see Herod. iii. 108; *Ælian*, Var. Hist. xii. 39).—It seems to us impossible to doubt that the first part of the tenth verse describes the royal dignity of the tribe of Judah; both שבת and מוחקק are elsewhere used as the insignia of the princely power and its exercise. שבת is the sceptre; comp. Ps. xlv. 7 (שבט מלכותך); Isai. xiv. 5 (שבט משלים); Am. i. 5, 8 (תוסף), equivalent to the Greek epithet of kings, βασιλευσας; comp. Zech. x. 11; Onk. שבט, equivalent to the Greek epithet of kings, βασιλευσας; comp. Zech. x. 11; Onk. עביר שולטן, etc.). The sense of מוחקק is as certain in this connection. It is true, that it sometimes signifies legislator (in Deut. xxxiii. 21, employed of Moses); but evidently only because the sovereignty included the legislative power; in Isai. xxxiii. 22, it is parallel with שפט and מלך; in Judg. v. 14, it is the leader or chief (synonymous with חוקק in ver. 9); in Ps. lx. 9 (cviii. 9), the tribe of Judah is called מוחקק chosen by God to annihilate the enemies; it is, therefore, partly the “sceptre of chastisement” (שבט מוסר or שבט אף, Prov. xxii. 15; Isai. x. 5), with which opponents are crushed (Num. xxiv. 17; Ps. ii. 9); and partly the monarch used by God as

<sup>1</sup> Compare the Greek epithets of lions, βασιτρεφός, δρῖσβιος, etc.; see Bochart, Hieroz. ii. 36, *et seq.*

instruments of castigation: while in Num. xxi. 18, the מַחֲקֶק of the princes (שְׂרִיִּם) is explained by the apposition מַעֲזָע, *staff*. And the mentioning of a *staff between the feet* of the ruler must be considered eminently appropriate, since it is known that, on Greek and Persian, Assyrian and Babylonian monuments, the kings are represented with a long staff as a badge of their sovereignty. At Nimroud, "a carved staff, perhaps a royal sceptre, was found" (*Layard, Nin. and Babyl.*, p. 195). "The Babylonian king carried in his right hand a long staff or wand, which was painted red. . . . In the Assyrian sculptures, the staff is entirely unadorned, being simply a long stick painted red; and it is never carried by any one except the great king himself" (*Bonomi, Nineveh and its Palaces*, p. 200; compare p. 142). Diodorus Siculus (iii. 3) already observes, that, in Egypt and Ethiopia, the priests carried a staff, resembling a plough; but that *the kings used this staff as a sceptre*. If Saul, oppressed by melancholy and despondency, held a spear (חֲנִית) in his hand instead of a sceptre (1 Sam. xviii. 10), it does not follow that this was ordinarily done by Hebrew kings; the staff is, indeed, nowhere else clearly mentioned; but the descriptions of royal dignity are generally brief and but casually introduced (comp. 1 Kings xxii. 10). From these reasons, combined with the above explanations, we find the opinion of those entirely improbable who refer our verses simply to the hegemony of the tribe of Judah in the time of the Judges, and see in the words שָׁבַט and מַחֲקֶק only the general's or leader's staff (*Justi, Bertholdt, Bleek, Tuch, Radiger*, etc.). Hence also the value of the ancient translations will be estimated (Sept. ἀρχαῖον and ἡγεμονία; Vulg. *sceptrum* and *dux*; Onk. שׁוֹלֶטֶן and סַפְרָא; Targ. *Jerus.* מַלְכִּין and מַלְפֵּי אֹרִייתָא, etc.).—The words מִבֵּין רַגְלָיו are sufficiently clear from the nature of the מַחֲקֶק or staff, which, when the ruler was sitting, rested on the ground before or between his feet; and it is scarcely necessary to refute the other opinions: some explain, "between his progeny" (like מִחֲלָצִיו or מִיִּרְכִּיו; comp. p. 365; xv. 4; xxxv. 11; 2 Sam. vii. 12; Sept. ἐκ τῶν ἡμετέρων αὐτοῦ; Vulg. *de femore ejus*; Onk. and Targ. *Jerus.* מִבְּנֵי בְנוֹהֵי; Targ. *Jon.* מִפְּרִיָה; comp. Deut. xxviii. 57; Isai. vii. 20; xxxvi. 12; *Hom.* Il. xix. 110; or like מִמְּנוּ or מִקְרָבוֹ (Jer. xxx. 21); others translate, "from his foot-soldiers or warriors" (from רַגְלֵי, Exod. xii. 37; Judg. xx. 2; Jer. xii. 5, etc.; so *Huth, Seiler, Tuch*, etc.); so that the meaning would be, that Judah will always possess the leadership in the united army of the tribes; which sense the Samaritan Codex expresses still more distinctly by the reading of מִבֵּין רַגְלָיו "between his banners" (so *Ludolf, Cleric., Teller, Rosenm.* etc.); while others believe the image of the lion to be continued, who, "sitting on his prey, holds it so between his feet, that nobody dares to take it from him."

The sceptre, then, shall not depart from Judah עַד כִּי יָבֹא שִׁילָה. It is first to be observed that the particle עַד has not only the meaning of *as long as* or *while* (1 Chr. iv. 31; Neh. vii. 3; 2 Ki. ix. 22; Cant. i. 12); but, including the point to which an action is stated to extend (the *terminus ad quem*), it has the sense of *even if* or *even when* (comp. xxviii. 15; Ps. cx. 1; cxii. 8; 1 Tim. iv. 13; and thus the conjunction *since* goes back beyond the *terminus a quo*, 2 Sam. vii. 6, לְמִיּוֹם). The words under discussion mean, therefore, "not even when many come to Shiloh," in accordance with the explanation above given. שִׁילָה is "to Shiloh," as in x. 11, יָצָא אִשׁוּר, he went to Asshur, see p. 263; comp. Judg. xviii. 1; xxi. 12; 1 Sam. iv. 4, 12; 1 Ki. xiv. 4.—The word, which has occasioned so numerous conjectures, and, in many cases, determined the interpretation of the whole poem, is שִׁילָה. It may be doubtful, whether the correct reading is שִׁילָה or שָׁלָה; the majority of manuscripts offer the former, but thirty-eight Hebrew, and almost all Samaritan, copies present the latter form, which is, besides, as we shall presently show, expressed by many ancient versions (as the *Sept., Aquil., Sym., Theod., Syr., Onk., Targ. Jerus., Saad.*, and others). The reading שִׁילָה occurs only in few copies, while on the margin of some שָׁלוּ is added (comp. *De Rossi, Var.*

Lect. iv. App. p. 216, *et seq.*). However, the town Shiloh is, in the Old Testament, written promiscuously *שִׁלֹה*, *שִׁלֹ*,<sup>1</sup> and *שִׁלֹן*,<sup>2</sup> so that we may easily understand how *שִׁלֹה*, which appears to be the older and original reading, by a combination with *שִׁלֹן*, gave rise to the form *שִׁילָה*, which, however, occurs only in comparatively later codices. It is, therefore, certain that the state of the manuscripts fully warrants the translation of *Shiloh*. But *שִׁלֹה* can also be read *שִׁלָה*, which would be equivalent to *לְאִשֶּׁר לוֹ* “to whom it is or belongs” (*שִׁ* being an abbreviation for the relative pronoun, see p. 176; and *לָהּ* used instead of *לוֹ*, as in ver. 11, *עֵירָהּ* and *עֵירוֹ* and *כֹּתָהּ* and *כֹּתוֹ*, etc.): the sentence would, therefore, run thus, “the sceptre shall not depart from Judah, till he comes to whom it belongs.” But *what* is to belong to Judah’s descendants? Such an ellipsis is bold and obscure beyond a parallel; and the analogous passage in Ezek. xxi. 31, *עַד בֹּא אִשָּׁר לוֹ הַמִּשְׁפָּחָה*, just shows, as has been properly observed, how the phrase under discussion would have been worded, were it intended to convey a similar sense. But such being the vagueness of the reading *שִׁלָה*, we cannot be surprised at finding it rendered in the most diverging manner; the *Sept.* translates “till that comes which is destined to him” (*ἕως ἐλθῆναι τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ*; comp. *Theod., Epiph.*); *Aquil.* and *Sym.* “till he comes to whom it is destined” (*ἕως ἀφίκεται*; *Syr.*

הַיְיָ הַלֵּל הוּא; *Saad.* *الذی هو له*); some refer the sentence to David (*Ebn Ezra, Jahn, Hess, De Wette, Krummacher, etc.*), others to Solomon (*Bohlen, see p. 724*), and others to the Messiah (*Onk., Targum Jer. and Jon., Rashi, etc.*). All these views are impossible from the simple consideration, that the Hebrew language does not allow an elliptical construction which omits the chief notion, and creates the most perplexing ambiguity.—As the empire of Judah ceased in the sixth century before the present era, and the tribe of Judah never afterwards obtained a permanent or brilliant political position, or exercised government over other branches of the Hebrews, and was, in the time of the Maccabees, subordinate to leaders from the tribe of Levi; the prophecy would be unfulfilled, were it referred to an event later than the Babylonian captivity. The Messianic interpretation must, indeed, rest on extremely feeble arguments, since it forces its advocates to the assertion that *intervals* and *interruptions* of dominion are not excluded by the words “the sceptre shall not depart from Judah until the Messiah comes!”—Most of the modern critics have, therefore, justly abandoned this acceptance, and have chiefly adopted one of the two following views: 1. Many take *שִׁלָה* as an appellative noun, render it *tranquillity* and *peace*, and explain “till all the enemies, but partially subdued by David, will be conquered by his successors”; or understanding the concrete instead of the abstract notion (see ver. 3, p. 732), the *peaceful* or *peace-bringing* monarch;<sup>4</sup> some applying it to *Solomon*, the peaceful king, in whose reign Israel enjoyed rest and repose,<sup>5</sup> and some to the *Messiah*, “the prince of peace.”<sup>6</sup> But a substantive *שִׁלָה* is never found throughout the Old Testament; that it is not analogous to nouns like *קִינָר*, *כִּישָׁר*, *כִּירָד*, etc. (none of which is

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Judg. xxi. 12; 1 Sam. i. 3, 9; iii. 21; iv. 3, 4, 12; xiv. 3; 1 Ki. ii. 27, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Judg. xxi. 21; Jer. vii. 12.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Sam. i. 24; iii. 21; Judg. xxi. 19; Ps. lxxviii. 60, etc.

<sup>4</sup> From the root *שָׁלַח* or *שָׁלַח*, to be quiet, Job iii. 26; Jer. xii. 1; comp. *שָׁלַח* Job xvi. 12; *שָׁלַח* and *שָׁלַח*, rest; Ps. xxx. 7; cxxii. 7, etc.; thus *Vater, Justi, Gesen., Winer, Schwamm, Knapp, Maurer, Rosenm., Hengstenb., Reinke, De Wette, Knobel, etc.*

<sup>5</sup> Solomon is called *מְנוּחָה* in 1 Chr. xxii. 9, where his name is further explained by the words *וַיִּשְׁקָם אֹתָן שְׁלֹמֹה וַיִּשְׁקָם אֹתָן*; על ישראל בימיו understand Solomon; see *Bargès, Les Samaritains de Naplouse*, pp. 90, 91; comp. *Gesen. De Pent. Sam.* p. 60; *Wilson, Lands of the Bible* ii. 51; *Hengstenb., Christologie*, i. 63.

<sup>6</sup> *שָׁלֹם*, Isai. ix. 5; see Mic. v. 4, וְזֶה הִיָּה שְׁלֹמֹה, “he will be peace” (that is, author of peace); comp. *Hengstenberg, Christologie* i. 71.

derived from a verb *לָלַח*), has been proved by Tuch,<sup>7</sup> and Rödiger,<sup>8</sup> while the reading *שָׁלַח* or *שָׁלַח*, proposed by Knobel, is equally unsupported. 2. Many others, therefore, interpret our passage thus: the tribe of Judah constantly took the lead before the other tribes in the war of conquest against the Canaanites; and their victory could be considered complete at the time only when the Israelites went to Shiloh, and there set up the holy Tabernacle:<sup>9</sup> then the tribe of Judah practically ceased to exercise its hegemony.<sup>10</sup> Though this opinion is in so far preferable to that just noticed, as it correctly takes *שָׁלַח* as the well-known town in the central districts of Palestine, it is open to several objections which render it improbable. We have shown above that the terms *שָׁבַט* and *מַחֲקֶק* apply to the royal dignity. It is further evident, that the phrase "thy father's sons shall prostrate themselves before thee" (ver. 8), cannot allude to the military leadership of Judah, which conferred no essential power or influence over the other tribes, but consisted chiefly in taking precedence at the common undertakings, and on the marches of the army. If the blessing refers to the time between the completion of the conquest and the elevation of David, what meaning have the words *וְלֹא יִקְרָח עַמִּים*, "and to him shall be submission of nations"? They can neither apply to foreign countries, because Judah had then subdued none; nor to the people of Canaan, who were defeated by the joint exertions of the Israelites;<sup>11</sup> nor to the Hebrew nation, since Judah, in the time of the Judges, so far from attempting to force the kindred tribes into obedience, rather pursued its separate and almost isolated development (see p. 745). If we explain, "Judah's superiority shall last as long as the people will assemble at Shiloh, there to worship the Lord, that is, in the author's view, in all eternity" (Tuch, Genes. p. 578), the prophecy would have been untrue, not only from the time of Solomon, when all public worship was confined to the Temple; but from the early part of David's reign, when the Tabernacle no more stood at Shiloh, but at Gibeon:<sup>12</sup> and would such a palpable historical error have been suffered in the Hebrew text? But the tenour of the verses under discussion proves more forcibly than any other argument, that they do not apply to the inconsiderable preference enjoyed by Judah during the time of the Judges; but that they point to the brilliant reigns of David and Solomon, though they pass one generation beyond this period, when the independence of the kingdom of Ephraim was proclaimed at Shiloh.—Several other interpretations of *שָׁלַח* need only be mentioned to be correctly estimated. Some render *his son* or *progeny*, after very uncertain analogies (comp. *נְשִׁילָה*, afterbirth, Deut. xxviii. 57; Chald. *שָׁלִיל*, fetus, embryo; Arab. *سَلِيل*; so *Kimchi*, Targ. *Jonath.*, Calvin, Ilgen, etc.; see Hengstenberg, Chistol. i. 64, 65); the Vulgate translates *qui mittendus est* (reading *שָׁלַח*); Luther, "till the hero comes"; Vriemont "the elected" (like *אֲצִיל*); while others indulge in still more fanciful conjectures (as, for instance, that *שָׁלַח* is *Silenus*, etc.).

*יִקְרָח* (stat. constr. *יִקְרָחַת*, with the dagesh forte euphonicum or dirimens; comp. *עֲקָבִי*, ver. 17, etc.), is *obedience* or *submission* (so *Onkel.*, Targ. *Jon.*, *Kimchi*, *Ebn Ezra*, etc.); comp. Prov. xxxi. 17, *יִקְרָח אִם* obedience due to the mother. The Samaritan codex reads *יִקְרָחוּ*, from the root *קָרַח*, taking it evidently in the sense of *קָהַל*, to assemble: "to him nations will flock"; and this interpretation is offered by

<sup>7</sup> Genes. pp. 575, 576.

<sup>8</sup> In *Gesen.* Thes. p. 1425; he connects it not very plausibly with *שָׁלַח*, so that *שָׁלִיל* would be used instead of *שָׁלַח*.

<sup>9</sup> See Josh. xviii. 1: "All the congregation of the children of Israel assembled at Shiloh, and there set up the Tent of

Meeting: and the land was subdued before them."

<sup>10</sup> Thus Teller, Zirkel, Eichhorn, Herder, Ammon, Bleek, Hitzig, Tuch, Ewald, Delitzsch, Rödiger, etc.

<sup>11</sup> The phrase is, therefore, not parallel with Ps. xlvii. 4, but with Isai. xi. 10.

<sup>12</sup> Comp. 1 Ki. iii. 4; 1 Chr. xvi. 39; xxi. 29.

many others (*Aq.* σύστημα λαῶν; *Rashi*, אֲסִיפַת הָעַמִּים; *Rashb.*, *Saad.*, etc.); whereas the Septuagint, Vulgate, and others, translate *expectation* (καὶ αὐτὸς πρὸς-δοκία ἐθνῶν; et ipse erit expectatio gentium, etc.), which meaning is not confirmed by any parallel passage.—The vine will be so abundant, that the people will tie to it their animals, as if it were a common tree, unconcerned whether the stem be injured or the grapes be consumed; and the wine will be valued no higher than the water in which garments are washed—poetical hyperboles similar to the notice that “Solomon made silver to be as stones in the streets of Jerusalem, and cedars as sycamore-trees in the valley for abundance” (1 Ki. ix. 27; comp. Job xxix. 6; Am. ix. 13; Joel iv. 18).—אֲסִיר for אֲסִיר has the Jod paragogicum, while בָּנִי is the status constructus instead of בְּנֵי; see on xxxi. 39, p. 558; comp. i. 24, p. 81; and on Exod. p. 265. The version, “O my son” (*Vulg.*, etc.), is not in harmony with the context.—About עֵרִיָּה and עֵרִיָּה, see p. 230; comp. on Exod. xxii. 4, 26.—עֵרִי, the young ass; Sept. ῥὸ πῶλον; *Vulg.* pullum. About the ass, the usual riding animal among the Hebrews down to the time of the kings, see on Exod. p. 76.—שֶׁרָקָה or שֶׁרָקָה (Isai. v. 2; Jer. ii. 21), or שֶׁרָקָה (Isai. xvi. 1), parallel with בָּנִי, is a choice or noble species of grape, described by Kimchi as one, in which no kernel is found, and so called from the blue or dark colour of the berries (שֶׁרָקָה, Zech. i. 8; compare *Gesen.*, *Thes.* pp. 1342, 1343); *Vulg.*, ad vitem; *Rashi*, a long vine-branch (זֶמְרָה), etc.; the Sept., erroneously, ῥὸ ἐλκεῖ—רִים עֲנַבִּים—wine; comp. Deut. xxxii. 14; Sir. l. 17; Revel. xiv. 20.—כִּסֹּת, corresponding with לְבוּשׁ, seems to be synonymous with כִּסֹּת, garment (Exod. xxii. 26; Job xxiv. 7, etc.); the Sam. Cod. writes even כִּסֹּת, and most of the ancient versions express it (*Onk.*, *Syr.*, *Saad.*, *Ebn Ezra*, *Rashi*, *Rashb.*, etc.); so that either the letter כ, as is sometimes the case with א, י, ל, ט, and נ, is at the beginning of the word omitted by way of aphæresis; or כִּסֹּת is to be derived from כִּסֹּה (instead of כִּסֹּת); comp. כִּסֹּה, cover, Exod. xxxiv. 33—35; *Ebn Ezra*; Sept. περιβολή, etc.—חֲכָלִיל, describing the effect of copious enjoyment of wine upon the appearance or expression of the eye, denotes either the red colour and sparkling brightness, or that peculiar languor which announces and accompanies a state of inebriation (comp. Prov. xxiii. 29). The former seems here the more appropriate notion; but the original meaning of the root חֲכָל is too uncertain to afford a safe clue.—לֶבָן is the stat. constr. of לָבָן; the words לֶבָן שָׁנִים מִחֶלֶב are, therefore, literally, “white with milk as regards the teeth”; inaccurate are the translations of the Sept. (λευκοὶ οἱ ὀδόντες αὐτοῦ ἢ γάλα), *Vulg.* (dentes ejus lacte candidiores), and of Onkelos, who, in the last verses, entirely abandons the Hebrew text.

#### V. ZEBULUN, VER. 13.

All the following tribes, with the only exception of Joseph, are but briefly treated, on account of their subordinate importance and interest. Zebulun, the sixth son of Jacob and Leah, is here introduced before his elder brother, Issachar, because he occupied a political superiority, willingly acknowledged by the latter,<sup>1</sup> and so considerably increasing in the course of time, that, in the blessing of Moses, the benediction conjointly pronounced upon both tribes, seems addressed to Zebulun alone.<sup>2</sup> In fact, this tribe was remarkable for the variety of talents it developed, and the diversity of pursuits it cultivated. It was warlike and brave; took part in the national struggles of the Hebrews, generally fighting under the same banner with the men of Naphtali, its northern neighbours;<sup>3</sup> and was therefore, in the song of Deborah, adverted to with the glorious praise: “Zebulun is a people delivering up his soul to death in the heights of the field.”<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, it extensively engaged in commercial enterprises, venturing on distant sea trade, and greatly enlarging its revenues and

<sup>1</sup> Comp. xxx. 18—20; xxxv. 23; xli. 13, 14.

<sup>2</sup> Deut. xxxiii. 18, וְלִזְבֻּלִין אָמַר.

<sup>3</sup> Judg. iv. 6, 10; vi. 35.

<sup>4</sup> Judg. v. 18; comp. 2 Chron. xii. 33.

connections;<sup>8</sup> the chief articles of their commerce seem to have been the costly purple-dyes prepared from the juice of the shell-fish,<sup>9</sup> a source of wealth ascribed to Zebulun by later tradition also;<sup>7</sup> besides which, they may have applied themselves to the manufacture and exportation of glass. Their maritime expeditions compelled them, further, to study the arts and sciences indispensable for successful navigation; they thus at an early period acquired the reputation of literary accomplishment; and the poet sang of them, "from Zebulun are the men who handle the pen of the scribe."<sup>10</sup> However, both their commerce and their science brought them into a connection with the Phœnicians, which, in spite of many advantages, was for a long time not without injurious and deplorable effects upon the religious notions of the Hebrews, who, principally through the medium of Zebulun, seem to have become familiar with the sensual and demoralising rites of Phœnician idolatry.<sup>9</sup> Yet the continued attention which many paid to spiritual and religious matters, gradually led them to the perception of truth, and made them so zealous for its diffusion, that they invited heathens to visit the Temple,<sup>10</sup> and thus contributed to impress foreign nations with respect for the Hebrew religion.—The geographical position of Zebulun was peculiarly favourable, and in a great measure gave rise, to the mode of life embraced by that tribe. It occupied parts in the north-eastern districts of Palestine, between Asher and Naphtali in the north, and Issachar in the south,<sup>11</sup> extending in the east to the sea of Tiberias,<sup>12</sup> and in the west to Mount Carmel and the Mediterranean,<sup>13</sup> or to the borders of Phœnicia, which land is here, as in other instances,<sup>14</sup> represented by Zidon, and not by Tyre—though considerably nearer to the territory of Zebulun—because it much later acquired the superiority. The author could, therefore, justly say, "Zebulun shall dwell on the coast of seas;<sup>15</sup> indeed he shall dwell on the coast of ships"; and the meaning of the words, "and his side shall reach to Zidon," will be easily understood. As thus the tribe displayed energetic activity in more than one direction, it enjoyed great and undisturbed prosperity; its population was numerous and increasing;<sup>16</sup> and though unable to expel all the Canaanites from the boundaries of its territory,<sup>17</sup> it possessed authority enough to give Israel a judge in the person of Elon,<sup>18</sup> and at all times maintained its independence as a community.<sup>19</sup>

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—Similar expressions to those here used with regard to Zebulun, were of course also employed in reference to other tribes adjoining the coast, as, for instance, to Asher:<sup>20</sup> the remarks of Ewald (*Gesch.* ii. 295, 296), are therefore groundless.—חוף is *coast* (*Vulg. in statione navium*; Sept. *παρ' ὅρμον πλοίων*, etc.). ירכתו is the small tract on the north-western side of Zebulun, with which it touches the sea: and the translations of the Sept. (*καὶ παραπενέϊ ἕως Σιδωνος*), the *Vulg.* (*pertingens usque ad Sidonem*), and others, must be understood in the sense above indicated.—על צידו is *upon Zidon*, so that, without adopting the reading of על, the sense of על is here nearly identical with it; and is certainly not *above* or *beyond* Zidon, an extent at no time reached, and scarcely ever seriously desired, by Zebulun.

<sup>8</sup> Comp. *Deut.* xxxiii. 18, שֵׁמֶחַ זְבוּלֹן, בצאתך.

<sup>9</sup> Compare *Deut.* xxxiii. 19, שֵׁפַע יָמִים, שֵׁפַע יָמִים; see *Com.* on *Exod.*, pp. 486, 487.

<sup>7</sup> *Talm.* Sabb. 26; comp. *Megill.* 6.

<sup>8</sup> *Judg.* v. 14. <sup>9</sup> *Comp. Judg.* x. 6.

<sup>10</sup> *Deut.* xxxiii. 19, עַמִּים הָרַי יִקְרָא, עַמִּים.

<sup>11</sup> *Josh.* xix. 27, 34; comp. *vers.* 10—16.

<sup>12</sup> *Comp. Matt.* iv. 13.

<sup>13</sup> *Comp. Josh.* xix. 11; *Joseph.*, *Antiq.* v. i. 22; *Bell. Jud.* III. iii. 1.

<sup>14</sup> *Comp. x.* 15, p. 270.

<sup>15</sup> *Comp.*, however, i. 10, וְלִמְקוֹה הַיָּם, קִרְא יָמִים.

<sup>16</sup> It counted at the two censuses recorded in the book of Numbers, 57,400 and 60,500 military men respectively; *Num.* i. 30, xxvi. 27.

<sup>17</sup> *Judg.* i. 30.

<sup>18</sup> *Id.* xii. 11.

<sup>19</sup> *Num.* i. 9; vii. 24; x. 16; *Ps.* lxxviii. 28.

<sup>20</sup> *Judg.* v. 17, אִשָּׁר יֵשֵׁב לְחוּף יָמִים, comp. *Deut.* i. 7; *Josh.* ix. 1.

## VI. ISSACHAR, VERS. 14, 15.

The tribe of Issachar seems originally to have been one of the most valiant of Israel; if Deborah was not descended from it, she could, at least, in a time of general political indifference, most safely rely upon its ready assistance and cheerful interest; she could designate it "the support" of the leader Barak, not insignificant in numbers;<sup>1</sup> and could call it her own army.<sup>2</sup> In its territory the chief battle was fought against Sisera, at Taanach, by the waters of Megiddo.<sup>3</sup> Such courage could not fail to secure to the men of Issachar most desirable abodes. Bounded in the north by Zebulun, and partly by Asher, and in the south by Manasseh; extending in the east to the Jordan, opposite the land of Gad,<sup>4</sup> and in the west to the maritime tract belonging to Manasseh;<sup>5</sup> their country, though mountainous in the eastern and southern districts, was, in the central parts, distinguished by the most blooming and most fertile plains, among which those of Jezreel, Esdraelon, and Megiddo, were famous and almost proverbial for beauty and excellence.<sup>6</sup> The acquisition of so tempting a territory determined the future development of the tribe. The choice pastures invited to the breeding of cattle; so that Issachar could be described as "crouching between the folds," or "rejoicing in his tents."<sup>7</sup> The whole aim and current of life were now altered. Careless of military fame, the men of Issachar permitted the tribe of Manasseh to possess cities within their limits.<sup>8</sup> Intent upon the accumulation of property, they soon became so solidly strong in their internal relations, that they could be compared with a "bony ass." But they were men of prudence and wise calculation. Having, therefore, gathered abundant wealth, and resolved to enjoy it, they pursued a domestic and foreign policy calculated to realise this end. Their shrewdness not only enabled them safely to keep aloof from all external dangers, and as our blessing observes, peacefully to yield themselves to secure tranquillity, but to win the esteem and deference of the fraternal tribes by useful and valuable councils; they were reputed to possess "a wise insight into the political aspect of the times"; were always prepared to point out the measures "which Israel should adopt"; and as their advice was generally attended with happy results, "all their brethren followed the words of their lips."<sup>9</sup> But the calm and sober view they took of all the relations of life, engendered that easy, though not unrefined, epicureanism, which, in order to gain quiet leisure for reflection, willingly resigns every worldly ambition; and which, disdaining the prizes of the toilsome struggles for honour and distinction as worthless or trifling, does not hesitate to purchase undisturbed enjoyment even with a part of liberty. Reluctant to shield their own independence, and, after once having tasted the sweets of repose, again to exchange the sword for the ploughshare or the shepherd's staff, the people of Issachar appear to have readily, and perhaps spontaneously, placed themselves under the protection of more warlike and active tribes, as Zebulun, and especially Ephraim, and to have, in return, paid a proportionate tribute, "willingly bending their shoulders," and submitting to the uniform labours of agriculture. This is the picture which our text enables us to draw of Issachar, though the historical traditions are too scanty and fragmentary to allow a development in its individual traits.

It may be asked, whether these verses are intended as a censure? It appears that this question must, in certain respects, be answered in the affirmative. The tribe of Issachar renounced that ancestral fortitude which had steered it for victory and conquest, and could alone guarantee its safety against the unappeased hatred of surrounding foes; and, destined to be free and independent, and to acknowledge the sovereignty

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Num. i. 29 and xxvi. 25, where the sum of the men fit for military service is stated at 54,400 and 64,300.

<sup>2</sup> Judg. v. 15.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* ver. 19.

<sup>4</sup> Josh. xix. 22.

<sup>5</sup> Comp. Josh. xix. 17—23.

<sup>6</sup> Comp. *Joseph. Bell. Jud.* III. iii. 2.

<sup>7</sup> Ver. 14; Deut. xxxiii. 18.

<sup>8</sup> Josh. xvii. 11.

<sup>9</sup> 1 Chron. xii. 32.

of the God of Israel alone, it degraded itself by bearing a voluntary yoke, and by becoming "a tributary servant." However, this dependence cannot have been oppressive or ignominious; it was not the subjection of those who sigh under foreign dominion, or who, as captives of war, are forced to serve their masters with gratuitous labour and exhausting drudgery:<sup>10</sup> for Issachar still enjoyed the happiest tranquillity and the richest blessing;<sup>11</sup> possessed a most enviable territory; and grew in precious property. Hence the rebuke expressed in our passage is gentle and subdued; it is softened by the redeeming quality of *peacefulness*, averse to strife and dispute, a quality worthy of the highest recommendation in the eyes of the Hebrew, who embraced in the word "peace" nearly the whole sum of moral perfection, and of personal and political felicity; so that, if the "bony ass crouching between the folds" forms a contrast to the "wild ass" attacking all and attacked by every one,<sup>12</sup> it is a contrast which, in one respect at least, redounds to the praise of Issachar. That the comparison with an ass was itself not regarded as contemptible, has been observed before (see p. 748).

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—חמר נרם is an ass with powerful bones; for נרם is synonymous with עצם; comp. Prov. xvii. 22; xxv. 15; Job xl. 18; *Ag. ὄνος δαρώης*; *Rashi*, חמור בעל עצמות; *Luth. beinerner Esel*; the *Vulgate*, less expressively, *asinus fortis*; while the *Chaldee* translators render freely "a strong or wealthy tribe" (*Onk. עתיר בכסין*; *Targ. Jer. שבטא חקיר*, etc.). The *Samaritan Codex* reads נרם, which is the Arabic جريم, "large in body" (and so *Gesenius*, *Thes.* p. 303, "*asinus validi corporis*"), not the Hebrew נרם "a servant to foreign nations"; while the *Sept.* translates, after a reading which can but partially be conjectured, τὸ καλὸν ἐπιθύμησεν (חמר). —מִשְׁפָּתִים (from שפת, *to place*, comp. 2 Ki. iv. 38, Ezek. xxiv. 3), are the *folds* or *pens*, where the cattle were kept over night; the word has the dual form, because the folds were generally divided into two parts for different species of animals (comp. Judg. v. 16; שְׂפָתַיִם, Ps. lxxviii. 14; נִדְרוֹתַיִם, Josh. xv. 36; *Gesen.* *Thes.* pp. 1470—1472). Many ancient translators understand מִשְׁפָּתִים "within their own boundaries": thus *Onk. Targ.*; *Jon.* and *Jerus.* (בין תחומיא); the *Vulg.* (*inter terminos*); *Sept.* (ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν κλήρων); while some others render "between two burdens" (*Eng. Vers.*; *Gr. Ven. ἀνὰ τὰ ἡμιφόρτια*). —טוב, referring to מנוחה, stands instead of טובה; like טמאת רבץ in iv. 7; ועלמה היה in xv. 17; see p. 139; similar constructions occur in Greek (οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη, *Hom.* Il. ii. 204, etc.; comp. *Buttmann*, *Gramm.* § 129. 8), and in Latin (*triste lupus stabulis*, *Vir. Ecl.* iii. 80, etc.).—The phrase ויט שכמו לסבול is, indeed, sometimes, used with regard to foreign servitude (comp. *Isai.* xiv. 25; Ps. lxxxii. 7); but we have already noticed in this poem more than one hyperbolic expression, which it is impossible to understand literally (comp. vers. 11, 12). *Onkelos* reverses the sense by translating, against the context, ויחבש מחוץ עממא, "he will exact tribute from the nations"; the *Sept.* finds here an allusion to the agricultural pursuits of Issachar (καὶ ἰγενήθη ἀνὴρ γεωργός); and the *Chaldee* paraphrasts introduce the tradition concerning the knowledge of Law chiefly studied and imparted by that tribe (comp. 1 Chr. xii. 32). Correctly *Ag. ἀνθρωπος εἰς φόρον δουλεύων*; *Vulg. factusque est tributis serviens*; *Luther, Zinsbarer Knecht*, etc.

## VII. DAN, VERS. 16—18.

After the tribes descended from the sons of Leah, those formed by the sons of Jacob's maid-servants are introduced, arranged on the whole, according to their age; except that Naphtali, the second by birth, yields precedence to Gad and Asher,<sup>13</sup> a modifica-

<sup>10</sup> Comp. *Exod.* i. 11; *Deut.* xx. 11; *Josh.* xvi. 10; *Judg.* i. 28; 1 Ki. ix. 21; *Isai.* xxxi. 8; *Prov.* xii. 24.

<sup>11</sup> This sense remains, on the whole, unaltered, even if מנוחה is here taken

as "the abode of rest"; comp. *Deut.* xii. 9; *Onk., Ebn Ezra, Schumann, Mawer, Bohlen*, etc.

<sup>12</sup> xvi. 12.

<sup>13</sup> Comp. xxx. 3—13; xxxv. 25, 26.



tion, no doubt, suggested by the relative importance of the tribes. But Dan maintains justly the first rank among the four: he deserves it by the political and national *interest* which, in an eminent degree, attached to the tribe which bears his name. For from it sprang the glorious hero, Samson, who, the true Hercules of his nation, soon became its lasting and cherished favourite, not more by his marvellous feats of strength and daring, than by his humorous eccentricities, peculiarly congenial to the taste of his age, and at all times certain to endear a man of distinction to the multitude, which is rejoiced to see brilliant greatness in some respects brought nearer to its own level. After he had once gained a hold upon the Hebrew mind, it was not likely that tradition should have rested or ceased to propagate his exploits; both gratitude due to his merits and the deep sympathy felt for his melancholy death, by which he once more became a benefactor of his nation, secured to his name a permanent remembrance, and to his deeds an enthusiastic acknowledgment, which, indeed, our blessing also accords to him in apt and forcible language. So entirely had the achievements of Samson eclipsed the anterior history of his tribe, that no allusion is here made to the blameable indifference with which it before, in the time of Deborah, when an extraordinary danger threatened the people, evaded its share of the common obligations, and quietly continued its lucrative pursuits.<sup>1</sup> Nor had it, at a still earlier period, displayed energy enough boldly to conquer an adequate territory: though not deficient in numerical strength,<sup>2</sup> it long carried on languid and isolated wars; for some time it suffered itself to be driven by the Amorites into the mountains, whence it was not permitted to descend into the plains;<sup>3</sup> several towns (as Ekron), which lay within the boundaries assigned to it, and which it may have temporarily possessed, fell back to the enemies, who profited by its deplorable want of organisation;<sup>4</sup> while others (as Zareah and Eshtoel) are found in the occupation of the tribe of Judah,<sup>5</sup> by which, not less than by Ephraim, it seems to have been assisted in times of difficulty and distress;<sup>6</sup> it appears, in fact, to have been among those who but very late acquired lasting abodes; and ultimately, one part of the tribe emigrated to the distant north, where, far from the rest of their kinsmen, by stratagem and violence, they killed or expelled a peaceful and harmless population, cut off from all assistance and alliance. This was the district of Laish, thenceforth called Dan, and forming the extreme northern frontier of the land of Israel.<sup>7</sup> But the province which the tribe was intended to occupy, lay between Ephraim in the north,<sup>8</sup> and Simeon in the south, while it reached in the west to the Mediterranean, and was in the east bordered by parts of Ephraim, Benjamin, and Judah.<sup>9</sup> This situation, not unfavourable in some respects, brought the Danites into the dangerous vicinity of the Philistines, who vexed them with perpetual attacks, and never ceased to inflict upon them loss and humiliation. Under such circumstances, they could scarcely hope ever to gain a prominent or honoured position in Israel. But they supplied, in a great measure, the deficiency of material power and of valour by craft and cunning, not always free from malice and insidiousness. It was by such means, that the division of Danites who marched to the north, had gained their triumph in Laish; that those remaining in the southern province succeeded in frustrating the invasions of the Philistines; and that even Samson, who everywhere seems to conquer by personal and individual exertions, and never, as has been observed, appears as the leader of an army of his countrymen, achieved his most memorable deeds.

<sup>1</sup> Judg. v. 17, למה יגור אֲנִיּוֹת.

<sup>2</sup> The double census, recorded in the Pentateuch, states their men, above twenty years, at 62,700 and 64,400; Num. i. 39; xxvi. 43.

<sup>3</sup> Judg. i. 34.

<sup>4</sup> Josh. xix. 43; 2 Ki. i. 2; 1 Sam. v. 10; vii. 14.

<sup>5</sup> Josh. xv. 33; 2 Chr. xi. 10; xix. 41, 42.

<sup>6</sup> Judg. i. 35.

<sup>7</sup> Judg. xviii. 1, 7—10; 27—29; comp. Josh. xix. 47.

<sup>8</sup> Up to Joppa; Josh. xix. 45.

<sup>9</sup> Comp. Josh. xix. 40—48; Joseph. Ant. V. i. 22.

How different is this conduct from the prowess of Judah, the lion, who openly and by majestic strength crushes his numerous enemies, and then quietly and in unapproachable security enjoys the fruits of his victories! Therefore, the tribe of Dan is, indeed, stated to have maintained its independent jurisdiction, and in spite of weakness and surrounding dangers, to have judged over all Israel during twenty years; but it is, not without a certain blame and contempt, compared with the venomous viper or cerastes,<sup>10</sup> which, treacherously lurking in the sand or the trace of the carriage-wheels, not easily noticed on account of its grey colour, and suddenly darting forth, attacks with mortal bite horse and rider; a reptile, held by the ancients to be so formidable that they believed, if it was killed by a man on horseback with a spear, that "the poison would run up the weapon, and kill, not only the rider, but the horse as well."<sup>11</sup> A community, compelled to have recourse for its safety to such wily expedients, must, indeed, find itself in a most dangerous position, far too critical for its limited resources; hence the poet, with admirable skill and singular emphasis, identifying himself with the oppressed and embarrassed tribe, utters in its name, with mingled reliance and resignation, the fervent prayer, "In Thy help I hope, O Lord!" It appears, indeed, that the Danites, from the time of the division of the kingdom, when they joined Ephraim and were disgraced by the image of Apis, placed by Jeroboam in the northern town Dan,<sup>12</sup> gradually sank into such political insignificance, that they were entirely omitted in later genealogies and descriptions.<sup>13</sup>

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—The words, "Dan will judge his people," begin, as some believe, the blessings pronounced upon the sons of the bondwomen, in order to show the perfect equality of the latter with the sons of Leah and Rachel (comp. *Ebn Ezra*, etc.); a view artificial in itself, and supported by no allusion of the text.—דָּן, *he shall judge*, and not *he shall avenge* (as *Rashi*, *Rashbam*, and others, render); while וְעַד refers to the whole of Israel, by which Samson was acknowledged as Judge; though it at the same time more particularly applies to the Danites, who should always enjoy their own internal government.—כְּאֶחָד שְׁבָטֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל is, "like any other of the tribes of Israel"; not, "like the first of the tribes" (*Schumann*).—הָיָה is here equivalent to הָיָה (as the Samarit. Cod. reads), *Dan will be*; comp. Deut. xxxiii. 24; Job xviii. 12; xxiv. 14, etc.—וְעַד is to be derived from עָדַד to sting, scarcely to creep; comp. iii. 15. Some ancient versions render *basilisk* (Gr. Ven., *Onk.*, Syr., etc.); Sept., καθήμενος, perhaps the lurking serpent, lying in wait for its prey.—וְעַד with the dag. forte euphon.; see חָתָה, ver. 10.—Some ancient commentators (as *Rashbam*, etc.) understand the image of the serpent applied to Dan of the dangerous position which this tribe occupied in the rear-guard, both during the wanderings in the desert and the wars in Canaan, and which exposed it to perpetual attacks from pursuing enemies. But Hebrew tradition almost unanimously refers our verses to the history of Samson; and finds in the concluding words, "For Thy help I hope, O Lord," the prayer uttered by that hero when brought into the festive assembly of the Philistines: "O Lord God, remember me, I pray Thee, and strengthen me only this once, O God, that I may find one revenge of the Philistines for my two eyes" (Judg. xvi. 28; so *Rashi*, and others; comp. also *Ewald*, *Gesch.* i. 92; ii. 401—411). Some believe these words to be an exclamation or sigh of the decrepit patriarch, apprehending that his strength might be exhausted before he could address all his sons (comp. *Isai.* xlvii. 4; *Teller*, *Hensler*, *Rosenm.*, *Tuch*, and others); or praying that God might speedily effect his painless dissolution (*Hengstenberg*, *Chistol.* i. 61): but few will approve of so a strange an

<sup>10</sup> עֲרֵשֶׁת, *culuber cerastes* or *cornutus*.

<sup>11</sup> *Plin.* viii. 33; see descriptions and references in *Gesen.* *Thes.* p. 1468; comp. *Isai.* xiv. 29; in *Deut.* xxxiii. 22, where the delineation of Dan is far less exact

and clear; but the stress lies more on דָּן than on אֲרִיָּה.

<sup>12</sup> 1 *Ki.* xi. 29, 30.

<sup>13</sup> 1 *Chr.* iv. *et seq.*; *Rev.* vii. 6.

interruption, which has not unjustly been characterised as affectation (*Friedrich*). The poet, reminded of Dan's helplessness by his own description, is carried away to utter an ardent wish for its prosperity; and he might have included in this supplication the welfare of the other tribes also, when he considered the dangers and difficulties which the jealousy of the divided kingdom was not unlikely to cause, but which he designedly suppressed both in the benediction of Judah and of Joseph. The assertion, that the words under discussion, which are rendered in all ancient versions, are a later interpolation of a copyist, is the last expedient to which their obscurity has driven some modern critics (*Plüschke, Ilyen, Vater, Maurer, Bohlen, etc.*).

#### VIII. GAD, VER. 19.

The territory of Gad lay in the east of the Jordan, between the provinces of Reuben and the eastern part of Manasseh; it reached, in the north, to the south-eastern extremity of the Sea of Galilee,<sup>1</sup> but at some periods passed beyond it into the boundaries of Manasseh; its extent varied no less towards the east,<sup>2</sup> and embraced about half the districts of the Ammonites;<sup>3</sup> it included several cities remarkable in the history of the patriarchs and of the Judges, as Mahanaim, Ramoth, Mizpeh, Succoth, and Peniel;<sup>4</sup> but it was pre-eminently remarkable because it contained the grave of the great general and lawgiver, Moses; a fact which so decidedly invested the province with a character of holiness, that though situated on the east of the river, it was regarded as one of the most honoured parts of the promised land, from which the leaders of the people might legitimately arise.<sup>5</sup> After the Gadites had bravely assisted their brethren in the conquest of Canaan, for which services they earned praise and gratitude, they returned to their own land, and actively engaged in the breeding of cattle, to which the soil, in its principal features resembling that of Reuben, particularly invited, and which gradually resulted in a very considerable acquisition of valuable property.<sup>6</sup> Some circumstances conspired to preserve among them the valour and manly independence of their forefathers. The obstinate attacks to which they were exposed from the neighbouring enemies, compelled them to be always prepared for war and defence. Their principal scourge were the Ammonites, who could not forget the loss of their country, and who temporarily forced them under the yoke of servitude;<sup>7</sup> but the Gadites found means of regaining their liberty by more vigorous exertions, and by a closer alliance with the other Hebrew tribes on the east of the Jordan.<sup>8</sup> They were further constantly annoyed by the ferocious rapacity of Arabic hordes, which invaded and often devastated their territory, but on one occasion suffered well-merited retribution in a fearful and overwhelming defeat.<sup>9</sup> Thus the men of Gad well sustained the reputation which they enjoyed of being "men of valour, bearing shield and sword, bending the bow, and skilled in war";<sup>10</sup> and hence they are, in another national song, described with terms which, in their tenour, and almost in their form, are nearly identical with the eulogy bestowed upon Judah: "Gad dwelleth as a lion, and teareth the arm and the crown of the head."<sup>11</sup> The heroism of Jephthah the Gileadite may have mainly contributed to secure to the tribe much of its popularity, no doubt considerably enhanced by the peculiar and affecting domestic misfortunes which befell that conqueror. The Gadites later distinguished themselves by a friendly spirit displayed towards David, who rewarded them by numerous appointments to important public offices;<sup>12</sup> and they were in his time still described as "men of might, men of war

<sup>1</sup> Judg. xiii. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. 1 Chron. v. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Josh. xiii. 25; comp. Judg. xi. 13.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. Josh. xiii. 24—28.

<sup>5</sup> Comp. Deut. xxxiii. 21.

<sup>6</sup> Comp. Josh. xxii. 1—8.

<sup>7</sup> Judg. x. 8, 17.

<sup>8</sup> Judg. x. 18; xi. 4—11, 32, 33.

<sup>9</sup> 1 Chron. v. 18—22.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* ver. 18.

<sup>11</sup> Deut. xxxiii. 20.

<sup>12</sup> 1 Chron. xii. 8—15.

fit for the battle, who could handle shield and buckler, whose faces were like the faces of lions, and who were swift as the roes upon the mountains."<sup>13</sup>

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—The literal translation of the verse, which in the Hebrew original contains a two-fold paronomasia, and is therefore not easily to be rendered in other languages, is: "Gad, a troop presses upon him, but he will press upon the heel" (of the enemy); that is, he will put him to flight, and pursue him. — About גַּד, see xxx. 11; p. 536. — גַּד־רֶגֶל is the troop which urges onward (comp. 2 Kings v. 2; 1 Sam. xxx. 8, 23; 1 Chr. xii. 18; Ps. xviii. 30, etc.). — נִנְרָן, he presses him (comp. Hab. iii. 16; יְנִירָה, they assemble in hosts, in Ps. xciv. 21; see Jer. v. 7; Mic. iv. 14). The Sept. translates, *πεπάρησεν πεπαραύσει αὐτόν* ("plunder will be practised against him"); Vulg., *accinctus præliabitur ante eum, et ipse accingetur retrorsum*. — עֶקֶב is the heel (Sept., *κατὰ πόδας*), or the rear of the army (comp. נָנִי, Deut. xxv. 18); or, perhaps, the *ambush* (Josh. viii. 13; *Sym. λόχος*): the Vulg. has, inaccurately, *retrorsum* (like אַחֲרָיָה); and others, "at last" (בְּאַחֲרֵינָה, *Ebn Ezra, Kimchi*).

#### IX. ASHER, VER. 20.

The blessing addressed to Asher, though brief, is pithy and expressive. This tribe occupied the north-western part of Palestine, bordered in the west by the Mediterranean,<sup>14</sup> in the north by the Lebanon and the territory of Syria, in the east by Naphthali, and in the south by Zebulun.<sup>15</sup> But it was not even able entirely to conquer the small district lying within these boundaries; it was compelled to leave some of the most important towns, as Acco and Zidon, in the hands of the Canaanites and Phœnicians; and it was therefore described as "dwelling among the heathen inhabitants of the land."<sup>16</sup> Yet the limited territorial property it owned was sufficient to impart to it a distinctive character, and to make it famous both at home and abroad. The soil yielded corn and wine and oil in such plentiful abundance, that Asher is elsewhere mentioned as "bathing his foot in oil";<sup>17</sup> while, as regards quality, these productions were of such rare excellence, that they found their way to royal tables.<sup>18</sup> The tribe of Asher was, therefore, regarded as peculiarly blessed, and was esteemed by the fraternal tribes, because essentially contributing to the national fame and welfare.<sup>19</sup> The mountain ranges of the Lebanon, which closed in the province in the north, formed an efficient protection; they were like "bars of iron and brass";<sup>20</sup> and fertility, combined with security, gave rise to a prosperous condition, which promised to be continually increasing.<sup>21</sup> — Though the men of Asher took later no share in the common wars of the Hebrews,<sup>22</sup> they are not, like other tribes, censured for such apathy; perhaps because their dwelling in the remote north and west naturally relieved them from many federal duties, which they, however, amply compensated by a careful cultivation of their land, and by large exports to all parts of the country. But they no doubt traded with the Phœnicians also; and by their abodes on the coast they may, like the people of Zebulun, have been tempted to maritime commerce.<sup>23</sup>

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—The words מֵאֲשֶׁר שְׂמֹנֶה לְחָמוֹ, involving an inversion, stand instead of לְחָם מֵאֲשֶׁר שְׂמֹנֶה, and may possibly, in accordance with the second part of the verse, allude to the exportation of choice products from Asher to other parts; comp. Ps. xli. 5, נָהַר פִּלְגִּי יִשְׁמְחוּ עִיר אֱלֹהִים, instead of פִּלְגִּי נָהַר וְיִ. Instances in which the personal pronoun superfluously follows the preceding nomin. or

<sup>13</sup> 1 Chron. xii. 8.

<sup>14</sup> Comp. Judg. v. 17: "Asher dwells on the coast of the sea."

<sup>15</sup> Comp. Josh. xix. 24—30; *Joseph.*, Ant. V. i. 22.

<sup>16</sup> Judg. i. 31, 32.

<sup>17</sup> Deut. xxxiii. 24; comp. *Talm.*, Men. 85.

<sup>18</sup> והוא יתן מעדני מלך.

<sup>19</sup> Deut. loc. cit., והי ברוך מבנים אשר יהי רצוני אחיו.

<sup>20</sup> ברזל ונחושת מנעלך.

<sup>21</sup> Deut. loc. cit., וכימין דבאך.

<sup>22</sup> Judg. v. 17. <sup>23</sup> Judg. loc. cit.

accus. (comp. vers. 8, 19; xlvii. 21; p. 707), or a noun with a prefix (ii. 17), have been mentioned before; and it is an analogous case if, as in our passage, the pronoun follows after the synonymous preposition מן (*Onk.* renders מן, or if two different prepositions are employed, as in Ps. xvi. 3, לְקַדְשִׁים חֲמִצִּי בָם, etc. (comp. *Gesen.* *Lehrg.* p. 725. The construction, therefore, of מֵאֲשֶׁר שְׂמִנָּה לַחֲמוֹ, is in perfect harmony with the ordinary usage of the language, and adds considerably to the poetical force of the sentence. It is hence unnecessary to adopt the strange conjecture of several modern critics, who, taking the מ of מֵאֲשֶׁר to the preceding verse (עֲקֹבָם), read מֵאֲשֶׁר שְׂמִנָּה לַחֲמוֹ, which is indeed easier (comp. Ps. xviii. 31, הָאֵל תָּמִים דִּרְכּוֹ, etc.), but from this reason not more probable. The circumstance that the preposition מן of מֵאֲשֶׁר is not expressed in several ancient translations (Sept., Ἀσὴρ, πῶς αὐτοῦ ὁ ἄρτος; Vulg., *Asher, pinguis panis ejus*, etc.), is no proof whatever for מֵאֲשֶׁר as the original reading; since it would be extremely precarious to alter the Hebrew text after the numberless inaccuracies contained in the ancient versions of this poem,<sup>1</sup> and especially in a passage which, like ours, includes a Hebraism scarcely translatable in many other languages. The Samaritan Codex agrees with the received Hebrew text. The rendering, “from Asher cometh his rich food” (*Luther, Vater, Herder, Justi*, and others), would require שְׂמִנָּה לַחֲמוֹ; nor can מֵאֲשֶׁר be “of each man of Asher”; and much less, “olives are his food” (*Bohlen*), or “for Asher is his bread too fat” (*Ewald*, *Gesch.* ii. 295). Improbable, also, is the proposal of others (*Tuch, Knobel*), to take שְׂמִנָּה as a substantive (comp. p. 662), and לַחֲמוֹ as its apposition, and to translate, “from Asher cometh fatness, his food”: שְׂמִנָּה nowhere occurs in this sense, though שְׂמִנִּים is found (Isai. xxv. 6).—לֶחֶם is here used as a feminine (שְׂמִנָּה; compare Lev. xxiii. 17; see Isai. xxx. 23); certainly not because it is synonymous with עוֹנָה or חֶלֶה (*Kimchi*).—מְעֻדָּנִים (from עָדָן to be *beautiful* or *delicious*, whence עֵדֶן, see p. 108), is *delight* or *pleasure* (comp. xviii. 12, עֵדֶנָּה; Prov. xxix. 17; 1 Sam. xv. 32), especially used of dainty food (Lam. iv. 5; Jer. li. 34; *Onk.*, תַּפְנוּקֵי מַלְכִּין, Sept., *τρυφῆν*; Vulg., *delicias*, etc.), and here of oil, wine, and perhaps corn, in which productions the land of Asher excelled. מְעֻדָּנֵי מֶלֶךְ are, therefore, exquisite productions, worthy of a royal table; and though this term not necessarily points to Hebrew kings, but to princes in general, provided by Asher with some of the most delicious articles of food (comp. Ezek. xxvii. 12; 1 Ki. v. 25; Acts xii. 20), it certainly admits of the former interpretation also (comp. Ps. lxxviii. 25, לֶחֶם אֲבִירִים; Targ. *Jer.* תַּפְנוּקֵי מַלְכִּין יִשְׂרָאֵל; Sept., ἀρχοντες; Vulg., *regibus*).

#### X. NAPHTALI, VER. 21.

The tribe of Naphtali gained imperishable fame by one glorious event; and it is this event to which the few words introduced in our poem regarding its history manifestly refer.—The men of Naphtali, though renowned for manly vigour, were strangely deficient in self-reliance. They left several of their cities in the hands of the Canaanites, such as Beth-Shemesh and Beth-Anath.<sup>2</sup> They had not confidence enough to combat alone and in independent armies; they generally joined the ranks of Zebulun,<sup>3</sup> but then fought with praiseworthy intrepidity for the liberty of the nation; they placed themselves under Gideon's banner against the allied heathens, and took their full share in the battles and the pursuit.<sup>4</sup> Their want of self-assurance appears still more visibly in the general Barak from Kedesh in Naphtali. Invited by Deborah, no

<sup>1</sup> The Sept. omits, in Josh. xix. 34, the difficult, but certainly genuine word, וְבִירוֹדָה (before הִירְדָן), which has called forth so many interpretations and conjectures.

<sup>2</sup> Judg. i. 33; comp. Isai. viii. 23.

<sup>3</sup> Judg. v. 18; they appear to have been decreasing in population; comp. Num. i. 48, and xxvi. 50, where the numbers of their soldiers are respectively stated at 53,400 and 45,400.

<sup>4</sup> Judg. vi. 35; vii. 23.

doubt on account of his well-known prowess and that of his tribe, to take the leadership of the Hebrew army, he replied: "If thou wilt go with me, then I will go; but if thou wilt not go with me, I will not go"; to which the prophetess answered with a certain rebuke, that for such despondency he would forfeit the most enviable part of the glory, and would leave it to a feeble woman.<sup>6</sup> But when he had once conquered his hesitation, he and his soldiers shone by their heroic devotion and unwearied alacrity; conspicuous "on the heights of the field,"<sup>7</sup> they gave their countrymen a brilliant example of indomitable fortitude; so that with a simile frequently employed in Hebrew poetry for the achievements of strength and endurance, they were compared with the "graceful hind," which light-footed and swift, easily eludes its persecutors on the mountain heights.<sup>8</sup> But not satisfied with having bravely fought in the war, Naphtali helped to celebrate it by the immortal song which is attributed to "Deborah and Barak the son of Abinoam."<sup>9</sup> Even if the tribe gave no other proof of its poetical genius, of the careful culture of the mind, and of the artistic conceptions of which it was capable, it amply deserved the encomium bestowed upon it in our blessing, that it "uttered words of beauty." Thus the text is entirely intelligible by a reference to the time of Sisera and Barak.<sup>9</sup> But the territory of Naphtali was distinguished by a feature which, though here not alluded to, is duly dwelt upon in the benediction of Moses; namely, its exceeding fertility: "Naphtali is satisfied with favour, and full with the blessing of the Lord."<sup>10</sup> It was situated in the northern part of Palestine, bordered in the north by the Ante-Libanus, which partly reached into the district itself, so that we read of a "mountain of Naphtali";<sup>11</sup> in the south, by Zebulun; in the west, by Asher; and in the east, by the Jordan and the seas of Merom and Galilee, and, according to Josephus, even extending to Damascus.<sup>12</sup> The same historian has furnished a glowing description of the rare productiveness of this part of the country, appearing like "a happy contention of the seasons, each laying claim upon the district"; and bringing forth, during ten months of the year, both the fruits of the cold, hot, and temperate zones, as walnuts, dates, and olives; as if it had been "the ambition of nature to force plants, naturally enemies to one another, to agree together."<sup>13</sup>

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—אֵיִלָּה is a *hind* (*Aq.*, *Δαφος*; *Luth.*, *Hirsch*, etc.; comp. 2 Sam. xxii. 34; Cant. ii. 7; and אֵיִלָּה, Deut. xii. 15; Isai. xxxv. 6; Cant. ii. 9).—שְׁלֵחַת may be either *let loose, freely roaming* (comp. Ps. l. 19; Isai. lviii. 6; Job xxxix. 5); or *graceful, slender*; originally, *stretched, tall* (comp. Prov. xxxi. 19, 20; Ezek. xvii. 6; xxxi. 5; Isai. xvi. 8, etc.); but as it corresponds with שֶׁפָּרַח, which is undoubtedly *beauty or gracefulness* (comp. שֶׁפָּרַח, *splendour*, Job xxvi. 13, etc.), the latter meaning is here preferable.—אֵיִלָּה, equivalent to אֵיִלָּה, is *poetical speech* (comp. iv. 23; Deut. xxxii. 2; Isai. xxviii. 23; Ps. xviii. 31); and as אֵיִלָּה שֶׁפָּרַח is obviously synonymous with אֵיִלָּה נָעֵם (in Prov. xv. 26), the last part of the verse signifies, "he utters words of beauty" (so *Vulg.*, *et dans eloquia pulchritudinis*; *Luther*, *und giebt schöne Rede*; and almost all Rabbinical expositors, who refer the phrase to the song of Deborah). As, therefore, the received text yields a very appropriate sense, it is unnecessary to abandon it; but it is certainly objectionable to read the first part of the sentence נַפְתָּלִי אֵיִלָּה שְׁלֵחַת "Naphtali is a tall terebinth" (*Sept.*, *στῆλεχος ἀνυμνον*; *Ewald*, *Gesch.* ii. 294), and to translate the second part accordingly, "that giveth beautiful boughs" (אֵיִלָּה, Isai.

<sup>6</sup> Judg. iv. 6—9.      <sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* v. 18.

<sup>8</sup> Comp. 2 Sam. i. 19, 23; ii. 18; 1 Chr. xii. 8; Prov. v. 19; vi. 5; Hab. iii. 19; Ps. xviii. 34; Isai. xxxv. 6; Cant. ii. 8, 9.

<sup>9</sup> Judg. v. 1.

<sup>10</sup> The later destinies of the tribe of Naphtali, the invasions of the Syrians into its province, the abduction of the people

into the Assyrian exile, and other reverses they experienced, have no connection with our poem; comp. 1 Ki. xv. 20; 2 Ki. xv. 29; 2 Chr. xvi. 4.

<sup>11</sup> Deut. xxxiii. 23.

<sup>12</sup> Josh. xx. 7; comp. Judg. v. 18.

<sup>13</sup> Antiq. V. i. 22.

<sup>14</sup> *Joseph.*, *Bell. Jud.* III. x. 8.

xvii. 6; Sept., ἐπιδιδούς ἐν τῷ γεννήματι κάλλος; Bochart, Lowth, Michaëlis, Ilgen, Dathe, De Wette, Vater, Herder, Böhlen, and others): for, as has been properly observed by Gesenius and others, the masculine מְנַחֵם can only refer to מְנַחֵם, and not to אִילָּה שְׁלַחָה. From the same reason, it is impossible to read מְנַחֵם, *lambs*, or *young hinds* (comp. the Chald. מְנַחֵם; so, Vriemont, Obs. Misc., i. 15). The translation, "Naphtali is a quick messenger" (נַפְתָּלִי, Targ. Jer. and Jon., Syr., Pers., Saad.), is perfectly conjectural, and the rendering of Onkelos a free paraphrase.

#### XI. JOSEPH, VERS. 22—26.

It may be disputed whether the blessing addressed to Judah, or that pronounced upon Joseph, is more comprehensive and more enthusiastic. Certainly the latter embraces such variety of benedictions, and so steadily progresses to the highest climax of eminence, that it undoubtedly refers to the time when the descendants of Joseph had reached their utmost power and influence. Commencing with the description of the rapid growth of their population and the enlargement of their territory,<sup>1</sup> to such an extent that a division into two tribes was necessary or feasible, our text proceeds to allude to the constant hostilities to which they were exposed, both from fraternal and from heathen tribes,<sup>2</sup> but which, ultimately resulting in complete victory, contributed still more to strengthen their power, and to bring them to a full consciousness of their resources:<sup>3</sup> the address, then imperceptibly restricting its scope to the more important tribe of Ephraim, next delineates the unsurpassed fertility of its districts, arising partly from the regular descent of rain and dew,<sup>4</sup> and partly from the abundance of springs, brooks, and rivers,<sup>5</sup> so that a steady increase both of men and animals was secured;<sup>6</sup> and it concludes with intimating that the love and immediate protection of God, much more effective still than even the blessings of a beneficent nature, would ultimately grant to Ephraim dominion over the kindred tribes, and adorn it with the crown of royalty.<sup>7</sup> These are the outlines of the picture drawn in our text; its historical truth will be sufficiently apparent from the remarks we have offered in the preceding chapter, and in the exposition of Judah's blessing;<sup>8</sup> and it requires no proof that we have here not simply a reference to Joseph's personal destinies, the animosity of his brothers, the persecution of Potiphar and his wife, his patience and resistance in misery and trials, and his subsequent elevation to almost royal dignity: the introductory words, "he is a fruitful bough, his branches spread over the wall," no less than the whole character of this poem which is designed to predict *future* events (ver. 1), indisputably point to the later development of the tribes of Joseph.—It may be admitted that the kingdom of Ephraim is not so forcibly depicted as that of Judah;<sup>9</sup> but the conclusion that it did not yet exist at the time to which our poem applies, would be as hazardous as the assertion that the progeny of Joseph was not yet divided into the two tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh, an event here not alluded to,<sup>10</sup> though universally admitted to have been accomplished long before.<sup>11</sup> However great the jealousy between the two rival monarchies might have been, the *fact* of their co-existence could not be denied, and the calm impartiality with which our song introduces this fact, was calculated to soften rather than to nourish the feelings of envy and anger.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, the kingdom of Ephraim was, immediately after its establishment,

<sup>1</sup> Ver. 22; comp. Isai. i. 30; Ps. i. 3; lxxx. 10—12; cxxviii. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Ver. 23.

<sup>3</sup> Ver. 24, to יִדְיוֹ.

<sup>4</sup> בְּרִכּוֹת שָׁמַיִם מַעַל, ver. 25.

<sup>5</sup> בְּרִכּוֹת תְּהוֹם רַבְּצַת תַּחַת; comp. i. 6; vii. 11.

<sup>6</sup> בְּרִכַּת שְׂרָיִם וְרוּחַם.

<sup>7</sup> Ver. 26.

<sup>8</sup> See pp. 709—715.

<sup>9</sup> Ver. 10; see pp. 747, 748.

<sup>10</sup> In order not to exceed the number of *twelve* tribes, since Levi also is mentioned; see pp. 710, 729; comp. also Exod xxiv. 4; xxviii. 21; Num. xvii. 17, 18; Deut. xxvii. 12; Ezek. xlvi. 4, 5, 31—34; Ranke, Untersuchungen i. 275, 276.

<sup>11</sup> Comp. Deut. xxxiii. 17.

<sup>12</sup> Comp. Isai. xi. 13.

viewed with great expectations by patriots and prophets, who fostered the hope that by avoiding the errors of the past, it would surpass even the greatness and strength of the dynasty of David, which, in the successor of its great founder, had already exhibited the germs of decline and decay.<sup>13</sup>

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—פֶּרֶת is the fem. of the partic. Kal of פָּרָה, *to be fruitful*, instead of פֶּרֶה, analogous to עֲנִיָּה, וְסִרְתָּ, etc.; see on Exod. p. 265: the more usual form is פֶּרֶיָּה, Ps. cxviii. 3; Isai. xxxii. 12; Eze. xix. 10; and פֶּרֶת is here, as פֶּרִיָּה in Isai. xvii. 6, used elliptically for *a fruitful tree*.—בֶּן, like the kindred יוֹנֵק (Isai. liii. 2) and יוֹנֵקֶת (Job viii. 16; xiv. 7; Eze. xvii. 22, etc.) seems to be the *twig*, or young branch of a tree (comp. *μίσχος, κόπος; Ebn Ezra סעף; Onk. כנופן*, etc.): בֶּן פֶּרֶת יוֹסֵף means, therefore, “the branch of a fruitful tree is Joseph,” that is, a flourishing member of the paternal house; so that בֶּן is here the stat. constr. instead of בֶּן or בְּנִי (ver. 11), as עָלָם in iv. 26; xii. 8; comp. עָלָם in xvi. 15; xxi. 3. Others render בֶּן פֶּרֶת “a fruitful son” (*Saad., Abusaid*, etc.), so that בֶּן would be construed with the feminine, because referring to an inanimate object. But so bold a construction would be the last resort, if no other explanation were possible. Some translate “the son of the fruitful *lumb*” (*Vater, Ilgen*), so that these words would point to the names of Ephraim and Rachel (רָחֵל; and פֶּרֶתָה in Syr. is *lamb*); but though a distant allusion to אֶפְרַיִם is not quite impossible (comp. xli. 52), the connection of the notion of fruitfulness with Rachel who, after a long period of barrenness, was at last blessed with two children only, is certainly as improbable as the opinion of Schumann, who translates “a young *osv*” (פֶּרֶה; comp. אֶפְרַיִם, בכור שְׁוֹרֵי, Deut. xxxiii. 17). Rashi understands “a graceful son” (comp. אֶפְרַיִם, Cant. iii. 9), whom all regard with delight; others, “a solitary branch” (פֶּרֶת=פֶּרֶת), and others propose still more unsupported views.—About the oratorical repetition of בֶּן פֶּרֶת, see note on Exod. xv. 6.—Both בֶּן and בֵּת are, like יוֹנֵק and יוֹנֵקֶת, used of the offshoot or twig; the words בָּנוֹת צִעְרָה עַל יוֹשֵׁף continue, therefore, the metaphor of the first part of the verse, and signify, “the branches spread luxuriously over the wall” (comp. פֶּרֶת; Ps. lxxx. 10–12; cxviii. 3). The fem. singular צִעְרָה following after the plural בָּנוֹת is a Hebraism not unfrequently employed, if the noun denotes an object or animal, and not a person (comp. Ezek. xxvi. 2; Zech. vi. 14; Job xxvii. 20; Ps. xviii. 35, etc.; Greek *κόρη ποικίλη ζημίαν φέρει*, etc.; *Gessen. Lehrs. p. 714; Buttmann, Gr. § 129. 3*). Hence the alteration proposed by Ilgen, and adopted by later critics (*Vater, Justi*, and others), בָּנוֹת צִעְרָה וְכִי “the daughters of ascent” (that is, the wild beasts or wild asses on the mountains), “lie in their lurking-places” (comp. Jer. v. 26; Hos. xiii. 7), is perfectly uncalled for, yields an artificial sense, and destroys the connection with the beginning of the sentence, which the conjecture of Ewald (*Gesch. i. 523*), though equally unnecessary, בָּנוֹת צִעְרָה “branches of growth on the wall,” at least preserves. The traditional explanation of the Hebrews is “the daughters (of the Egyptians) looked (צִעְרָה) on the walls” with admiration on the beautiful youth Joseph, when he entered Egypt (comp. *Vulgate*); and his gracefulness was the source of the persecutions he had to suffer from the wife of Potiphar by the “arrows” of calumny (comp. Ps. lxiv. 4; Jer. ix. 7). The Septuagint, likewise, abandons entirely the received text; for it translates inaccurately פֶּרֶת *ὑψηλόμενος*, ἐπὶ τῶν τοίχων, and the end of the verse, *νιός μου νεώτατος πρὸς με ἀνάστρεψον*.—וַיִּתְּרֵהוּ (Piel of מָרָר; comp. Isai. xxii. 4) they irritated or provoked him (comp. Dan. viii. 7; xi. 11; Syr. מַרְסַר, etc.), or they embittered his life (comp. Exod. i. 14); *Vulg. exasperaverunt; Ebn Ezra, Kimchi*, they aimed at him.—The context seems to demand for וַיִּתְּרֵהוּ a notion similar to that of the two words between which it stands (מָרָר וְשֹׂטְם), so that the meaning of *shooting* or *attacking* offers itself almost with necessity (*Gr. Ven. ἐξβαλον*), and is expressed by the reading of the Samaritan Codex וַיִּרְיֵהוּ (that is, וַיִּתְּרֵהוּ), “and they contended against

<sup>13</sup> Comp. Ewald, *Gesch. iii. 130*.



him" *Vulg. iurgati sunt*). However, this correct sense is also gained by translating the word in its usual signification, "and they assembled in multitude"; the meaning of which, in connection with "they harassed him and they persecuted him," is sufficiently clear. The verb רבב, where it denotes multiplying, has, indeed, commonly the form רבב (not רבב); but we have in Job xxiv. 24 the analogous form רבב. The cases in which the meaning of shooting is ascribed to רבב, are all uncertain (Ps. xviii. 15; Job xvi. 13; comp. Gen. xxi. 20, p. 439).—שׂטם is to persecute, see xxviii. 41; I. 15.—The root

وتن is employed in Arabic of a perennial brook or river; and in this sense occur the Hebrew terms נחל איתן (Deut. xxi. 4; Am. v. 24), and נהר איתן (Ps. lxxiv. 15); and ירח האיתנים is the month of the swelling rivers in consequence of continuous rain (1 Ki. viii. 2; the seventh month or *Tishri*; comp. Exod. xiv. 27; Prov. xiii. 15). Hence איתן is figuratively used to express firmness, durability, and indestructible strength; it is for instance, said of the impregnable, rocky fastnesses of the Amalekites (Num. xxiv. 21), of ever-blooming pastures (Jer. xlix. 19; L. 44), of an imperishable nation (Jer. v. 15), of the eternal mountains (Mic. vi. 2), and here of the dauntlessness of the heroic and powerful tribe, whose bow (itself an emblem of strength, Job xxix. 20) "is a bow of brass" (Ps. xviii. 35), and remains unbroken and unhurt (comp. 1 Sam. ii. 4; Job xii. 19; xxxiii. 19). The Sept., reversing the sentence, renders *καὶ συνεπίβη μετὰ κέρατους τὰ τόξα αὐτῶν* (namely, of the enemies); *Vulg.* correctly, *sedet in forti arcus ejus*; *Onk.* ברוקסא, *Rashi*, ברוקסא.—The verb פו, if explained by the Syriac פו (strong), would mean, to be *hard* or *robust*, whence, probably, פו, massive or pure gold. But it seems safer to interpret פו after the words פו ומרכב (2 Sam. vi. 16), the meaning of which is clear from the parallel passage פו ומשחק (1 Chr. xv. 29), so that פו would be "the vigour of his hands was active, supple, or agile" (comp. *Gesen.* Thees. p. 1097). The Sept., referring these words also to the enemies, translates *ἐξέλυθεν τὰ νεῦρα βραχιῶν αὐτῶν χειρὸς αὐτῶν*; and *Vulg.*, here following the Sept., et dissoluta sunt vincula brachiorum et manuum; while *Onk.*, *Rashi*, and others, render "therefore gold (פו) was placed upon his arms," namely, the ring presented to him by Pharaoh when elevated to his office! פו is frequently *vigour* or *power* (2 Chr. xxxii. 8; Ps. lxxvii. 16; Ez. xvii. 9, etc.; comp. זרוע נטויה).—The construction of the words from פו אביר יעקב is this: from the hands of the *Mighty of Jacob* (פו אביר יעקב, comp. פו אביר, that is, from God (comp. Ps. cxxxii. 2, 5; Is. i. 24; xlix. 26), from there (משם), that is, from heaven or from Him (comp. Eccl. iii. 17), from the shepherd (רעה), xlvi. 15, p. 717), the *Rock of Israel* (אבן ישראל, equivalent to צור ישראל, 1 Sam. ii. 2; 2 Sam. xxiii. 3; Isai. xxx. 29, etc.); from the God of thy father who may help thee (אשר יעזור, instead of יעזור; comp. *Gesen.* Gr. § 152. 1. a), and from the Almighty (אז instead of אמת, for פו, is to be repeated from the preceding parts; comp. Isai. xxx. 1; *Ges. Lehrs.* p. 838), who may bless thee (אשר יברך) instead of פו אביר, may come upon thee (which words are to be supplied) the blessings of heaven from above, etc. The versions of the Sept., *Vulg.*, and other ancient interpreters are unclear, and confound the sense, especially because they join the words פו אביר יעקב with the preceding, and not with the following part; mistake the relation of פו and רעה as apposition (*ἐκείθεν ὁ κατισχύσας*, inde pastor egressus est), and do not understand the forms יעזור and יברך as relative sentences.—פו is unnecessary read by some קשם (from the name, that is, God; so *Onk.*, *Syr.*, *Herder*, etc.). The words אבן ישראל stand in no connection with the stone on which Jacob slept on his flight to Mesopotamia (xxviii. 11, 22; *Herder*, "der mich auf meinem Stein bewachte"; *Luther*, more curiously still, "aus ihnen sind gekommen Hirten und Steine in Israel"). Some expositors (*Rashi*, *Ebn Ezra*) refer the word אבן to Joseph, who became the shepherd of his family! (אבן=אבן). The reading שרי found in some manuscripts instead of שרי (ver. 25), is expressed in several ancient versions

(*Sept., Syr., Sam., Vulg., Saad.*), and has been adopted by some modern translators; but there is no reason to reject the traditional text.—*וְיָצַח* may be “with the help of” (*Ewald*, comp. *בִּיָּד*, ver. 24; iv. 1); but it is more in accordance with the symmetrical structure of the sentence to take it as equivalent to *וְיָצַח*.—Knobel renders “from the hands of the Mighty of Jacob.... it is that He helps thee” (*וְיָצַח*), etc., which seems to lack both strength and logic; besides, it is doubtful whether *וְיָצַח* can be taken as the predicate to *יָצַח*, a substantive with a preposition; and the connection with the following words would be forced.—The preposition *תַּחַת* is here employed as an adverb, instead of *מִתַּחַת*, *underneath*, as *מִתַּחַת* (comp. xxvii. 39; 2 Sam. xxiii. 1), instead of the more usual *מִמַּעַל* (as the Samaritan Codex here reads), in Deut. xxxiii. 13 explained by *dew* (*מַטֵּל*); comp. Exod. xx. 4, and *אֶתֶר* (xxii. 13), in the background.—*בְּרִכּוֹת שְׂרִים וְכִ* is illustrated by Hos. ix. 14.—If the words *בְּרִכּוֹת הוֹרִי עַד תָּאוֹת וְכִ* were not furnished with vowels, few Hebraists would hesitate how to translate them, especially as there exist two clear and decisive analogies. 1. In Hab. iii. 6, where *הַרְרֵי עֵד* is found in parallelism with *בְּנִעוֹת עוֹלָם*; for *עֵד* is eternity, equivalent to *עוֹלָם* (comp. Ps. ix. 19, etc.); and, 2. In Deut. xxxiii. 15, where in the corresponding blessing of Moses, the identical sense of *הוֹרִי עֵד* is expressed by *הַרְרֵי קָרָם* (comp. Num. xxiii. 7); and this is the only explanation appropriate to our passage: we must, therefore, take *הוֹרִי* as a poetical form, instead of *הָרִי* (for *הָרִי* seems to be an old form instead of *הָרִי* (comp. the mount *Hor*, Num. xx. 22), and connecting *הוֹרִי עֵד*, we have to translate “eternal mountains.” It is possible that *הוֹרִי*, an unusual form of the stat. constr. (comp. Isai. xx. 4), is the just vocalisation; while some, without sufficient necessity, consider *הוֹרִי* as a mistake or corruption instead of *הוֹרִי*. Before *תָּאוֹת* the preposition *עַל* is to be supplied, which is only poetical and forcible, not “bold and harsh” (comp. *וְאֵל* in ver. 25). The correct translation has already been given by the Sept. (*ὑπὲρ ἐλλογίας δρίων μονίμων*); the Samar. Cod. writes even *עַד הוֹרִי*, though pronouncing *הָרִי*, and referring it to Mount Gerizim; and many modern translators have adopted that acceptation (as *Dathe, Ilgen, Vater, Winer, Maurer, Gesen., Bohl., Tuch, Ewald, Knobel*). The usual interpretation, following the Masoretic division, takes *הוֹרִי*, as “my progenitors,” understands *עַל* as the preposition *till*, and connects it with the following words, “unto the utmost bound of the everlasting hills” (*Engl. Vers., Vulg., Syr., Saad.*, etc.); but thus the beautiful parallelism of the sentence is destroyed; the sense is weak and frigid, “the blessings of thy father are stronger than the blessings of my progenitors”; and the use of *הוֹרִים* for *parents* is questionable (comp. Hos. ii. 7; Cant. iii. 4; and *יְלָדִים*, Zech. xiii. 13).—*תָּאוֹת*, in parallelism with *בְּרִכּוֹת*, is aptly taken in its usual meaning of *charm* or *delight*, not as *boundary* (from *תָּאוֹת*, *Ewald, Gesch.* i. 524).—*נִיֵּר אֶחָדִי* is “the crowned among his brethren” (*Targ. Jon.* *שְׂלִים*; *Rashbam*, “king”; *Kimchi*, “the crowned,” etc.); and *נִיֵּר* is he who wears the *קֶרֶן*, or royal diadem. It is not this word alone which points to the kingdom of Ephraim; the perfect equality, in which Joseph appears with the royal tribe of Judah, is fully accountable only in a time when both had risen to the same degree of dignity. It is highly improbable, that just the words *נִיֵּר אֶחָדִי* should refer to the individual Joseph, and allude to his personal merits or destinies (*Tuch, Gen.* pp. 561, 590), since in the whole blessing the *tribes* are addressed. Others render as improbably *separate from his brethren* (*Onk., Rashi, Abarb., Engl. Vers.*, etc.).

## XII. BENJAMIN, VER. 27.

It would appear impossible that the young and small tribe of Benjamin,<sup>1</sup> situated as it was between the two most influential communities of Israel, Ephraim and Judah,<sup>2</sup> should

<sup>1</sup> It counted at the first census only 35,400, and at the second 45,600 men of arms; Num. i. 37; xxvi. 41.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Josh. xviii. 11–26; *Joseph.*

Ant. V. i. 22, where, however, the extent in the west is erroneously stated to be *μέχρι θαλάσσης*.

ever attain considerable power or authority; and it would seem sufficient if, in such dangerous vicinity, and devoid of adequate means of defence, it but succeeded in maintaining its liberty and independence. But inherent fortitude and indomitable courage raised the insignificant tribe<sup>1</sup> far above its material importance; and its imposing qualities are not without force and beauty celebrated in the few words of our text: "Benjamin is a wolf that teareth to pieces: in the morning he devourereth prey, and in the evening he rendeth spoil." This energy alone, perhaps not unmingled with injustice and violence,<sup>2</sup> can account for the boldness with which, in a bad and abject cause, the Benjamites dared to combat, single-handed, against all the other tribes; but though at first gaining several glorious victories over armies vastly superior to their own, they were indebted for their preservation from complete destruction solely to the moderation and sympathy of their brethren.<sup>3</sup> Their aspiring valour is further reflected in the history of Ehud, the Judge, distinguished both by daring enterprise and shrewd cunning;<sup>4</sup> and their ambition found ample gratification in the royal dignity conferred upon Saul.<sup>5</sup> But the political weakness of the tribe was unable to uphold itself against the increasing strength and admirable organisation of Judah, to which it was gradually compelled to yield. And as it rapidly relapsed into its former subordinate position, the royalty which for a short time had dignified it, could properly be passed over in a poem chiefly aiming at the glorification of Judah and Joseph. Yet the men of Benjamin, though not renouncing deceit and bloodshed,<sup>6</sup> preserved many of their characteristic virtues; they remained famous as excellent archers, and as men expert "to sling stones at a hair breadth and not to miss";<sup>7</sup> and they gained considerably by the circumstance that the hills of Zion and Moriah, on which the citadel and the Temple of Jerusalem were built, partly belonged to their territory, whence Jerusalem is sometimes ascribed to Judah and sometimes to Benjamin.<sup>8</sup> Thus the tribe, continuing to foster its traditional heroism, inhabiting a province inferior to none in fertility, rich in springs and beautiful valleys, including the luxurious Jericho, with its palm- and balsam-trees, and boasting of hills, indeed sterile and rocky by nature, but made to yield exquisite and abundant crops by the aid of art and industry, the tribe of Benjamin could aptly be described in the blessing of Moses as "a friend of God, who dwells in safety, and is ever protected by His mercy."<sup>9</sup>

**PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.**—The form  $\text{בִּנְיָמִן}$  is employed instead of  $\text{בִּנְיָמִן}$  (comp. Ps. vii. 3; Am. i. 11), in order to express the *permanent quality* of fierce and uncompromising valour; the constancy of the attribute is also expressed by the succeeding terms of *morning and evening* (comp. Eccl. xi. 6; Ps. xcii. 3; *Sept.*  $\lambda\upsilon\kappa\omicron\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\rho\pi\alpha\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ ; *Vulg.* *lupus rapax*, etc.).—The two last parts of the verse form a synonymous parallelism in which  $\text{בִּנְיָמִן}$  corresponds to  $\text{לֶחַיִּים}$ , as  $\text{לַיּוֹם}$  answers to  $\text{לַלַּיְלָה$ . All attempts at finding a synthetic parallelism are artificial; as, for instance, "he consumes his prey in the morning, after he has divided the spoil in the evening" (*Bohlen*, etc.).— $\text{לַיּוֹם}$  is *prey* (Chald.  $\text{לַיּוֹם}$  or  $\text{לַיּוֹם}$ ; *Vulg.* *prædam*); like  $\text{לַלַּיְלָה}$ , with which it is combined in Isai. xxxiii. 23; comp. Zeph. iii. 8; the *Sept.* renders, therefore, erroneously  $\text{ἐν τῇ διαιρέσει}$ — $\text{לַיּוֹם}$  is not *he divides*, but *he rends*, not only because the wolf does not portion out or share his prey, but because that verb is parallel with  $\text{בִּנְיָמִן}$ .—As the three first sons received unfavourable predictions (vers. 3—7), and the notices regarding Issachar, Dan, and Benjamin, contained an admixture of rebuke; there is a certain indefiniteness in the statement of the text that Jacob

<sup>1</sup> 1 Sam. ix. 21; comp. Judg. xxi. 3, 6.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Eze. xxii. 27; Zeph. iii. 3; Jer. v. 6, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Judg. xix. —xxi.

<sup>4</sup> Judg. iii. 15—30.

<sup>5</sup> Of Gibeah in Benjamin, 1 Sam. x. 26; xi. 4; ix. 1, 21.

<sup>6</sup> 2 Sam. iv. 2—7.

<sup>7</sup> Judg. xx. 16; 1 Chr. viii. 39; xii. 2; 2 Chr. xiv. 7; xvii. 17; 2 Sam. i. 19, 22, 23.

<sup>8</sup> Comp. Josh. xv. 8, 63; xviii. 16, 28; Judg. i. 21; 1's. lxxviii. 68.

<sup>9</sup> Deut. xxxiii. 12.

blessed all the twelve tribes, "every one according to its blessing he blessed them" (ver. 28): unless בָּרַךְ be understood in the general meaning of pronouncing a valedictory address (comp. xlvii. 10).

29. And he charged them, and said to them, I am to be gathered to my people: bury me with my fathers in the cave which is in the field of Ephron the Hittite; 30. In the cave which is in the field of Machpelah, which is before Mamre, in the land of Canaan, which Abraham bought with the field of Ephron the Hittite for a possession of a burying place 31. (There they buried Abraham and Sarah his wife; there they buried Isaac and Rebekah his wife; and there I buried Leah) 32. As a purchase of the field and of the cave which is therein, from the children of Heth. 33. And when Jacob had finished charging his sons, he gathered his feet into the bed, and expired, and was gathered to his people.

29—33. Jacob had before entrusted the arrangements concerning his burial to Joseph only, who alone possessed the power to execute them (xlvii. 29—31; comp. xlviii. 1, 21): but he later repeated his injunctions to all his sons, because he then loved all with an equal share of affection, valued their devotion alike, and wished to unite them in a common deed of piety tending to restore and to cement their mutual confidence. At the corpse and the grave of their father, their hearts were once more to be joined in fraternal feeling, genuine, deep, and unreserved. This is the progress of the narrative.—It was not unusual among the ancients to convey the remains of the dead from foreign into the native countries; thus Theseus was brought from Scyros to Athens; Orestes from Tegea to Sparta; and Aristomenes from Rhodes to Messene; while the body of Alexander the Great was with pomp carried from Asia to Africa. The anxious importance which was attached to the last resting-place (comp. p. 708; 2 Sam. xix. 38), accounts for the circumstantial reiterations with regard to the cave of Machpelah (comp. xxiii. 3—20); but we

learn incidentally that not only Abraham and Sarah, Isaac and Rebekah were there interred (xxv. 9, 10; xxv. 27—29), but Leah also, who had died more than seventeen years before, previous to Jacob's immigration into Egypt. Having concluded his charges, the patriarch, physically exhausted, but preserving unclouded serenity of mind, and no longer disturbed by regret, remorse, or apprehension, paid the debt of nature.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—The thirty-first verse, though in sense subordinate to the thirtieth, is added to it by mere *parataxis*; and, therefore, assumes the form of a parenthesis; while ver. 32 stands in apposition to ver. 30, "in the cave.. which Abraham bought.., namely (or as) a purchase of the field," etc. The difficulty of this construction has too rashly induced some critics to conjecture here a spurious addition, and to propose the omission of ver. 31 (*Hitzig*, *Begriff der Kritik*, p. 173).—Jacob "gathered his feet into the bed" (ver. 33); for he had, on the arrival of Joseph, "strengthened himself, and sat up upon the bed" (xlviii. 2; comp. xxvii. 19, 31).

## CHAPTER L.

1. And Joseph fell upon his father's face, and wept upon him, and kissed him. 2. And Joseph commanded his servants, the physicians, to embalm his father: and the physicians embalmed Israel. 3. And forty days were

1—14. As Jacob was to be entombed in Canaan, and as, besides, the Egyptians intended to manifest their sympathy by mourning during seventy days previous to interment, as was their ordinary custom, it seemed advisable to preserve the body by the process of embalming for so long a journey and so protracted a period. Joseph is, therefore, stated to have given orders to "his servants, the physicians." It is difficult to reconcile this notice with the distinct remarks of Herodotus (ii. 86) and Diodorus Siculus (i. 91), according to whom the embalmers formed a *separate* and *hereditary* class, and cannot, therefore, be supposed to have been in the *suite* of a great official as his ordinary physicians: so that nothing is left but the vague and not very probable conjecture, that the order of embalmers was of later and gradual origin (*Zaga*, De Obeliscis, p. 263; *Hengstenberg*, Mos. und Äg., p. 69). But it cannot surprise us, that Joseph was surrounded by many medical advisers, since we know that each Egyptian physician applied himself exclusively to the one disease or part of the body treated by his father and his ancestors (*Her.* ii. 84). Hence, in spite of the vast number of doctors, the organism of the frame was but little understood; and the religious aversion against the anatomical dissection of human bodies (*Diod.* i. 91; but comp. *Plin.* xix. 5), the severe penalties attending the least deviation from traditional remedies (*Diod.* i. 82), the payment of the physicians from the public treasury (*Diod.* i. 73), and the stagnation generally arising from the system of castes, were not favourable to the advancement of medical science, which, moreover, as the physicians belonged to the lower class of priests (*γραμματεῖς*), was long retarded by the fetters of superstition. Yet the

Egyptian doctors naturally acquired considerable empirical skill in the one particular branch to which they devoted their whole attention: and so great was the reputation they enjoyed in the ancient world, that foreign kings eagerly sought their services, and foreign scholars anxiously courted their advice and instruction: even in later times, it was, in Rome, the greatest recommendation for a physician if he was known to have studied at Alexandria (comp. *Hom.*, Od. iv. 227—232; *Herod.* iii. 1, 129, 139; *Am. Marc.* XXII. xvi. 18).

The order of the ceremonies alluded to in our text, and on the whole agreeing with classical and monumental records, was as follows: 1. When the extinction of the vital breath could no longer be doubted, the relatives began a *preliminary mourning*, perhaps observed during the day of death only (ver. 1), and consisting in public lamentations, in covering the head and the face with mud (or dust), girding up the garments, and beating the breasts (*Her.* ii. 85, 89; *Diod.* i. 91). 2. Then the body was delivered up to the embalmers, who, in the case of Jacob, completed their work in forty days (ver. 3), though it more frequently required seventy (see *infra*). 3. Simultaneously with the operations of embalming, commenced the *chief* or *real mourning*, which, lasting about seventy days (ver. 3; *Diod.* i. 73), usually ended together with the process of mummification, but which, in the instance of the patriarch, exceeded it by thirty days. 4. The body, after having been enclosed in a case of wood or stone (ver. 26), was then either deposited in the family vaults (ver. 13), or placed in a sepulchral chamber of the house of the nearest relative (ver. 26).

If we now turn to the account of Hero-

completed for him; for so many days are completed in embalming: and the Egyptians mourned for him seventy days. 4. And when the days of his mourning were passed, Joseph spoke to the house of Pharaoh, saying, If, I pray you, I have found grace in your eyes, speak, I pray you, in the ears of Pharaoh, saying, 5. My father made

dotus on the operations of embalming (ii. 86—88), and endeavour to combine with it some observations of Diodorus Siculus (i. 91), we may thus briefly delineate the three different methods of mummification described by both authors.

I. If the most expensive mode, estimated at one talent of silver, or about £250, was employed, the brain was first taken out through the nostrils, partly with an iron (or bronze) hook, and partly by the infusion of drugs; then an appointed dissector (*παρὰσχιστης*) made, with a sharp Ethiopian stone, a deep incision (generally about five inches long) in the left side, at a part before marked out by a scribe (*γραμματούς*): but having scarcely performed this operation, he hastily fled, persecuted by those present with stones and imprecations, as one who is guilty of the heinous crime of violently mutilating the body of a fellow-man. Then one of the embalmers (*ραρχιστραι*), holy men, who lived in the society of the priests, and enjoyed unreserved access to the temples, extracted through the incision all intestines, except the kidneys and the heart; every part of the viscera was spiced, rinsed with palm-wine, and sprinkled with pounded perfumes. The body was next filled with pure myrrh, cassia, and other aromatics, with the exception of frankincense; sewed up; and steeped in natrum (*λίτρον*) during seventy days, after the expiration of which period it was washed, and wrapped in bandages of linen cloth covered with gum. By this procedure, all the parts of the body, even the hair of the eye-brows and eye-lids, were admirably preserved; and the very features of the countenance remained unaltered.

II. The cost of the second mode of embalming amounted to twenty minæ, or about

£81. No incision was made, nor were the bowels taken out; but the body was, by means of syringes, filled with oil of cedar at the abdomen, and steeped in natrum for seventy days. When the oil was let out, the intestines and vitals came out in a state of dissolution, while the natrum consumed the flesh; so that nothing of the body remained except the skin and the bones: and this skeleton was returned to the relatives of the deceased.—The possibility of an injection, as here described, without the aid of incisions, has been doubted; and, in some cases, incisions have indeed been observed near the rectum.

III. A third and very cheap method, employed for the poorer classes, consisted merely in thoroughly rinsing the abdomen with syrma, a purgative liquor (perhaps composed of an infusion of senna and cassia), and then steeping the body in natrum for the usual seventy days.

According to Herodotus, then, the mummification lasted, in every case, *seventy days*; and the same fact may be derived from the text of Diodorus: for he observes, that after the entrails were removed, the embalmer "*first* (*πρῶτον*) anointed the whole body with oil of cedar and similar precious fluids *for more than thirty days*" (which may be the "sprinkling with pounded perfumes" of Herodotus); and *afterwards* (*ἔπειτα*) with myrrh, cinnamon, and other spices" (which may answer to the "filling of the belly with pure myrrh and cassia" of the earlier historian). And yet our text remarks clearly, "*and forty days were completed for him; for so many days are completed in embalming*" (ver. 3). Are we, under these circumstances, compelled here to suppose an inaccurate or arbitrary statement? We believe that the study of Egypt-

me swear, saying, Behold, I die: in my grave which I have digged for me in the land of Canaan, there shalt thou bury me. Now, therefore, let me go up, I pray thee, and bury my father, and I will return. 6. And

tian mummies does not sanction such conclusion. It is certain, that the modes of embalming varied very considerably in different periods and in the several districts of Egypt. It is not difficult to prove this proposition. The accounts of Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus are so obviously divergent in essential points, that they must be held to describe perfectly distinct ways of mummification. While, according to the former, the sprinkling of the body and the filling of the interior seem to be the work of one day, *after which* the corpse having been sewed up was laid in natrum for seventy days, that "the flesh might be dissolved"; the latter historian states that during the whole period ointments and perfumes were applied, while he does not at all mention the steeping in natrum; and yet this was by no means, as has been asserted, an unimportant and accessory part of the operations (*Hengst.* loc. cit. p. 70); it is the only feature recurring in each of the three methods; the Greek word for embalming (*ραριχέειν*) has originally the meaning of *salting* (*Her.* ii. 77; *Xen. An.* V. iv. 28, etc.); it is certainly incorrect to maintain that "the body was not put into natrum, but the natrum was put into the body"; for this saline liquid was employed only after the corpse had been sewed up again; and it is impossible to render the respective words of Herodotus (*ραριχέουσι νιτρῷ κρύψαντες ἡμέρας ἑβδομήκοντα*) "they embalm it (the body) in natrum, concealing it altogether for seventy days from the sight of the relatives" (*Hengst.* p. 71), a translation excluded both by the context and Greek syntax.—But not less striking are the contrasts between the descriptions of both historians and the ocular evidence derived from the numerous mummies discovered and examined. Herodotus observes, that the body was sewed up where the incision had been

made; but existing mummies show that the cut surfaces were brought together by simple apposition. According to Herodotus *all* the bowels were taken out; according to Diodorus, the kidneys and the heart were left; while many discovered specimens teach us that the entrails after having been washed with palm-wine and sprinkled with aromatics, were replaced into the cavity of the body, either entire, or rolled up in three or four distinct portions, and enclosed in bandages (*Pettigrew, History of Egyptian Mummies*, p. 74). According to Diodorus, the corpse was, by the embalmers, first laid on the ground: on the mummy cases and on numerous papyri, we find it invariably on a table, furnished with a lion's head. According to the historian of Halicarnassus, the mummies were placed erect against the wall; but in the mummy-pits visited by modern travellers, they are generally seen lying in regular horizontal rows, or sunk into a cement. It appears from Herodotus, that the ventral incision was applied in the most expensive process only; while it is found in mummies not enclosed in sarcophagi, and is, on the other hand, wanting in many prepared in the most costly style. In some specimens, the cavity of the body is filled up with asphaltum; in others, with the ashes of sandal-, cedar-, and other wood, with resinous matters, salt, myrrh, or argillaceous earth, and in others not at all. The cuticle is, in many mummies, carefully removed, in which operation great precaution was taken not to disturb any of the nails; and yet neither Herodotus nor Diodorus allude to this curious usage. The poor were not embalmed in any of the methods described by the historians, but were simply laid upon beds of charcoal, wrapped round with clothes, and covered with a mat, upon which sand, seven or eight feet high, was heaped. If

Pharaoh said, Go up, and bury thy father, as he made thee swear. 7. And Joseph went up to bury his father: and with him went up all the servants of Pharaoh, the elders of his house, and all the elders of the land of Egypt.

we consider these differences, and the many others which will be apparent from later remarks, we cannot hesitate to accede to the result obtained by modern researches, that "in no case the observations of Herodotus are strictly true, though nothing has been described by him, that has not in some instance or other been detected" (*Pettigrew*, p. 69). A classification of the mummies is indeed impossible. The only division of practical value which they admit is into mummies *with* and *without* the ventral incision: *the former*, if preserved by balsamic matter, have the features, teeth, and hair completely uninjured, are dry, light, and easily broken, emit a strong aromatic smell when thrown upon hot coals; or if prepared by natrum, have the skin hard and elastic, resembling parchment, the countenance a little altered, and the hair considerably impaired: *the latter*, if salted and covered with pissasphaltum (and this is the class of mummies most frequently found), are not recognisable, black, dry, heavy, and of disagreeable odour; or if simply salted and dried, have the features destroyed, the hair wholly wanting, the bones white like those of a skeleton, and are, in fact, the worst as regards preservation (comp. *Pettigrew*, pp. 70, 71). Hence it is as superfluous, as it is impossible, to try a conciliation between the *forty* days of Genesis and the *seventy* of Herodotus; certainly the attempts hitherto made to effect that accordance, have been signally unsuccessful. It is against the clear statement of the Greek historian to suppose that he included in those seventy days thirty devoted to mourning (*Tuch*, Gen. p. 594; comp. Num. xx. 29; Deut. xxxiv. 8), however hard some have laboured to force this meaning upon his words (*Hengstenberg*, Mos. und Äg. pp. 70, 71). Nor is it correct to say, that though the body lay *seventy* days in nitre, as Herodotus

remarks, it was, during the last *forty* days, anointed with gums and spices, as Diodorus and Genesis are alleged to observe (*Warburton*, Divine Legation, book iv. sect. 3): since, according to Herodotus, the steeping in natrum took place *after* the application of the perfumes, and the text of Genesis allows not more than forty days for the *whole* procedure; though the author may possibly have considered a more simple and less extended mode of embalming sufficient in the case of Jacob, whose mummification was not grounded on the superstition that the existence of the soul depends on the preservation of the body; while he naturally did not wish to curtail the usual seventy days of mourning in honour of the revered patriarch.

We conclude with a few additional remarks in connection with the art of embalming. The possibility, long questioned, of drawing out the brains through the nostrils, has now been fully demonstrated (*Pettigrew*, p. 53). In some cases, the nose remained entirely unharmed, though in some it was broken or destroyed. The brain was sometimes replaced with bituminous and resinous matter, or with spices in a state of coarse powder; and sometimes the apertures of the nostrils and part of the cavity of the skull were filled with cloth or linen, in one instance, nine yards long, but of very fine texture.—Various kinds of insects and pupae have been found in the skull, otherwise totally empty.—Yet in some cases, though the body was very carefully mummified, the brain was not removed.—Beneath the embalming table were placed four vases, the covers of which were respectively provided with the head of a man, a jackal, a hawk, and a cynocephalus, representing the four genii of the lower world.—The Ethiopian stone with which the incision was made, is the Ethiopian basalt,



8. And all the house of Joseph, and his brothers, and his father's house: only their little ones, and their flocks, and their herds, they left in the land of Goshen. 9. And there went up with him both chariots and horsemen: and

extremely hard and capable of a very keen edge (comp. *Her.* ii. 134; on *Exod.* p. 81).—Over the incision, the eye of Osiris was represented, since it was believed that the soul of the dead, if found virtuous, became again a part of the great god from whom it had emanated.—Minute saline crystals, observed on the surface of mummies, and submitted to chemical analysis, contain not only the components of natrum, namely, carbonate, sulphate, and muriate of soda, but also traces of lime, which caustic seems to have been applied for the removal of the cuticle.—Thenatrum of the Egyptians, which is still abundantly found at the Lybian side of the Nile, at Fayoom, and at the natrum lakes to the north, and which was extensively employed for cleansing, scouring, and bleaching stuffs and linen, and for the manufactory of glass, was probably a fixed alkali, and not a neutral salt like our nitre, which, though antiseptic, retains the animal juices, and would, therefore, ultimately produce decomposition.—As the oil of cedars or *cedria*, prepared by chopping the wood into small billets and heating them in a furnace (comp. *Plin.* xvi. 21; xxiv. 11), is no caustic, and is, therefore, scarcely capable of destroying the entrails, as Herodotus observes; it has been conjectured, that prior to the use of that fluid, injections of a solution of natrum, rendered caustic, were applied, which latter salt has, indeed, been discovered in some mummies.—The bowels were, according to Porphyry (*De Abst.* iv. 9) enclosed in a chest (or in vases of baked clay or alabaster), and sunk into the Nile, with prayers to the Sun, who was entreated to receive the soul of the deceased into the regions of the gods, and to impute all his transgressions not to the wickedness of his heart, but to the contents of the chest: but this custom has not unreasonably been questioned as implying a pollution of the holy river, and

an insult to the dead.—The mummies, even those which have not the ventral incision, were frequently gilded on the nails of the fingers and toes, and sometimes on the eye-lids, the lips, and the face, the hands and the feet. Leaves of gold have been found on the forehead, the eyes, the tongue, and the nose, and in some instances, on the whole body; while in others, the head is adorned with an artificial crown of olive in copper gilt. Not a few of these mummies may be those of Greeks who died in Egypt in the time of the Pharaohs or the Ptolemies; since some bear Greek inscriptions, and the custom of wreathing the illustrious dead prevailed among the Hellenes. Nor was the usage of wrapping the body in sheets of gold unknown to them; the corpse of Alexander the Great was thus brought from Asia in a kind of chase-work so closely applied to the skin that even the expression of the countenance was preserved (comp. *Diod.* xviii. 26); and it was further protected by another veil of the same precious metal. Gold sheets of considerable weight and value have also been discovered in the graves of northern tribes, on the banks of the Volga, the Irtish, and the Ob. One of the Ptolemies substituted a covering of glass for that of gold, by a contrivance of most surprising skill.—Sometimes the nails of the fingers and toes, the palms and soles, seem to have been stained scarlet with a substance like *henna*, consisting of the leaves of the shrub Tamar-henna, or of Lawsonia, dried, powdered, and formed into a paste (comp. on *Exod.* p. 224).—The body was always extended, and the head erect; but the arms are found in some cases lying closely along the sides of the body, in others (not exclusively in female mummies) crossed over the breast; while in others, one arm is placed in the former, and the other in the latter position.—There is no reason

the procession was very great. 10. And they came to the threshing-floor of Atad, which is beyond the Jordan, and there they lamented with a great and very vehement lamentation: and he made a mourning for his father

to doubt the correctness of the order of the operations as stated by Herodotus, and to suppose that the steeping in natrum preceded the application of the aromatics (*Pettigrew*, pp. 61, 83, 84). The description of the Greek historian does not less satisfactorily than the alleged agency of a great degree of heat, mentioned by no ancient author, account for the fact that "the resinous and aromatic substances penetrated even into the innermost structure of the bones."—Hence mummy was much used as a drug in the sixteenth and part of the seventeenth centuries, in cases of bruises and wounds, and the Arabs still apply mummy powder, mixed with butter, as a favourite remedy for contusions. — The bandages were never of woollen stuffs (*Her. ii. 37, 81*), because they are apt to harbour vermin; they were, even in the mummies of the poorest individual, like the robes of the priests, usually of linen, and seldom of cotton (*σινδώνος βυσσίνης τελαμῶσι; Her. ii. 86*), a fact which has been ascertained by exact microscopic examination (see *Commentary on Exodus*, p. 488); those nearest to the body, alone saturated with bituminous matter, were of the coarsest kind; they were generally dipped in an antiseptic fluid, either cedria or some other vegetable preparation; many are furnished with hieroglyphics, expressing the name and profession of the deceased, or containing his praise in verses; some bear enchorial characters with representations of the lower world; and some have names in Greek letters. They were variously tinged; sometimes they had a blue border, or a fringe terminating in knots; some contained napkins so perfectly preserved as to be still fit for use; others included garments which had been worn and mended, with embroidered initials; or artificial and most intricate wreaths, consisting of two garlands with red berries

and the petals of the lotus; or curious leathern fingers, or straps of red leather with hieroglyphics, perhaps intended as amulets. After the first or outer layer of the bandages were found idols in agate, jasper, and other stones, representing Isis, Apis, Horus, or frogs, and arranged as collars; or necklaces of gold, coral, lapis lazuli, or of pearls in enamelled glass; further, the four genii of the Amenti and other amulets in wax gilt; rings and ear-rings, spangles in the plaited hair, girdles in gold, bracelets in fine pearls and precious stones, metallic mirrors under the head, and especially scarabæi of very various stones, on tablets in the form of an Egyptian temple, provided with the figures of Isis and Nephthys, and covered with hieroglyphics, in which case they were placed on the chest or beneath the eyes of the mummies, to indicate the protecting influence of the deity. Though some mummies were not bandaged at all, but only covered with a mat, the quantity of bandages employed in others is extraordinary; they are often folded twenty to thirty times round the body, in some cases they consist of not less than a thousand ells, up to a yard in breadth, and weigh thirty pounds and upwards. But the texture is sometimes as fine as muslin, the "woven air," the admiration of the ancient world (see on *Exod. p. 489*).—The bandages were most neatly and closely applied by means of compresses and rollers in every possible shape and position, chiefly with the view of effectually excluding the air.—In mummies of distinguished personages, the arms and legs were bandaged separately; strips of red and white linen were intermixed; the feet provided with sandals of painted leather, the arms and wrists with bracelets, and sometimes the face, the hands, and feet, with masks. The eyes and eyebrows are found of enamel. Some mummies are varnished over with a dark

seven days. 11. And when the inhabitants of the land, the Canaanites, saw the mourning in the floor of Atad, they said, This is a vehement mourning to the Egyptians:

leather colour, appearing like a "uniform coat of mail"; some bear portraits of the deceased, not unskilfully executed, upon a thin plate of cedar wood.—Then the corpse was, in many, but by no means in all, instances, placed into a *mummy-case*. First, a *cartonage*, consisting of many layers of linen cemented together, plastered with lime on the inside, and hence resembling pasteboard, but of astonishing durability, was made to fit exactly the shape of the body; it was sewed up at the back, and beautifully painted and ornamented with numerous subjects, as the principal gods, especially of the lower world, holding judgment over the dead, sacred arks, and boats; the face, often covered with thin gold-leaf, was perhaps intended to resemble that of the deceased; the eyes were enamelled; the hair carefully imitated was decked with gold or other ornaments; and a net-work of coloured beads spread over the breast or the whole body.—The *outer case*, though sometimes employed without the *cartonage*, was either of wood, generally of the sycamore, deal, or cedar (symbolical of eternity), richly painted, or, less frequently, of basalt, granite, slate, limestone, or red earthenware, while the alleged sarcophagus of Alexander the Great and the so-called "Lover's Fountain," both preserved in the British Museum, are of *breccia*. When of wood, the case was either of oblong shape, with curved or pointed lid, on which sometimes the figure of the deceased was represented in relief; or it had the form of the mummified body, with a winged scarabæus or globe, a hawk or a ram-headed vulture.—The small number of mummies of children hitherto found has justly caused surprise, and can only be accounted for by the supposition that the bodies of infants were deposited in separate pits, none of which have as yet been discovered.—Mummification was customary till the fifth century of the Christian

era; but from that time it fell gradually into disuse.—The modern Egyptians wash their dead thoroughly in water in which leaves of the lote-tree have been boiled, and use in that operation the fibres of the palm-tree; stop up with cotton every aperture, as the nostrils and ears; shave the body and remove all hair; sprinkle the corpse with a mixture of water, pounded camphor, dried and pounded leaves of the lote or other trees, with rose-water, aloë, and similar perfumes; and they then bind together the ankles, and place the hands upon the breast. If the deceased was a man of property, the body is afterwards successively wrapped in muslin, in cotton cloth of thicker texture, striped stuff of silk and cotton intermixed, and a kashmere shawl; white and green are the usual colours; blue, or what approaches it, is generally avoided. The body of a poor man is simply surrounded with a few pieces of cotton or put into a kind of bag (see *Lane*, *Modern Egyptians*, iii. 153, 154; *Pettigrew*, p. 22; *Rosenm. Morgenl.* i. 245).—The Egyptian art of embalming was known and practised by the Palmyreans also. But the Babylonians, and, in some instances, the later Jews embalmed the body in honey, after having covered it with wax (*Strab.* xvi. 746; *Jos. Ant.* XIV. vii. 4; comp. *Plin.* xxii. 50); the Persians enveloped it with the latter substance only (*Her.* i. 140; *Cic. Tusc.* i. 45); the Greeks and Romans sometimes with honey alone (*Xen. Hell.* V. iii. 19; *Crra. Nep. Ages.* viii.; *Plut. Ages.* xl.; *Colum.* iii. 45; *Sust. Silv.* III. ii. 117, 118); the Ethiopians plastered the body with gypsum, painted it to make it resemble the living person, and then surrounded it with a column of glass or crystal (perhaps fossil salt or a diaphanous resin), through which it was from all parts visible; and others employed simply perfumes, spices, and emunctious (John xix 39, 40; *Tacit. Ann.* xvi. 6; *Hom.* II. xviii. 357, 351; xix. 38, 39;

therefore was its name called Abel-mizraim, which *is* beyond the Jordan. 12. And his sons did to him as he had commanded them: 13. For his sons carried him into

xxiv. 587; Od. xxiv. 44, 45; *Virg. Æn.* vi. 219; *Ovid, Met.* xiv. 605—607. The Hebrew word for embalming, *בִּשְׁמֵן*, seems to denote, like the same root in Arabic, “to apply to the dead fragrant ointment”; it refers, therefore, to a less essential part of the manipulations than the Greek word, *ραπίσμιον*; see p. 770; comp. Cant. ii. 13).—On the process and history of mummification see, in general, the Book of the Dead, Ch. 45; *Hertzog, Mumiographia Medica*; *Rauyer*, Notice sur les embaumemens des anciens Egyptiens, in the Description de l’Egypte, tom i.; *Rosellini*, Monum. II. iii.; *Wilkinson*, Man. and Cus. ii.; *Belzoni*, Travels; *Pettigrew*, History of Egyptian Mummies, to which excellent account we are indebted for many facts embodied in the preceding notice; *Lösch*, Die Ägyptischen Mumien.

Between the completion of embalming and the burial, funeral services were solemnised; the mummy was placed before an altar and anointed; and the rites consisted in prayers, libations, offerings of incense, cakes, flowers, and fruits, and in repeated feasts, to which the relations and friends of the departed were invited.—The funeral processions were both solemn and magnificent, but naturally varied according to the social position of the deceased (comp. *Wilkinson* ii. 366, *et seq.*).—In the vaults were not only placed the mummies, but, on small tables, offerings of cakes, fowl, and other objects; implements to indicate the profession or occupation of the dead, such as a censer, an inkstand, or a boat, if he had been a priest, a scribe, or a mariner; images of the entombed, and tablets of stone or wood, in the form of an Egyptian shield, with inscriptions regarding his character and career; papyri and jewels; even the sawdust of the floor where the body had been cleansed, was tied in small linen bags, often to the number of twenty or thirty, and deposited in vases.

It would be superfluous to describe the violent forms of mourning customary in the East (see on Exod. p. 176). Among the ancient Egyptians, it consisted in abstaining from baths, wine, and ointment; in avoiding all luxury in eating, all comfort and elegance in garments; in covering the head with ashes; allowing the hair of the head and the beard to grow; and in vociferous lamentations, repeated twice daily, and usually swelled by the clamours of hired mourners (comp. *Her.* ii. 36; *Diod.* i. 72; *Wilkins.* i. 256; Description de l’Egypte. xviii. 180; *Rosenm.* Morgenl. i. 247).

It is, indeed, surprising that Joseph, the viceroy, should have required the intervention of subordinate courtiers to obtain permission for Jacob’s interment in Canaan (vers. 4, 5). The author may have considered Joseph’s power as less extensive after the expiration of the season of famine, with which his immediate charge ended; or he may have supposed the accession of a new Pharaoh, as twenty-eight years had elapsed since Joseph was summoned to the royal palace (comp. xlv. 6; xlvii. 28). Others believe that the mourning, during which the Egyptians in many respects neglected their usual attention to their external appearance (*Her.* ii. 36), precluded Joseph from coming into the royal presence (comp. xli. 14; *Esth.* iv. 2); for though “the days of weeping” had passed (ver. 4), the rites of mourning ceased only on the day of burial (comp. ver. 10).

The funeral procession seems to have taken its way from the province of Goshen in north-eastern direction towards Gaza, a journey of eight to ten days (comp. pp. 627, 628; on Exod. pp. 228, 229); within the boundaries of the land of Canaan, and, probably, not much to the south of Hebron, it stopped at the “threshing-floor of Atad,” where both the sons of Jacob and the Egyptians who accompanied them, renewed their mourn-

the land of Canaan, and buried him in the cave of the field of Machpelah, which Abraham had bought with the field for a possession of a burying-place of Ephron the

ing during seven days (comp. 1 Sam. xxxi. 13; Judith xvi. 24; Sir. xxii. 13). The former next proceeded alone to the cave of Machpelah to discharge their melancholy duty, while the latter remained at Atad awaiting the return of the Hebrews, together with whom they then journeyed back to Egypt. This is the clear and simple tenour of the narrative.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—It is, therefore, difficult to understand that modern critics (as Eichhorn, De Wette, Gramberg, etc.), should here have discovered inextricable difficulties, and seen the necessity for artificial separations. It is perfectly unnecessary to suppose two different accounts, of which the one, vers. 12, 13, in continuation of xlix. 29—32, is said to describe Jacob's burial in the cave of Machpelah, without alluding to the mummification of his body or to the pomp of the Egyptian procession; while the other, vers. 7—11, 14, in connection with xlvii. 29—31, is maintained to record his interment in Canaan, without mentioning the cave near Hebron. But Jacob in speaking of "the grave which he had dug for himself in the land of Canaan" (ver. 5), evidently refers to the well-known vault of his fathers before expressly mentioned (xlvi. 30). If vers. 12 and 13 are omitted, the chief point, the statement of the burial itself, would be wanting; and if it is attempted to connect ver. 11 with ver. 14, or xlix. 33 with ver. 12, the whole context would be loose and unsatisfactory (comp. Ewald, *Compos. der Genes.* p. 47; Ranke, *Untersuchungen* i. 277, 278; Tuch, *Genes.* pp. 592—594). The "threshing-floor of Atad" apparently lies in the land of Canaan itself, that is, in the west of the Jordan; for "the inhabitants of the land, the Canaanites, saw the mourning in the floor of Atad" (ver. 12); and vers. 12 and 13 recapitulate and complete the record of the interment, and therefore repeat not only the remark concerning the arrival of the brothers in Canaan, but

also regarding the purchase of the cave of Machpelah by Abraham (comp. xlix. 29, 30): hence the terms בעבר הירדן (vers. 10, 11) and בארץ כנען (ver. 13) are here not opposed to each other in the same manner as in some other passages (Num. xxxii. 32; xxxv. 14), where they respectively denote the land east and west of the Jordan. But it is impossible to doubt that בעבר הירדן can also mean "in the west of the Jordan." Moses, standing on the east of the river, prayed that he might be permitted "to pass over and to see the good land which is בעבר הירדן," that is, in the west (Dent. iii. 25; comp. 1 Sam. xxxi. 7). In order to describe unmistakably the east-Jordanic provinces, Hebrew writers felt the necessity of adding, after בעבר הירדן, either מזרחה שמש (Dent. iv. 41, 47, 49; Josh. i. 15; comp. 1 Chr. vi. 68), or מזרחה (Josh. xviii. 7; xiii. 32); just as they not unfrequently expressed the western land by בעבר הירדן ימה (Josh. v. 1; xii. 7; xxii. 7, etc.), or עבר הירדן מבוא השמש (Dent. xi. 30), or מערב הירדן מערבה (1 Chr. xxvi. 30); and the Reubenites said in the east of the Jordan, that they did not inherit לירדן והלאה, since their portion had fallen מעבר הירדן מזרחה (Num. xxxii. 19; comp. *Genes. Thes.* p. 986). The distinction that עבר הירדן is in some instances employed from the individual point of view of the writer or speaker, and may thus denote both east and west of the Jordan, while it is in other cases used as a standing and permanent geographical term for the eastern tracts (*Hengstenb.*, Auth. ii. 316—324), will, on the whole, prove correct. The fact is not dissimilar to the double usage of עבר הנהר, in the east or west of the Euphrates; and the terms *Gallia citerior* and *ulterior*, *Abbruzzo ulteriore* and *citeriore*, *Cisplatina*, and others, are familiar to all (comp. *Hengst.* loc. cit. p. 317). It is, therefore, perfectly gratuitous to suppose that בעבר הירדן signifies here (ver. 11) on the

Hittite, before Mamre. 14. And Joseph returned to Egypt, he, and his brothers, and all who went up with him to bury his father, after he had buried his father.—

east of the Jordan, and to contend that the author made the procession take the long and unnecessary circuit through Persæa to Canaan, either from sheer geographical ignorance (which is a ridiculous charge); or in order to indicate the way in which the descendants of the patriarch subsequently entered the promised land (*Knobel*, Gen. p. 348; strange that the travellers should here *choose* the road which later necessity *forced* them to take); or because he was reluctant to profane the sacred soil of Canaan by the presence of the idolatrous Egyptians (but the whole of Palestine is represented as inhabited by heathens); or on account of "the military *cortege*," which rendered the transit through the land of the Philistines impossible (comp. Exod. xiii. 17; *Hengst.* p. 318; *Lengerke*, Ken. i. 357, 358; as if the powerful and well-disciplined Egyptians felt the same terror of the arms of the Philistines as the weak and fugitive Hebrews after the Exodus); or in order to explain the name "Abel Mizraim," formerly called "the Floor of Atad." If this locality were situated on the east of the Jordan, the critic would, indeed, be compelled to adopt some such alternative as we have just stated. But this is far from being certain. The only ancient notice regarding Atad is from Jerome, who (Onom. sub Area Atad) writes: "locus trans Jordanem, tertio ab Hierico lapide, duobus millibus a Jordane," and adds, that the place was in his time called *Betagla*. But this statement is contradictory in itself. For while, on the one hand, it describes a place on the east of the Jordan (trans Jordanem), it points, on the other hand, to the town Beth-hoglah (בֵּית הַחֹלָה), on the west of the river, lying in the tribe of Benjamin, on the frontier of Judah, not far from the influx of the Jordan in the Dead Sea (Josh. xv. 6; xviii. 19, 21; comp. *Robinson*, Res. l. 544; *Ritter*, Erdkunde xv.

544). It appears, then, that "the Floor of Atad" lay south of Hebron, within the territory of Judah. Such threshing-places were generally in open fields or on hills, and not seldom bore the name of the proprietor; thus we find, besides, mentioned the threshing-floor of Nachon (2 Sam. vi. 6) or Chidon (1 Chr. xiii. 9), and of Araunah the Jebusite (2 Sam. xxiv. 16, 18, 21).—כֶּרֶה (ver. 5) is here more appropriately taken in the meaning of *digging* (comp. xxvi. 25; Ps. vii. 16; Prov. xxvi. 27, etc.), than in the less usual sense of *buying* (Dan. ii. 6; Hos. iii. 2): for Jacob had not bought the cave of Machpelah; but he may have prepared or enlarged that part of it, in which he wished to be interred. *Sept.* ὄρυζα; *Vulg.* fodi; *Targ. Jon.* דִּרְחַפְרִית; and so *Rashi*; but *Onkelos* דִּרְחַפְרִית; etc.—נֶזֶן הַחֹמֶד (ver. 10) is properly "the threshing-floor of buck-thorn" (Judg. ix. 14, 15; Ps. lviii. 10; comp. *Cels.* Hierob. i. 199—209), no doubt because it was originally overgrown with this plant (*Rhamnus paliurus*, Linn.), analogous to *Rhamnus* (Ῥαμνός, contracted from ῥαμνός), on the eastern coast of Attica (comp. *Plin.* H. N. xxiv. 76; *Smith*, Dict. of Geogr. ii. 707).—אֵבֶל signifies a grassy place, or a meadow (1 Sam. vi. 18); hence we may account for names as אֵבֶל הַשִּׁטִּים (Num. xxxvii. 49), אֵבֶל כְּרִמִּים, meadow of vines (Judg. xi. 33; comp. אֵבֶל בֵּית מַעֲכָה, 2 Sam. xx. 15; אֵבֶל מַחֹלָה, Judg. vii. 22, etc.); and it is not impossible that a field in Canaan was called אֵבֶל מִצְרַיִם either because it was situated on the principal road leading to Egypt, or because it resembled the blooming luxuriance of the valley of the Nile (comp. xiii. 10). But our text (ver. 11) takes אֵבֶל in the sense of אֵבֶל מִצְרַיִם, mourning (comp. xxxvii. 35; Esth. vi. 12, etc.), and connects the origin of the name with Jacob's death. It seems, therefore, probable that the true reading, alone in harmony with the tenour

15. And when Joseph's brothers saw that their father was dead, they said, Joseph will perhaps hate us, and will fully requite us all the evil which we did to him. 16. And they sent messengers to Joseph, saying, Thy father commanded before he died, saying, 17. So shall you say to Joseph, Oh forgive, I pray thee, the trespass of thy brothers, and their sin; for they did to thee evil: and now, we pray thee, forgive the trespass of the servants of the God of thy father. And Joseph wept when they spoke to him. 18. And his brothers also went and fell

of the narrative, is אֵבֶל מִצְרַיִם (thus *Sept.* πένθος Αἰγύπτου; *Vulg.* *planctus Egypti*), and that this name was given to the locality either from the tradition related in the text, or from some severe defeat there suffered by the Egyptians on one of their northern expeditions. Unsuccessful efforts have been made to derive this sense from the masoretic reading; but it is impossible to render אֵבֶל מִצְרַיִם "mourning Egypt" (*Hengst.* *Auth.* ii. 319); for though מִצְרַיִם is used as a masculine (*Isai.* xix. 16, 25; *Jer.* xlv. 8), the substantive must precede the adjective (*comp. Gesen. Lehrs.* pp. 704—707); and the terms "sorrowful, the acacias," or "sorrowful, the vines," are as unintelligible as "Abel, the Egyptian."

15—26. The Hebrew historian is so deeply impressed with the great and momentous principle embodied in the life of Joseph, that in spite of manifold interruptions and episodes, as the settlement of the Hebrews in Goshen, a new organisation of the Egyptian empire, the adoption of Ephraim and Manasseh, and the prophetic address, death, and burial of Jacob (xlv.—l. 14), he once more strongly enforces the doctrine of a special Providence (see p. 604), and skilfully completes the varied incidents of a long narrative. Although it might appear that, after the lapse of so many years, suspicion and animosity had entirely vanished from the hearts of the brothers; he places the reader again in the midst of the moral complications which had caused the greatness of Joseph through the guilt

and shame of the rest. Hence he not only repeats the compunctions, the confession, and the fear of the offenders (*vera.* 15, 17; *comp.* xlii. 21, 22); but also the unreserved pardon and cheering consolations of the sufferer Joseph (*vera.* 17, 19—21; *comp.* xlv. 5—8), who, convinced that the will of God had designed the wondrous events, and that the brothers had before been sufficiently punished for their attempted crime, abhorred the idea of revenge, and humbly exclaimed, "Am I in God's stead"? (*comp.* xxx. 2). And he finally draws the conclusion in a train of thought happily expressed by a modern poet:

"All nature is but art unknown to thee,  
All chance, direction which thou canst  
not see,  
All discord, harmony not understood,  
All partial evil, universal good:  
And spite of pride, in erring reason's  
spite,  
One truth is clear: whatever is, is right."  
*Pope, Essay on Man, l. x.*

Joseph, so exalted in his views, and so unwavering in his rectitude, naturally deserved every temporal blessing: he lived to see descendants to the third and fourth generation, and he died, fifty-four years after Jacob, with the comforting certainty that his body, carefully embalmed and enshrined in a sarcophagus, would in due time be interred in the land of promise (*ver.* 24, 25; *comp.* xlv. 4; xlviii. 21). These traits were indispensably demanded by the organism and tendency of the tale. But why did not Joseph, like Jacob, order his remains to be forthwith conveyed to Canaan? Was he less scrupulous, or

down before him; and they said, Behold, we *are* thy servants. 19. And Joseph said to them, Fear not; for *am* I in God's stead? 20. But as for you, you meant evil against me; *but* God meant it for good, to bring to pass, as *it is* this day, to preserve much people. 21. Now, therefore, fear not: I will nourish you and your little ones. And he comforted them, and spoke kindly to them. 22. And Joseph dwelt in Egypt, he and his father's house: and Joseph lived a hundred and ten years. 23. And Joseph saw Ephraim's children of the third genera-

did he feel less deeply for the future of the Hebrew race than his father? The only satisfactory reply is, that tradition had not handed down the record of any funeral procession immediately after Joseph's death, while it preserved the memory of his burial at a much later period, in the piece of ground near Shechem bought by Jacob (comp. Exod. xiii. 19; Josh. xxiv. 32).—As Machir was the first-born son of Manasseh (Num. xxvi. 29; Josh. xvii. 1), he sometimes represents the whole tribe to which he belonged (Judg. v. 14). The sons of Machir, among whom Gilead distinguished himself by valour (Josh. xvii. 1), conquered large districts in the east of the Jordan, especially Gilead and Bashan, from whence they expelled the Amorites (Num. xxxii. 39, 40; Deut. iii. 15; Josh. xii. 31); but some branches of Machir's family obtained inheritance on the west of the river, among that part of Manasseh which there finally settled (Josh. xviii. 3—6). The name of Machir was long preserved in the same tribe (2 Sam. ix. 4; xvii. 27).

Joseph is but rarely mentioned by profane writers; and the few notices which occur are little in harmony with the statements of Genesis. Artapanus (*Euseb. Pr. Ev.* ix. 23) remarks, that Joseph, persecuted by his brothers, had himself entreated Arabian neighbours to bring him to Egypt, where he introduced a system of measures and weights; Justinus (xxxvi. 2) represents him as the father of Moses; and the Koran (in the twelfth Sura), following Talmudical and other traditionary sources,

has worked out his life with profuse and romantic embellishments (comp. *Joseph. Ant.* II. ii.—viii.; *Talm. Sot.* 36 b, etc.; *Geiger*, Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen? pp. 141—151).

The last words of Joseph appear like a transition to the period of servitude and wretchedness which awaited the Hebrews in Egypt; "God will surely remember you," said he, "and bring you out of this land" (vers. 24, 25; comp. Exod. ii. 24; iii. 16, 17, etc.): scarcely has the discord within Jacob's family been fully resolved into harmony, when a new and intricate problem is hinted at—lest the interest abate, and the unity of the work be mistaken.

PHILOLOGICAL REMARKS.—ל is in ver. 15 used in the sense of אולי *perhaps*, but involving not only doubt, but fear; Sept., μή ποτε; Vulg., *ne forte*.—The words התחת אני אלהים (ver. 19) imply that Joseph, taught by the result, could not punish the deed of his brothers, since, though reproachful in itself, it had been used by Providence as a medium for great blessings. The ancient versions render freely: Sept., τοῦ γὰρ θεοῦ εἶμι ἐγώ; *Aq.*, ὅτι μὴ θεὸς ἐγώ; Vulg., *num Dei possumus resistere voluntati?* *Onk.*, ארי רחל לא רה אנה "for I fear the Lord."—עשה (ver. 20), stands instead of עשות; comp. יראה, xlvi. 11; see p. 718.—The same motive which prompted the author to describe again the whole relation between Joseph and his brothers, induced him to allude to the measures adopted by the former for the mitigation of the famine, and to represent their beneficent



tion: the children also of Machir, the son of Manasseh, were born upon Joseph's knees. 24. And Joseph said to his brothers, I die: and God will surely remember you, and bring you out of this land to the land which He swore to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob. 25. And Joseph took an oath of the children of Israel, saying, God will surely remember you, and you shall carry up my bones from hence. 26. So Joseph died a hundred and ten years old: and they embalmed him, and he was put in a coffin in Egypt.

result, the deliverance of many nations, as present and obvious (כִּיּוֹם הַזֶּה, ver. 20); though, of course, the time of death was long passed; and the words, "do not be afraid; I will nourish you and your little ones" (ver. 21), must be referred to the abodes and sustenance which Joseph promised to provide for the increasing families of his brothers.—בְּנֵי שְׁלֹשִׁים (ver. 23) are "children of the third generation," or great grand-children; comp. Exod. xx. 5.—On the progeny of Ephraim, see Num. xxvi. 35, 36.—The phrase, "the sons of Machir were born on Joseph's knees," does not mean that the latter "caressed them in his lap" (comp. *Hom.* II. ix. 455); but, as has been explained above (p. 375;

comp. xxx. 3), that he recognised them as his own legitimate offspring (comp. *Hom.* Od. xix. 401).—About the form *Ḳṛṣ* (ver. 26), see p. 468, on xxiv. 33.—The case in which Joseph's mummy was preserved (see p. 774), is here called *Ḳṛṣ*, a wooden chest (*Exod.* xxv. 22; 1 Sam.

vi. 8; 2 Chr. viii. 11, etc.): in Arabic *أُرْجَان*, and in the Egyptian language, *raz*, have the meaning of *coffin* (comp. *Uhlemann*, *Thot* p. 185); the Sept. renders here *σορός* (comp. *Hom.* II. xxiii. 91; and *λάρναξ*, II. xxiv. 795); Vulg., *loculus* (comp. *Plin.* vii. 16).—About the article implied in *Ḳṛṣ*, see p. 197, and Commentary on *Exodus*, p. 33.

FINIS.

אָנִי: 20 וְאַתֶּם חֲשַׁבְתֶּם עָלַי רָעָה אֱלֹהִים חֲשַׁבְתָּ לְמַכָּה לְמַעַן  
 עֲשֶׂה בִּי כֵּן הִנֵּה לְהַחְיִית עִם־רֵב: שְׁבִיעִי 21 וְעַתָּה אֶל־תִּדְאוּ  
 אֹנְכִי אֲכַלְכֵּל אֶתְכֶם וְאֶת־מִפְּכֶם וַיִּנָּתֶן אֹתָם וַיְדַבֵּר עַל־לִבָּם:  
 22 וַיָּשָׁב יוֹסֵף בְּמִצְרַיִם הוּא וּבֵית אָבִיו וַיְחִי יוֹסֵף מֵאָה וָעֶשֶׂר  
 שָׁנִים: סְסִיד 23 וַיֵּרָא יוֹסֵף לְאֶפְרַיִם בְּנֵי שְׁלֹשִׁים גַּם בְּנֵי מְכִיר  
 בֶּן־מְנַשֶּׁה יְלָדָיו עַל־בְּרֵכֵי יוֹסֵף: 24 וַיֹּאמֶר יוֹסֵף אֶל־אֲחָיו אֹנְכִי  
 מֵת וְאֱלֹהִים פָּקֹד יִפְקֹד אֶתְכֶם וַהֲעֵלָה אֶתְכֶם מִן־הָאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת  
 אֶל־הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁבַּע לְאַבְרָהָם לְיִצְחָק וְלִיְעֻקֵּב: 25 וַיִּשְׁבַּע  
 יוֹסֵף אֶת־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לֵאמֹר פָּקֹד יִפְקֹד אֱלֹהִים אֶתְכֶם וַהֲעֵלְתֶם  
 אֶת־עַצְמוֹתַי מִזֶּה: 26 וַיָּמָת יוֹסֵף בֶּן־מֵאָה וָעֶשֶׂר שָׁנִים וַיַּתְנֶנּוּ  
 אֹתָם וַיִּישֻׁם בְּאֵרוֹן בְּמִצְרַיִם:

ח ז ק •

יִשְׂרָאֵל: 3 וַיִּמְלֹאֲרֵלּוּ אַרְבָּעִים יוֹם כִּי כֵן יִמְלָאוּ יְמֵי הַחַגְמִים  
 וַיִּכְּפוּ אֹתוֹ מִצָּרִים שִׁבְעִים יוֹם: 4 וַיַּעֲבְרוּ יְמֵי בְכִיתוֹ וַיִּדְּבַר יוֹסֵף  
 אֶל-בֵּית פַּרְעֹה לֵאמֹר אֲסֹנָא מִצָּאתִי חֵן בְּעֵינֵיכֶם וַיְבַרְכֵנִי  
 בְּאֲזֵנֵי פַרְעֹה לֵאמֹר: 5 אָבִי הִשְׁפִּיעַנִי לֵאמֹר הִנֵּה אָנֹכִי מֵת  
 בְּקִבְרִי אֲשֶׁר פָּרִיתִי לוֹ בְּאֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן שָׁמָּה תִקְבְּרֵנִי וְעַתָּה אֶעֱלֶה-  
 נָא וְאֶקְבְּרָה אֶת-אָבִי וְאֶשׁוּבָה: 6 וַיֹּאמֶר פַּרְעֹה עֲלֶה וְקַבֵּר אֶת-  
 אָבִיךָ כַּאֲשֶׁר הִשְׁפִּיעָה: 7 וַיַּעַל יוֹסֵף לִקְבֹּר אֶת-אָבִיו וַיַּעֲלוּ  
 אֹתוֹ כָּל-עַבְדֵי פַרְעֹה וְקִנְיָ בֵיתוֹ וְכָל זֶקֶן אֶרֶץ-מִצְרַיִם: 8 וְכָל  
 בֵּית יוֹסֵף וְאָחָיו וְבֵית אָבִיו רַק טַפָּם וְצִאֲנָם וּבְקָרָם עֹזְבוּ בְּאֶרֶץ  
 גִּשְׁן: 9 וַיַּעַל עִמּוֹ גַּם-דָּרָכָב גַּם-פָּרָשִׁים וַיְהִי הַמַּחֲנֶה כְּבֹד מְאֹד:  
 10 וַיָּבֹאוּ עַד-גִּזְרֵן הָאָמָר אֲשֶׁר בְּעֶבֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן וַיִּסְפְּדוּשָׁם מִסֵּפֶר  
 גִּזְרֵל וְכֹבֵד מְאֹד וַיַּעַשׂ לָאָבִיו אָבֶל שִׁבְעַת יָמִים: 11 וַיֵּרָא יוֹשֵׁב  
 הָאֶרֶץ הַכְּנַעֲנִי אֶת-הָאָבֶל בְּגִזְרֵן הָאָמָר וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֵבֶל-כְּבֹד זֶה  
 לַמִּצְרַיִם עַל-כֵּן קָרָא שְׁמֹה אָבֶל מִצְרַיִם אֲשֶׁר בְּעֶבֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן:  
 12 וַיַּעֲשׂוּ בָנָיו לוֹ כֵּן כַּאֲשֶׁר צִוָּם: 13 וַיִּשְׁאוּ אֹתוֹ בָּנָיו אֶרְצָה  
 כְּנָעַן וַיִּקְבְּרוּ אֹתוֹ בְּמַעְרַת שְׂדֵה הַמַּכְפֵּלָה אֲשֶׁר קָנָה אַבְרָהָם  
 אֶת-הַשְּׂדֵה לְאַחֲזֹת-קִבְרֵ מֵאֵת עַפְרֹן הַחֲתִי עַל-פְּנֵי מִמְרָא:  
 14 וַיָּשָׁב יוֹסֵף מִצְרַיִם הוּא וְאָחָיו וְכָל-הָעֲלִים אֹתוֹ לִקְבֹּר אֶת-  
 אָבִיו אַחֲרֵי קִבְרוֹ אֶת-אָבִיו: 15 וַיֵּרָאוּ אַחֲרֵי-יוֹסֵף כִּי-מָת אֲבִיהֶם  
 וַיֹּאמְרוּ לוֹ יִשְׁמַמְנוּ יוֹסֵף וְהַשֵּׁב יוֹשִׁיב לָנוּ אֵת כָּל-הָרָעָה אֲשֶׁר  
 גָּמְלָנוּ אֹתוֹ: 16 וַיֹּצִיאוּ אֶל-יוֹסֵף לֵאמֹר אָבִיךָ צִוָּה לִפְנֵי מוֹתוֹ  
 לֵאמֹר: 17 כֹּד-תֹאמְרוּ לְיוֹסֵף אֲנָא שָׂא נָא פֶשַׁע אַחִיךָ וְחַטָּאתָם  
 כִּי-רָעָה גָמְלוּךָ וְעַתָּה שָׂא נָא לִפְשַׁע עַבְדִּי אֶלֶּהָ אָבִיךָ וַיִּבְכֶּה  
 יוֹסֵף בְּדַבָּרָם אֵלָיו: 18 וַיָּלְכוּ גַם-אָחָיו וַיִּפְּלוּ לִפְנָיו וַיֹּאמְרוּ הִנֵּנוּ  
 לְךָ לַעֲבָדִים: 19 וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵהֶם יוֹסֵף אֶל-תִּירָאוּ כִּי הִתַּחַת אֱלֹהִים

נַעֲמָה יִשָּׁשׁ שְׂכָמוֹ לִסְבֹּל וַיְהִי לְמִסַּעֲבָד׃ ס 16 הָן דִּין עָמֹ  
 בְּאַחַד שְׁבָטֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל׃ 17 יַחֲדָן נָחֵשׁ עַל־דָּרֶךְ שְׁפִיפֹן עַל־  
 אֶרֶץ הַנֶּשֶׁף עֶקְבֵּי־סוּם וַיִּפֹּל רַכְבּוֹ אַחֲזָר׃ 18 לִישׁוּעָתָה קָרָתִי  
 יְהוָה׃ חֲסִידֵי ס 19 גַּר גֵּרָה וְגֵרָהּ הוּא יָגֵר עָקֵב׃ ס 20 מֵאֲשֶׁר  
 שָׁמְנָה לַחֲמוֹ הוּא יִתֵּן מֵעֶרְב־מֶלֶךְ׃ ס 21 נִפְתָּלִי אֵילָה שְׁלַחָה  
 חֲנָתָן אֲמִר־שֹׁפֵר׃ ס 22 בֶּן פֶּרֶת יוֹסֵף בֶּן פֶּרֶת עַל־עֵינֵי בָנוֹת  
 צַעֲרָה עַל־שׂוֹד׃ 23 וַיִּמְרָהּוּ וְדָבָר וַיִּשְׁמָהּוּ בְּעַלֵּי חָצִים׃ 24 וַתֵּשֶׁב  
 בְּאִיתָן קִשְׁתּוֹ וַיָּפּוּ וְרָעִי דָּיו מִדִּי אֲבִיר יַעֲקֹב מִשֵּׁם רָעָה אֲבָן  
 יִשְׂרָאֵל׃ 25 מֵאֵל אֲבִיקָה וַיַּעֲזֹרָהּ וְאֵת שְׂדֵי וַיְבָרְכָהּ בְּרֶכֶת שְׁמִים  
 מֵעַל בְּרֶכֶת תְּהוֹם רִבְצָת תַּחַת בְּרֶכֶת שָׁרִים וְדָחַם׃ 26 בְּרֶכֶת  
 אֲבִיקָה גָבְרוּ עַל־בְּרֶכֶת הוֹרֵי עַד־תַּאֲוֹת גִּבְעַת עוֹלָם תַּהֲיִין לְרֹאשׁ  
 יוֹסֵף וּלְקֶדֶד נִזִּיר אַחֲיוֹ׃ פ שש 27 בְּנִימִין וְזָבִי יִסְרָף בְּפֶקֶד  
 יֵאָכֵל עַד וְלַעֲרֵב יִחַלֵּק שָׁלָל׃ 28 כָּל־אֵלָה שְׁבָטֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל שְׁנִים  
 עֶשֶׂר וְחָאֵת אֲשֶׁר־דָּבָר לָהֶם אֲבִיהֶם וַיְבָרֶךְ אוֹתָם אִישׁ אֲשֶׁר  
 כִּבְרָכְתּוֹ בָּרֶךְ אֹתָם׃ 29 וַיְצַן אוֹתָם וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלֵהֶם אֲנִי נֹאמֶסָה  
 אֶל־עַמִּי קָבְרוּ אוֹתִי אֶל־אֲבֹתִי אֶל־הַמַּעְרָה אֲשֶׁר בַּשְּׂדֶה עֶפְרוֹן  
 הַחֲתִי׃ 30 בַּמַּעְרָה אֲשֶׁר בַּשְּׂדֶה הַמְּכַפְלָה אֲשֶׁר־עַל־פְּנֵי מִמְרָא  
 בְּאֶרֶץ בְּנֵעַן אֲשֶׁר קָנָה אֲבִרָהֶם אֶת־הַשְּׂדֶה מֵאֵת עֶפְרוֹן הַחֲתִי  
 לְאַחֲזֹת־קֶבֶר׃ 31 שְׁמָרָה קָבְרוּ אֶת־אֲבִרָהֶם וְאֵת שָׂרָה אִשְׁתּוֹ  
 שָׁמָּה קָבְרוּ אֶת־יִצְחָק וְאֵת רַבֵּקָה אִשְׁתּוֹ וְשָׁמָּה קָבְרָתִי אֶת־לֵאָה׃  
 32 מִקְנֵה הַשְּׂדֶה וְהַמַּעְרָה אֲשֶׁר־בּוֹ מֵאֵת בְּנֵי־חֵת׃ 33 וַיָּכֵל יַעֲקֹב  
 לְצִוֹת אֶת־בָּנָיו וַיֹּאמֶר רָגְלוֹי אֶל־הַמַּטָּה וַיָּגֹעַ וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל־עַמּוֹ׃

## CHAPTER L.

1 וַיִּפֹּל יוֹסֵף עַל־פְּנֵי אָבִיו וַיִּבֶךְ עָלָיו וַיִּשְׁקְלוּ׃ 2 וַיְצַן יוֹסֵף  
 אֶת־עֵבְרָיו אֶת־הַדֹּפְאִים לַחֲנֹט אֶת־אָבִיו וַיַּחֲנֹטוּ הַדֹּפְאִים אֶת־

19 וַיֵּמָאן אָבִיו וַיֹּאמֶר דַּעְתִּי בְנִי דַעְתִּי גַם־הוּא יִהְיֶה־לָּעָם  
 וְגַם־הוּא יִגְדֹּל וְאוֹלָם אֲחִיו הַקָּטָן יִגְדֹּל מִפְּנֵי חֲדָעוֹ יִהְיֶה מְלֹא־  
 הַבָּיִת: 20 וַיְבָרְכֵם בֵּינָם הָהוּא לֵאמֹר בְּךָ יִבְרַךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל לֵאמֹר  
 יִשְׁמְךָ אֱלֹהִים כְּאֶפְרַיִם וְכַמְנַשֶּׁה וַיִּשָּׁם אֶת־אֶפְרַיִם לִפְנֵי מְנַשֶּׁה:  
 21 וַיֹּאמֶר יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶל־יוֹסֵף הִנֵּה אָנֹכִי מֵת וְהִנֵּה אֱלֹהִים עִמָּכֶם  
 וְהִשְׁיב אֲתָכֶם אֶל־אֶרֶץ אֲבֹתֵיכֶם: 22 וְאֲנִי נָתַתִּי לָךְ שְׂכָם אַחֵד  
 עַל־אֲחִיךָ אֲשֶׁר לָקַחְתִּי מִן־הָאָמִרִי בַּחֲרָפִי וּבִקְשָׁתִּי: 23 וְכִי־

## CHAPTER XLIX.

1 וַיִּקְרָא יַעֲקֹב אֶל־בָּנָיו וַיֹּאמֶר הֶאֱסַפּוּ וְאֶנְדַּת לָכֶם אֵת  
 אֲשֶׁר־יִקְרָא אֲתָכֶם בְּאַחֲרִית הַיָּמִים: 2 הִקְבִּצוּ וּשְׁמְעוּ בְנֵי־יַעֲקֹב  
 וּשְׁמְעוּ אֶל־יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲבִיכֶם: 3 רְאוּבֵן בְּכֹרִי אֲתָה כְּחִי וְדֹאשִׁית  
 אוֹתִי יָתֵר שְׂאֵת יָתֵר עֹז: 4 פָּחוּ כַפַּיִם אֶל־תּוֹתֵר כִּי עֲלִית מִשְׁפְּבִי  
 אֲבִיךָ אִז חִלַּלְתָּ יְצוּעֵי עֲלֵיךָ: 5 שְׁמַעוֹן וְלֵוִי אֲחִים כָּל־חַמָּס  
 מִמִּיתֵיהֶם: 6 בְּסֹדֶם אֶל־תִּבְא נַפְשִׁי בְּקִהְלָם אֶל־תִּתֵּן כְּבֹדִי כִּי  
 בְּאֶפֶס תִּדְּנוּ אִישׁ וּבְרַצְנָם עָקַרְדָּשׁוֹ: 7 אָרָר אֶפֶס כִּי עָז  
 וַעֲבַרְתָּם כִּי קָשַׁתָּה אֲחֻלְקָם בִּיעֲקֹב וַאֲפִיצָם בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל: 8  
 8 יְהוּדָה אֲתָה יִתְרוֹךְ אֲחִיךָ יְהוָה בְּעֶרְףְּ אֲבִיךָ יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה לָּךְ בְּנִי  
 אֲבִיךָ: 9 גַּד אֲרִיהַ יְהוּדָה מִסְּרַף בְּנִי עֲלִית פָּרַע רַבֵּן כְּאֶרֶץ  
 וְכִלְכִּיא מִי יִקְסֶנּוּ: 10 לֵאדִּיסוֹד שִׁבְט מִיְהוּדָה וּמַחֲקֵק מִבֵּין  
 רַגְלָיו עַד כִּרְיָא שִׁילָה וְלֵוִי יִקְהֵת עַמּוּם: 11 אֲסִרִי לְגִפֶּן עִדְהָ  
 וְלִשְׁרָקָה בְּנִי אֲתָנֹו כַּפֶּם בֵּין לְכָשׁוֹ וְכֹדֶם־עֲנָבִים סוּתָה: 12 חֲכִלִּילִי  
 עֵינַיִם מִיָּוֶן וְלִבִּי־שְׁנַיִם מִחֻלְבִּי: 13 זְבוּלֹן לַחֹוֹף יַמִּים יִשְׁכֵּן  
 הוּא לַחֹוֹף אֲנִית יִרְכָּתוֹ עַל־צִידֹן: 14 יִשְׁשַׁכָּר חֲמֹד גָּרָם  
 רַבֵּן בֵּין הַמִּשְׁפָּחִים: 15 וַיֵּרָא מְנַחֵם כִּי טוֹב וְאֶת־הָאָרֶץ כִּי

3 וַיֹּאמֶר יַעֲקֹב אֶל-יִזְחָק אֵל שְׁדֵי נְדָאָה-אֵלַי בָּלֹחַ בָּאָרֶץ בְּגֶעֶן  
 הַיְבֵרָה אֹתִי: 4 וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלַי הִנְנִי מִפְּרֵה הַדְּבִיתָהּ וּנְתַתִּיךָ לִקְהָל  
 עַמִּים וְנִתְּתִי אֶת-הָאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת לְדֹרְעָה אַחֲרֶיךָ אַחֲתָה עֹלָם:  
 5 וַעֲתֹדָה שְׁנֵי-בָנֶיךָ הַנוֹלָדִים לָךְ בָּאָרֶץ מִצְרַיִם עַד-בָּאֵי אֵלֶיךָ  
 מִצְרַיִמָּה לִי־הֵם אֶפְרַיִם וּמְנַשֶּׁה בְּרָאוּכָן וְשִׁמְעוֹן יִהְיוּ לִי: 6 וּמִוֹלְדֹתֶיךָ  
 אֲשֶׁר-הוֹלַדְתָּ אַחֲרֵיהֶם לָךְ יִהְיוּ עַל שֵׁם אֲחֵיהֶם יִקְרָאוּ בְּנֵחֶלְתָם:  
 7 וַאֲנִי בָבְאִי מִפָּדֹן מִתָּה עָלִי רָחֵל בָּאָרֶץ פְּנֵעַן בְּדֶרֶךְ בְּעוֹד  
 כְּבֵרֶת-אָרֶץ לָבֹא אֶפְרַתָּה וְאֶקְבְּרָה שָׁם בְּדֶרֶךְ אֶפְרַת הוּא בֵּית  
 לָחֶם: 8 וַיֵּרָא יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת-בְּנֵי יִזְחָק וַיֹּאמֶר מֵרֵאשִׁית: 9 וַיֹּאמֶר  
 יִזְחָק אֶל-אָבִיו בְּנֵי הֵם אֲשֶׁר-נִתְּנָה לִי אֱלֹהִים בֹּחַ וַיֹּאמֶר קָחֶם-נָא  
 אֵלַי וְאֶבְרַכֶּם: שֵׁן 10 וַעֲנִי יִשְׂרָאֵל כִּבְדּוֹ מִזֶּקֶן לֹא יִחַל לְרֹאוֹת  
 רִגְשׁ אֹתָם אֵלָיו וַיִּשָּׁק לָהֶם וַיַּחֲבֹק לָהֶם: 11 וַיֹּאמֶר יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶל-  
 יִזְחָק רְאֵה פָנֶיךָ לֹא סָלַלְתִּי וְהִנֵּה הִרְאָה אֹתִי אֱלֹהִים גַּם אֶת-  
 זֶרְעֶךָ: 12 וַיֵּצֵא יִזְחָק אֹתָם מֵעַם בְּרָכִיו וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה לְאִפְסֵי אֲרָצָה:  
 13 וַיָּקַח יִזְחָק אֶת-שְׁנֵיהֶם אֶת-אֶפְרַיִם בְּיָמֵינוּ מִשְׁמָאל יִשְׂרָאֵל  
 וְאֶת-מְנַשֶּׁה בְּשִׁמְאֵלוֹ מִיְמֵן יִשְׂרָאֵל רִגְשׁ אֵלָיו: 14 וַיִּשְׁלַח יִשְׂרָאֵל  
 אֶת-יָמֵינוּ וְרֵשֶׁת עַל-רֹאשׁ אֶפְרַיִם וְהוּא הִצְעִיר וְאֶת-שְׁמָאלוֹ עַל-  
 רֹאשׁ מְנַשֶּׁה שִׁבַּל אֶת-יָדָיו כִּי מְנַשֶּׁה תִּבְכּוֹד: 15 וַיְבָרֶךְ אֶת-  
 יִזְחָק וַיֹּאמֶר הָאֱלֹהִים אֲשֶׁר הִתְחַלְכוּ אָבֹתַי לִפְנֵי אֲבֹרָהֶם וַיִּצְחָק  
 הָאֱלֹהִים הִרְעָה אֹתִי מֵעוֹדִי עַד-הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה: 16 הַמְּלֶאכֶת הַגָּאֹל  
 אֹתִי מִכָּל-דֶּעַ וַיְבָרֶךְ אֶת-הַנְּעָרִים וַיִּקְרָא בָהֶם שְׁמִי וְשֵׁם אָבֹתַי  
 אֲבֹרָהֶם וַיִּצְחָק וַיִּדְּגוּ לָרֹב בְּקֶרֶב הָאָרֶץ: שְׁלִישִׁי 17 וַיֵּרָא יִזְחָק כִּי-  
 יָשׁוּת אָבִיו דִּימִינוֹ עַל-רֹאשׁ אֶפְרַיִם וַיִּרַע בְּעֵינָיו וַיִּתְמָךְ יָד-  
 אָבִיו לְהַסִּיד אֹתָהּ מֵעַל רֹאשׁ-אֶפְרַיִם עַל-רֹאשׁ מְנַשֶּׁה: 18 וַיֹּאמֶר  
 יִזְחָק אֶל-אָבִיו לֹא-כֵן אָבִי כִי-זֶה חֲבֹכַר שֵׁם יְמִינָה עַל-רֹאשׁוֹ:

אֲדַמַּת מִצְרַיִם לְפָרְעָה כִּי־מָכְרוּ מִצְרַיִם אִישׁ שָׂוֹהוּ כִּי־חָזַק עֲלֵהֶם  
הִרְעִיב וְהָיָה הָאָרֶץ לְפָרְעָה: 21 וְאֶת־הָעָם הֶעֱבִיר אֹתוֹ לָעָרִים  
מִקְצֵה נְבוֹל־מִצְרַיִם וְעַד־קָצָהוּ: 22 רַק אֲדַמַּת הַכֹּהֲנִים לֹא קָנָה  
כִּי חֹק לַכֹּהֲנִים מֵאֵת פֶּרְעָה וְאָכְלוּ אֶת־חֶקֶם אֲשֶׁר נָתַן לָהֶם  
פֶּרְעָה עַל־כֵּן לֹא מָכְרוּ אֶת־אֲדָמָתָם: 23 וַיֹּאמֶר יוֹסֵף אֶל־הָעָם  
הֵן קָנִיתִי אֶתְכֶם הַיּוֹם וְאֶת־אֲדָמָתְכֶם לְפָרְעָה חֵא־לְכֶם וְרַע  
וְדַעְתֶּם אֶת־הָאֲדָמָה: 24 וְהָיָה בְּתִבּוּאוֹת וּנְתַתֶּם חֲמִישִׁית לְפָרְעָה  
וְאַרְבַּע הָיְדָה לָכֶם לְוֹרֵעַ הַשָּׂדֶה וְלֹאֲכַלְכֶם וְלֹאֲשֶׁר בְּבִתְיֹכֶם  
וְלֹאֲכֹל לְסַפְכֶם: 25 וַיֹּאמְרוּ הַחִיתִּינוּ נִמְצָא־חֵן בְּעֵינֵי אֲדֹנָי  
וְהָיִינוּ עֲבָדִים לְפָרְעָה: 26 וַיֵּשֶׁם אֹתָהּ יוֹסֵף לְחֹק עַד־הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה  
עַל־אֲדָמַת מִצְרַיִם לְפָרְעָה לְחֹמֶשׁ רַק אֲדַמַּת הַכֹּהֲנִים לִבְדָּם לֹא  
הָיְתָה לְפָרְעָה: 27 וַיָּשָׁב יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּאָרֶץ מִצְרַיִם בְּאָרֶץ גִּשּׁוֹן  
וַיֵּאחָזֵז בָּהּ וַיִּפְרוּ וַיִּרְבוּ מְאֹד:

28 וַיְהִי יַעֲקֹב בְּאָרֶץ מִצְרַיִם שִׁבְעַת עָשָׂר שָׁנָה וַיְהִי יִמֵּי־יַעֲקֹב  
שְׁנֵי חָזֵי שִׁבְעָה שָׁנִים וְאַרְבָּעִים וּמֵאֵת שָׁנָה: 29 וַיִּקְרְבוּ יָמֵי  
יִשְׂרָאֵל לָמוּת וַיִּקְרָא לְבָנָיו לְיוֹסֵף וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ אִם־נָא מְצָאתִי חֵן  
בְּעֵינֶיךָ שִׁים־נָא יָדְךָ תַּחַת יְרֵכִי וְעָשִׂיתָ עִמָּדִי חֶסֶד וְאַמַּת אֶל־  
נָא תִקְבְּרֵנִי בְּמִצְרַיִם: 30 וְשִׁכְבְּתִי עִם־אֲבֹתִי וְנִשְׁאַתְנִי מִמִּצְרַיִם  
וְקִבְרֹתֶנִי בְּקִבְרֹתָם וַיֹּאמֶר אָנֹכִי אַעֲשֶׂה כְּדִבְרְךָ: 31 וַיֹּאמֶר הַשֹּׁבְעָה  
לִי הַשֹּׁבַע לוֹ וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ יִשְׂרָאֵל עַל־רֹאשׁ הַמֶּסֶח: פ

## CHAPTER XLVIII.

1 וַיְהִי אַחֲרֵי הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה וַיֹּאמֶר לְיוֹסֵף הִנֵּה אָבִיךָ חֹלָה  
וַיִּקָּח אֶת־שְׁנֵי בָנָיו עִמּוֹ אֶת־מְנַשֶּׁה וְאֶת־אֶפְרַיִם: 2 וַיֵּד וַיַּעֲקֹב  
וַיֹּאמֶר הִנֵּה בְנֶיךָ יוֹסֵף בָּא אֵלֶיךָ וַיִּתְחַזַּק יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיָּשָׁב עַל־הַמֶּסֶח:

בְּמִיטֵב הָאָרֶץ הוֹשֵׁב אֶת־אָבִיקָה וְאֶת־אֲחִיקָה יֹשְׁבוֹ בְּאֶרֶץ גִּשְׁן  
וְאֶם־יָדַעַת וְיִשְׁכַּח אֲנֹשֶׁר־חֵיל וְשִׁמְתָם שְׁנֵי מִקְנֵה עַל־אֲשֶׁר־לִי:  
7 וַיָּבֹא יוֹסֵף אֶת־יַעֲקֹב אָבִיו וַיַּעֲמִדְהוּ לִפְנֵי פְרֹעָה וַיְבַרֵךְ יַעֲקֹב  
אֶת־פְּרֹעָה: 8 וַיֹּאמֶר פְּרֹעָה אֶל־יַעֲקֹב כִּפֹּרָה יְמֵי שְׁנֵי חַיָּיָה:  
9 וַיֹּאמֶר יַעֲקֹב אֶל־פְּרֹעָה יְמֵי שְׁנֵי מְגוּרֵי שְׁלֹשִׁים וּמֵאֵת שָׁנָה  
מַעֲט וְדַעִים הָיוּ יְמֵי שְׁנֵי חַיִּי וְלֹא הִשְׁיֵנוּ אֶת־יְמֵי שְׁנֵי חַיִּי אֲבֹתִי  
בְּיַמֵּי מְגוּרֵיהֶם: 10 וַיְבַרֵךְ יַעֲקֹב אֶת־פְּרֹעָה וַיֵּצֵא מִלִּפְנֵי פְרֹעָה:  
שְׁבִיעִי 11 וַיֹּשֶׁב יוֹסֵף אֶת־אָבִיו וְאֶת־אָחָיו וַיֵּתֶן לָהֶם אַחֲזָה בְּאֶרֶץ  
מִצְרַיִם בְּמִיטֵב הָאָרֶץ בְּאֶרֶץ רַעֲמֶסֶס כִּי־אֲשֶׁר צִוָּה פְּרֹעָה:  
12 וַיַּכְלִיֵּל יוֹסֵף אֶת־אָבִיו וְאֶת־אָחָיו וְאֵת כָּל־בֵּית אָבִיו לֶחֶם  
לִפְּנֵי הַפֶּחַ: 13 וְלֶחֶם אֵין בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ כִּי־רָבַד הָרָעַב מְאֹד וַתִּלְחַה  
אֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם וְאֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן מִפְּנֵי הָרָעַב: 14 וַיִּלְקֹט יוֹסֵף אֶת־כָּל־  
הַכֶּסֶף הַנִּמְצָא בְּאֶרֶץ־מִצְרַיִם וּבְאֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן בְּשֹׁכֵר אֲשֶׁר־תָּהֶם  
שֹׁכְרִים וַיָּבֹא יוֹסֵף אֶת־הַכֶּסֶף בֵּיתָה פְּרֹעָה: 15 וַתֵּתֶם הַכֶּסֶף  
מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם וּמֵאֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן וַיָּבֹאוּ כָּל־מִצְרַיִם אֶל־יוֹסֵף לֵאמֹר  
הִבְדָּה־לָּנוּ לֶחֶם וְלִפְנֵי נָמוֹת נִגְדָה כִּי אִפְסָ כֶּסֶף: 16 וַיֹּאמֶר יוֹסֵף  
הֲבִי מִקְנֵיכֶם וְאֶתְנֶנָּה לָכֶם בְּמִקְנֵיכֶם אִם־אִפְסָ כֶּסֶף: 17 וַיָּבִיאוּ  
אֶת־מִקְנֵיהֶם אֶל־יוֹסֵף וַיֵּתֶן לָהֶם לֶחֶם יוֹסֵף לֶחֶם בְּסוּסִים וּבְמִקְנֵה  
הָצֹאן וּבְמִקְנֵה הַבָּקָר וּבְחִמְרֵיהֶם וַיִּנְחֹלֵם בְּלֶחֶם בְּכָל־מִקְנֵיהֶם  
בַּשָּׁנָה הַהִוא: 18 וַתֵּתֶם הַשָּׁנָה הַהִוא וַיָּבֹאוּ אֵלָיו בַּשָּׁנָה הַשְּׁנִית  
וַיֹּאמְרוּ לוֹ לֹא־נִכְתָר מֵאֲדָנִי כִּי אִם־תָּהֱמָה הַכֶּסֶף וּמִקְנֵה תִּבְחַת  
אֶל־אֲדָנִי לֹא נִשְׁאָר לִפְנֵי אֲדָנִי בְּלֹתִי אִם־גִּיתָנוּ וְאֶרְמַתָּנוּ:  
19 לָמָּה נָמוֹת לַעֲיִנֶיךָ גַּם־אֲנַחְנוּ גַּם־אֶרְמַתָּנוּ קִנְיָה־אֲתָנוּ וְאֶת־  
אֶרְמַתָּנוּ בְּלֶחֶם וְהָיָה אֲנַחְנוּ וְאֶרְמַתָּנוּ עֲבָדִים לְפְרֹעָה וְתִתְּנֵנוּ  
וְנִחְיָה וְלֹא נָמוֹת וְהָאֲדָמָה לֹא תִשָּׁם: 20 וַיִּקֶן יוֹסֵף אֶת־כָּל־



אֲשֶׁר־נָתַן לָבֹן לְרַחֵל בָּתוּ וַתֵּלֶד אֶת־אֶלֶף לַיַּעֲקֹב כָּל־נַפְשׁ  
 שְׁבַעַה: 26 כָּל־הַנֶּפֶשׁ הַבָּאָה לַיַּעֲקֹב מִצֹּרְמָה יָצְאִי יָרְכוּ מִלֶּבֶד  
 נָשִׁי בְנֵי־יַעֲקֹב כָּל־נַפְשׁ שְׁשִׁים וָשֵׁשׁ: 27 וּבְנֵי יוֹסֵף אֲשֶׁר־יָלְדוּ־  
 לוֹ בְּמִצְרַיִם נֶפֶשׁ שְׁנַיִם כָּל־הַנֶּפֶשׁ לְבֵית־יַעֲקֹב הַבָּאָה מִצֹּרְמָה  
 שְׁבַעִים: ס שש 28 וְאֶת־יְהוֹדָה שָׁלַח לִפְנֵי אֱלִיָּוִסֶף לְהוֹדִית  
 לִפְנֵי גִשְׁנָה וְיִבְאֹו אֶרְצָהּ גִּשֹׁן: 29 וַיֹּאמֶר יוֹסֵף מִרְכַּבְתּוֹ וַיַּעַל  
 לִקְרַאת־יִשְׂרָאֵל אָבִיו גִּשְׁנָה וַיֵּרָא אֵלָיו וַיִּפֹּל עַל־צוּאָרָיו וַיִּבֶךְ  
 עַל־צוּאָרָיו עוֹד: 30 וַיֹּאמֶר יִשְׂרָאֵל אֱלִיָּוִסֶף אֲמֹתָה הַפַּעַם  
 אַחֲרִי רְאוֹתִי אֶת־פָּנֶיךָ כִּי עוֹדָה חַי: 31 וַיֹּאמֶר יוֹסֵף אֶל־אָחִיו  
 וְאֶל־בֵּית אָבִיו אָעֵלָה וְאֶנְיָדָה לְפָרְעָה וְאֹמְרָה אֵלָיו אֲחִי וּבֵית־  
 אָבִי אֲשֶׁר בְּאֶרֶץ־כְּנָעַן בָּאוּ אֵלָי: 32 וְהָאֲנָשִׁים רְעֵי צֹאן כִּי־  
 אֲנָשִׁי מִקְנֶה הָיוּ וְצֹאנָם וּבָקָרָם וְכָל־אֲשֶׁר לָהֶם הֵבִיאוּ: 33 וְהָיָה  
 כִּי־יִקְרָא לָכֶם פָּרְעָה וְאָמַר מַה־פְּעֻשֵׁיכֶם: 34 וְאָמַרְתֶּם אֲנָשִׁי  
 מִקְנֶה הָיוּ עֲבָדֶיךָ מִנְּעוּרֵינוּ וְעַד־עַתָּה גַם־אֲנַחְנוּ גַם־אֲבֹתֵינוּ  
 בַּעֲבֹד תָּשׁוּבוּ בְּאֶרֶץ גִּשֹׁן כִּי־תוֹעֵבַת מִצְרַיִם כָּל־רֵעָה צֹאן:

## CHAPTER XLVII.

1 וַיָּבֹא יוֹסֵף וַיֵּצֵא לְפָרְעָה וַיֹּאמֶר אָבִי וְאָחִי וְצֹאנָם וּבָקָרָם  
 וְכָל־אֲשֶׁר לָהֶם בָּאוּ מֵאֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן וְהֵנָּה בְּאֶרֶץ גִּשֹׁן: 2 וּמִקְצֵה  
 אָחִיו לָקַח חֲמִשָּׁה אֲנָשִׁים וַיֵּצֵאם לִפְנֵי פָרְעָה: 3 וַיֹּאמֶר פָּרְעָה  
 אֶל־אָחִיו מַה־פְּעֻשֵׁיכֶם וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֶל־פָּרְעָה רַעְיָה צֹאן עֲבָדֶיךָ גַם־  
 אֲנַחְנוּ גַם־אֲבֹתֵינוּ: 4 וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֶל־פָּרְעָה לָנוּךְ בְּאֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן כִּי־  
 אֵין מִדְּעָה לְצֹאן אֲשֶׁר לְעֲבָדֶיךָ כִּי־כִבֵּד הָרַעַב בְּאֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן  
 וַעֲתָה שְׁבִידֵנָא עֲבָדֶיךָ בְּאֶרֶץ גִּשֹׁן: 5 וַיֹּאמֶר פָּרְעָה אֶל־יוֹסֵף  
 לֹאֲמַר אָבִיךָ וְאָחִיךָ בָּאוּ אֵלֶיךָ: 6 אֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם לִפְנֶיךָ הוּא

וַיֹּאמֶר יַעֲקֹב וַיַּעֲקֹב וַיֹּאמֶר הִנְנִי: 3 וַיֹּאמֶר אָנֹכִי הֵאֱלֹהִים אֲבִיךָ  
אֶל־חֵידָא מִדְּרָה מִצְרִימָה כִּרְלָנִי גִדּוּל אֲשִׁימָךְ שָׁם: 4 אָנֹכִי  
אֶרֶד עִמָּךְ מִצְרִימָה וְאָנֹכִי אֶעֱלֶךָ גַּם־עֹלָה וְיוֹסֵף יֵשִׁית יָדוֹ עַל־  
עֵינֶיךָ: 5 וַיָּקָם יַעֲקֹב מִבְּאֵר שֶׁבַע וַיֵּשְׁאוּ בְנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת־יַעֲקֹב  
אֲבִיהֶם וְאֶת־טַפָּם וְאֶת־נְשֵׁיהֶם בַּעֲגָלוֹת אֲשֶׁר־שָׁלַח פַּרְעֹה לְשִׂאת  
אוֹתוֹ: 6 וַיָּקָחוּ אֶת־מִקְנֵיהֶם וְאֶת־רִכּוּשָׁם אֲשֶׁר רָכָשׁוּ בְּאֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן  
וַיָּבֹאוּ מִצְרִימָה יַעֲקֹב וְכָל־זֶרְעוֹ אוֹתוֹ: 7 בָּנָיו וּבְנֵי בָנָיו אוֹתוֹ  
בָּנָתָיו וּבָנוֹת בָּנָיו וְכָל־זֶרְעוֹ הָבִיא אוֹתוֹ מִצְרִימָה: 8 וְאַלְהָה  
שְׁמוֹת בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל הָבָאִים מִצְרִימָה יַעֲקֹב וּבָנָיו בְּכֹר יַעֲקֹב רְאוּבֵן:  
9 וּבְנֵי רְאוּבֵן חֲנוּךְ וּפִלְוָה וְחֲצֹרֶן וְכִרְמִי: 10 וּבְנֵי שְׁמֹעוֹן יִמְאֵל  
וְיִמָּן וְאֹדֶן וְיִכָּן וְצֹחַד וְשָׂאֵל בֶּן־הַכְּנַעֲנִית: 11 וּבְנֵי לֵוִי גֵרְשׁוֹן  
קָהֵל וּמֶרְרִי: 12 וּבְנֵי יִחְזִיקָה עֹדֵן וְיִשְׁלָה וּפְרָץ וּגֵרֹן וַיָּמָת  
עֹדֵן וְאוֹמֵן בְּאֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן וַיְהִי בְנֵי־פְרָץ חֲצֹרֶן וְחִמּוּל: 13 וּבְנֵי  
יִשָּׁשְׁכָר חוּלֵעַ וּפִזָּה וְיוֹב וְשִׁמְרֹן: 14 וּבְנֵי זְבֻלֹן סֹדֵד וְאֵלֹן  
וְחִלְאֵל: 15 אֵלֶּה בְנֵי לָאָה אֲשֶׁר יָלְדָה לַיַּעֲקֹב בְּפָנֵי אָדָם וְאֵת  
דִּינָה בְתוּלָה פֶלֶא־נֶפֶשׁ בָּנָיו וּבָנוֹתָיו שְׁלֹשִׁים וּשְׁלֹשׁ: 16 וּבְנֵי נֹד צִפּוֹן  
וְחָגִי שִׁוְנִי וְאַצֹּבֶן עֹדֵן וְאַרְוֵדִי וְאַרְאֵלִי: 17 וּבְנֵי אֲשֶׁר יִמְנָה וַיְהִי  
וַיֵּשֶׁב וּבְרִיעָה וְשִׁרָח אֲחֹתָם וּבְנֵי בְרִיעָה חֶבֶר וּמִלְכִּיאֵל: 18 אֵלֶּה  
בְנֵי זִלְפָּה אֲשֶׁר־נָתַן לָבֵן לְלָאָה בְתוּלָה וְהָלַד אֶת־אֵלֶּה לַיַּעֲקֹב שֵׁשׁ  
עֶשְׂרֵה נֶפֶשׁ: 19 בְנֵי רָחֵל אֵשֶׁת יַעֲקֹב יוֹסֵף וּבְנִימָן: 20 וַיָּלֶד  
לְיוֹסֵף בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם אֲשֶׁר יָלְדָה־לוֹ אֲסֵנַת בַּת־פּוֹטִי פַרְעֹה כְּתָן  
אֵן אֶת־מִנְשָׁה וְאֶת־אֶפְרַיִם: 21 וּבְנֵי בְנִימָן בִּלְעָה וְכָכֵר וְאַשְׁכֵּל  
גֵּרָא וְנַעֲמָן אֲחֵי רָאֵשׁ מִפִּים וְחָפִים וְאֹדֶן: 22 אֵלֶּה בְנֵי רָחֵל  
אֲשֶׁר יָלַד לַיַּעֲקֹב פֶּלֶא־נֶפֶשׁ אַרְבָּעָה עָשָׂר: 23 וּבְנֵי־דָן חֲשִׁים:  
24 וּבְנֵי נַפְתָּלִי יִחְצִיָּאל וְגוֹנִי וַיֵּצֵר וְשֹׁלָם: 25 אֵלֶּה בְנֵי בְלָחָה

אֶת־אָבִי הֵנָּה: 14 וַיִּפֹּל עַל־צוּרָאִי בְנִימֶן־אָחִיו וַיִּבֶן וַיִּבְנִימֶן בָּכָה  
 עַל־צוּרָאִיו: 15 וַיִּנָּשֶׁק לְכָל־אָחִיו וַיִּבֶן עֲלֵיהֶם וְאָחִיו כֹּן וַיִּבְרֹךְ  
 אָחִיו אֹתָם: 16 וַהֲקֵל נִשְׁמַע בֵּית פַּרְעֹה לֵאמֹר בָּאוּ אֲדָמִי יוֹסֵף  
 וְיִסָּב בְּעֵינָי פַּרְעֹה וּבְעֵינָי עַבְדָּיו: 17 וַיֹּאמֶר פַּרְעֹה אֶל־יוֹסֵף  
 אִמְרָ אֶל־אֲחִיךָ זֹאת עֲשֹׂה סַעֲנוּ אֶת־בְּעֵדְכֶם וּלְכֹדִבָּאוּ אֶרְצָה  
 בְּנַעַן: 18 וַקְחוּ אֶת־אֲבִיכֶם וְאֶת־בְּתִיכֶם וּבָאוּ אֵלַי וְאֶתְּנָה לָכֶם  
 אֶת־טוֹב אֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם וְאֶכְלוּ אֶת־חֶלֶב הָאָרֶץ: רביעי 19 וְאֶתְּחָה  
 צִדְתָּהּ זֹאת עֲשֹׂה קְחוּ־לָכֶם מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם עֲגֻלוֹת לְסַפְכֶם וּלְנָשִׁיכֶם  
 וְנִשְׂאֲתֶם אֶת־אֲבִיכֶם וּבָתֵּתֶם: 20 וְעֵינֶיכֶם אֶל־תַּחֲסֹם עַל־בְּלִיכֶם  
 כִּי־טוֹב כָּל־אֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם לָכֶם הוּא: 21 וַיַּעֲשׂוּ־כֵן בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל  
 וַיָּתֵן לָהֶם יוֹסֵף עֲגֻלוֹת עַל־פִּי פַרְעֹה וַיָּתֵן לָהֶם צִדָּה לַדֶּרֶךְ:  
 22 לְכָלֶם נָתַן לְאִישׁ חֲלָפוֹת שְׂמֻלֹת וּלְבְנִימֶן נָתַן שְׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת  
 כֶּסֶף וְחֲמִשׁ חֲלָפוֹת שְׂמֻלֹת: 23 וּלְאָבִיו שְׁלַח כּוֹזָאֵת עֲשֶׂרֶה חֲמִידִים  
 נְשָׂאִים מִטּוֹב מִצְרַיִם וַעֲשׂוּר אֶתְנֹת נְשָׂאוֹת בָּר וּלְחָם וּמִזֶּן לְאָבִיו  
 לַדֶּרֶךְ: 24 וַיִּשְׁלַח אֶת־אָחִיו וַיִּלְכוּ וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים אֶל־תִּרְגְּמוּ בַּדֶּרֶךְ:  
 25 וַיַּעֲלֻ מִמִּצְרַיִם וַיָּבֹאוּ אֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן אֶל־יַעֲקֹב אֲבִיהֶם: 26 וַיִּגְדּוּ  
 לוֹ לֵאמֹר עוֹד יוֹסֵף חִי וְכִי־הוּא מִשָּׁל בְּכָל־אֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם וַיִּסַּג  
 לָבוֹ כִּי לֹא־הָאֱמִין לָהֶם: 27 וַיִּדְּבְרוּ אֵלָיו אֵת כָּל־דִּבְרֵי יוֹסֵף אֲשֶׁר  
 דִּבֶּר אֱלֹהִים וַיֵּרָא אֶת־הָעֲגֻלוֹת אֲשֶׁר־שָׁלַח יוֹסֵף לְשֵׂאוֹת אֹתָם  
 וַתְּחִי רוּחַ יַעֲקֹב אֲבִיהֶם: חמשי 28 וַיֹּאמֶר יִשְׂרָאֵל רַב עוֹד־יוֹסֵף  
 בְּנֵי חֵי אֵלֶיךָ וְאֶרְאֶנּוּ בְּמָרָם אֲמֹת:

## CHAPTER XLVI.

1 וַיִּסַּע יִשְׂרָאֵל וְכָל־אֲשֶׁר־לוֹ וַיָּבֹא בָאָרֶץ שֶׁבַע יוֹזֶבֶת זְכוּתָם  
 לְאֵלֶיהָ אָבִיו יִצְחָק: 2 וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים לְיִשְׂרָאֵל בְּמָרָאת הַלֵּילָה

אִם-לֹא אָבִיאֲנִי אֵלֶיךָ וְחַטָּאתִי לֹאֲבִי כָּל-הַיָּמִים: 33 וְעַתָּה  
 יִשְׁבֶּנָּא עֲבָדְךָ תַּחַת הַנֶּגֶר עֲבָד לְאֹדְנִי וְהַנֶּגֶר יַעַל עִם-אֲחִיו:  
 34 כִּי-אֵיךְ אֶעֱלֶה אֶל-אָבִי וְהַנֶּגֶר אֵינְנִי אֲתִי פֶן אֲרֹאֶה בְּרַע  
 אֲשֶׁר יִמָּצֵא אֶת-אָבִי:

## CHAPTER XLV.

1 וְלֹא-יָכֹל יוֹסֵף לְהִתְאַפֵּק לְכָל הַנֹּצְצִים עָלָיו וַיִּקְרָא הוֹצִיאֵנִי  
 כָּל-אִישׁ מֵעָלַי וְלֹא-עָמַד אִישׁ אִתּוֹ בְּהַתְּדוּעַ יוֹסֵף אֶל-אֲחָיו:  
 2 וַיְהִן אֶת-קִלּוֹ בְּבִכּי וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ מִצְרַיִם וַיִּשְׁמַע בֵּית פַּרְעֹה: 3 וַיֹּאמֶר  
 יוֹסֵף אֶל-אֲחָיו אֲנִי יוֹסֵף הָעוֹד אָבִי חִי וְלֹא-יָכֹלוּ אֲחָיו לַעֲנֹת  
 אִתּוֹ כִּי נִבְהָלוּ מִפְּנָיו: 4 וַיֹּאמֶר יוֹסֵף אֶל-אֲחָיו גִּשְׁנָא אֵלַי  
 וַיִּגְשׂוּ וַיֹּאמֶר אֲנִי יוֹסֵף אֲחִיכֶם אֲשֶׁר-מְכַרְתֶּם אֹתִי מִצְרַיִמָּה:  
 5 וְעַתָּה אֶל-תַּעֲצֹבוּ וְאֶל-יִחַר בְּעֵינֵיכֶם כִּי-מְכַרְתֶּם אֹתִי הֲנֵה כִּי  
 לְמַחִיָּה שָׁלַחֲנִי אֱלֹהִים לִפְנֵיכֶם: 6 כִּי-יִהְיֶה שְׁנָתִים הָרַעֲב בְּקֶרֶב  
 הָאָרֶץ וְעוֹד חֲמֵשׁ שָׁנִים אֲשֶׁר אֵין-תְּרִישׁ וְקִצִּיר: 7 וַיִּשְׁלַחֲנִי  
 אֱלֹהִים לִפְנֵיכֶם לְשׁוֹם לָכֶם שְׂאִרִית בָּאָרֶץ וּלְהַחֲיוֹת לָכֶם לִפְלִיטָה  
 גְּדֹלָה: שְׁלִישִׁי 8 וְעַתָּה לֹא-אַתֶּם שָׁלַחְתֶּם אֹתִי הֲנֵה כִּי הָאֱלֹהִים  
 וַיִּשְׁלַחֲנִי לָאֵב לְפַרְעֹה וּלְאֹדֹן לְכָל-בֵּיתוֹ וּמִשָּׁל בְּכָל-אֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם:  
 9 מִהֲרֹו וַעֲלֹו אֶל-אָבִי וְאָמַרְתֶּם אֵלָיו כֹּה אָמַר בְּנִי יוֹסֵף שְׁמָנִי  
 אֱלֹהִים לְאֹדֹן לְכָל-מִצְרַיִם רַחֵם אֵלַי אֶל-תַּעֲמֹד: 10 וַיִּשְׁבֹּת  
 בָּאָרֶץ-גִּשְׁן וְהָיִיתָ קְרוֹב אֵלַי אִתָּה וּבְנֶיךָ וּבְנֵי בְנֶיךָ וְצִאֲנֶךָ וּבְקַרְךָ  
 וְכָל-אֲשֶׁר-לָךְ: 11 וְכִלְכַּלְתִּי אֹתְךָ שֵׁם כִּי-עוֹד חֲמֵשׁ שָׁנִים רָעֵב  
 פֶּן-תִּחְדָּשׁ אִתָּה וּבֵיתְךָ וְכָל-אֲשֶׁר-לָךְ: 12 וְהִנֵּה עֵינֵיכֶם רְאוּת  
 וְעֵינֵי אֲחִי בְנִימִין כִּי-פִי הִמְדַּבֵּר אֵלֵיכֶם: 13 וְהִגַּדְתֶּם לְאָבִי אֶת-  
 כָּל-פְּבוּדֵי בְּמִצְרַיִם וְאֵת כָּל-אֲשֶׁר רָאִיתֶם וּמַהֲרַתֶּם וְהוֹדַדְתֶּם

הָיָה אֲשֶׁר עָשִׂיתָם הֲלֹא יִדְעֹתָם כִּי־נִחַשׁ וְנִחַשׁ אִישׁ אֲשֶׁר כָּמֹנִי:  
 16 וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה מִדְּנֶאמְרוֹ לְאֹדְנִי מִדְּנִדְבָר וּמִדְּנִצְמֶדֶק הָאֱלֹהִים  
 מִצָּא אֶת־עֵינִי עֲבָדֶיךָ הִנֵּנוּ עֲבָדִים לְאֹדְנִי גַם־אֲנִחנוּ גַם־אֲשֶׁר־  
 נִמְצָא הַנְּבִיעַ בִּידּוֹ: 17 וַיֹּאמֶר חֲלִילָה לִּי מַעֲשֹׂת וְזֹאת הָאִשׁ  
 אֲשֶׁר נִמְצָא הַנְּבִיעַ בִּידּוֹ הוּא יְהוָה לִי עֶבֶד וְאַתֶּם עָלֹי לְשָׁלוֹם  
 אֶל־אֲבִיכֶם: ׀

18 חֲזַשׁ אֵלָיו יְהוָה וַיֹּאמֶר כִּי אֹדְנִי דִפְרֹנָא עֲבָדְךָ דָּבָר בְּאֵזְנִי  
 אֹדְנִי וְאֶל־יָחִיד אִפְּקָה בְּעֲבָדְךָ כִּי כְמוֹהָ כְּפָרְעָה: 19 אֹדְנִי שְׂאֵל  
 אֶת־עֲבָדֶיךָ לֵאמֹר הֲיֵשׁ־לָכֶם אֵב אוֹ־אָח: 20 וַנֹּאמֶר אֶל־אֹדְנִי  
 יֵשׁ־לָנוּ אֵב זָקֵן וְיֶלֶד וְזָקִים קָטָן וְאָחִיו מֵת וְיֹדֵעַ הוּא לְבָדּוֹ  
 לֵאמֹר וְאָבִיו אֶהְיֶה: 21 וַתֹּאמֶר אֶל־עֲבָדֶיךָ הוֹדִדְהוּ אֵלַי וְאֲשִׁימָה  
 עֵינַי עָלָיו: 22 וַנֹּאמֶר אֶל־אֹדְנִי לֹא־יֻכַּל חֲנֹעֶר לַעֲזֹב אֶת־אָבִיו  
 וְעֹזֵב אֶת־אָבִיו וּמָת: 23 וַתֹּאמֶר אֶל־עֲבָדֶיךָ אִם־לֹא יֵרֵד אֲחִיכֶם  
 הַקָּטָן אִתְּכֶם לֹא תִסָּפֵן לְרֹאוֹת פָּנָי: 24 וַיְהִי כִּי עָלִינוּ אֶל־  
 עֲבָדְךָ אָבִי וַנֵּגֶד לוֹ אֵת דְּבָרֵי אֹדְנִי: 25 וַיֹּאמֶר אָבִינוּ שְׁבוּ שְׁבַר־  
 לָנוּ מַעַס־אֲכָל: 26 וַנֹּאמֶר לֹא נוּכַל לָרֶדֶת אִם־יֵשׁ אֲחִינוּ הַקָּטָן  
 אִתָּנוּ וְיִדְּנוּ כִּי־לֹא נוּכַל לְרֹאוֹת פָּנָי הָאִישׁ וְאֲחִינוּ הַקָּטָן אֵינָנו  
 אִתָּנוּ: 27 וַיֹּאמֶר עֲבָדְךָ אָבִי אֵלֵינוּ אַתֶּם יִדְעֹתָם כִּי שְׁנַיִם יִלְדֵי־  
 לִי אֲשֶׁתִּי: 28 וַיֵּצֵא הָאָחֵד מֵאִתִּי וְאָמַר אֵךְ טָרַח טָרַח וְלֹא  
 רָאִיתִיו עַד־הַנֶּה: 29 וּלְקַחְתֶּם גַּם־אֶת־זוֹה מֵעַם פָּנָי וּקְרָהוּ אִסְחָן  
 וְהוֹדִדְתֶּם אֶת־שִׁיכְתִּי בְרָעָה שְׂאֵלָה: 30 וְעַתָּה כְּבֹאִי אֶל־עֲבָדְךָ  
 אָבִי וְהִנֵּנִי אֵינָנו אִתָּנוּ וְנִמְשָׁן קִשְׁוִדְרָה בְּנִפְשׁוֹ: שִׁי 31 וַיְהִי  
 כִּי־רָאוּהוּ כִּי־אֵין הִנֵּנִי וּמָת וְהוֹדִידוּ עֲבָדֶיךָ אֶת־שִׁיבַת עֲבָדְךָ אָבִינוּ  
 בְּעֵינֵי שְׂאֵלָה: 32 כִּי עֲבָדְךָ עָרַב אֶת־הַנֶּעַר מֵעַם אָבִי לֵאמֹר

אֶת־הָעִבְרִים לֶחֶם פִּתְוָעָבָה הָיָא לְמִצְרַיִם: 33 וְשָׁבוּ לִפְנֵי  
הַכֹּהֵן בְּבִכְרָתוֹ וְהִצְעִיד כְּצִעְרָתוֹ וַיִּתְּמֵהוּ הָאֲנָשִׁים אִישׁ אֶל־דֹּעְהוּ:  
34 וַיֵּשֶׁא מִשְׁאֵת מֵאֵת פָּנָיו אֱלֹהִים וַתֵּרֶב מִשְׁאֵת בְּנִימָן מִמִּשְׁאֵת  
כָּלֶם חֲמֵשׁ יָדוֹת וַיִּשְׁתּוּ וַיִּשְׁכְּרוּ עִמּוֹ:

## CHAPTER XLIV.

1 וַיֵּצֵא אֶת־אִשָּׁר עַל־בֵּיתוֹ לֵאמֹר מַלֵּא אֶת־אֲמֹתַחַת הָאֲנָשִׁים  
אֲכַל כָּאִשָּׁר יִכְלֹקוּ שְׂאֵת וְשִׁים כֶּסֶף־אִישׁ בְּפִי אֲמַתַּחְתּוֹ: 2 וְאֵת־  
גְּבִיעִי גְבִיעַ הַכֶּסֶף תִּשִּׂים בְּפִי אֲמַתַּחַת הַקֶּסֶן וְאֵת כֶּסֶף שִׁבְרוֹ  
יַעַשׂ כְּדָבָר יוֹסֵף אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר: 3 הַכֹּהֵן אָדָם וְהָאֲנָשִׁים שְׁלָחוּ הַמֶּלֶךְ  
וַחֲמוּדֵיהֶם: 4 הֵם יֵצְאוּ אֶת־הָעִיד לֹא הִרְחִיקוּ יוֹסֵף אָמַר לְאִשָּׁר  
עַל־בֵּיתוֹ קוּם רִדֵּף אַחֲרֵי הָאֲנָשִׁים וְהִשְׁגָּתָם וְאָמַרְתָּ אֱלֹהִים לָמָּה  
שָׁלַמְתָּם רָעָה תַּחַת טוֹבָה: 5 הֲלֹא זֶה אִשָּׁר יִשְׁתָּה אֶרְנִי בֹו  
וְהוּא נִחַשׁ יִנְחַשׁ בֹּו הִרְעַתָּם אֲשֶׁר עָשִׂיתָם: 6 וַיִּשְׁגֹּם וַיִּדְבֵּר  
אֱלֹהִים אֶת־הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה: 7 וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֵלָיו לָמָּה יִדְבֵּר אֶרְנִי  
כְּדָבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה חֲלִילָה לַעֲבָדֶיךָ מַעֲשֵׂוֹת כְּדָבָר הַזֶּה: 8 הֵן כֶּסֶף  
אֲשֶׁר מָצְאָנוּ בְּפִי אֲמַתַּחְתֵּינוּ הִשְׁכִּיבֵנוּ אֵלֶיךָ מֵאֲרֶץ כְּנָעַן וְאִיד  
נִגְנַב מִבֵּית אֶרְנֶיךָ כֶּסֶף אוֹ זָהָב: 9 אֲשֶׁר יִמָּצֵא אֵתוֹ מֵעַבְדֶּיךָ  
וּמִתּוֹ וְגַם־אֲנַחְנוּ נִהְיָה לְאֶרְנִי לַעֲבָדִים: 10 וַיֹּאמֶר גַּם־עַתָּה  
כְּדַרְכֵיכֶם כֹּן־הוּא אֲשֶׁר יִמָּצֵא אֵתוֹ יִהְיֶה־לִּי עֹבֵד וְאַתֶּם תִּהְיוּ  
נָקִים: 11 וַיִּמְחֲרוּ וַיִּוָּדּוּ אִישׁ אֶת־אֲמַתַּחְתּוֹ אֶרְצָה וַיִּפְתְּחוּ אִישׁ  
אֲמַתַּחְתּוֹ: 12 וַיַּחֲפֹשׂ בְּגָדוֹל הַחֹל וּבִקְסָן כָּלָה וַיִּמָּצֵא הַגְּבִיעַ  
בְּאֲמַתַּחַת בְּנִימָן: 13 וַיִּקְרְעוּ שְׁמֹלֹתָם וַיַּעֲמֵם אִישׁ עַל־חֲמֹזוֹ  
וַיִּשְׁבּוּ הָעִידָרָה: מַסְפֵּר 14 וַיָּבֹא יִהְיָה וְאָחִיו בִּיתָרָה יוֹסֵף וְהוּא  
עוֹדְנוּ שָׁם וַיִּפְּלוּ לִפְנֵי אֶרְצָה: 15 וַיֹּאמֶר לָהֶם יוֹסֵף מַה־הַמַּעֲשֶׂה

יֹסֵף׃ **ש** 16 וַיֵּרָא יֹסֵף אֶת־אֶתֶם אֶת־בְּנֵי־מִן וַיֹּאמֶר לְאִשְׁרֵי עַל־  
 בֵּיתוֹ תָּבֹא אֶת־הָאֲנָשִׁים הַבֵּיתָה וּסְבֹחוּ טֹבָחַ וְהָכֵן כִּי אֲתִי יֵאָכְלוּ  
 הָאֲנָשִׁים בְּצֻהָרִים׃ 17 וַיַּעַשׂ הָאִישׁ כַּאֲשֶׁר אָמַר יֹסֵף וַיָּבֹא הָאִישׁ  
 אֶת־הָאֲנָשִׁים בֵּיתָה יֹסֵף׃ 18 וַיִּרְאוּ הָאֲנָשִׁים כִּי הוּבָאוּ בֵּית  
 יֹסֵף וַיֹּאמְרוּ עַל־דְּבַר הַכֶּסֶף הַשֶּׁבַּב בְּאִמְתַּחַתֵּינוּ בַּתְּחִלָּה אָנֹחֵנוּ  
 מוֹכְרִים לְהַתְּנַלֵּל עָלֵינוּ וּלְהַתְּנַפֵּל עָלֵינוּ וּלְקַחַת אֶת־נוֹתָנוּ לְעִבְדִּים  
 וְאֶת־חֲמֹרֵינוּ׃ 19 וַיִּגְשׁוּ אֶל־הָאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר עַל־בֵּית יֹסֵף וַיִּדְּבְרוּ  
 אֵלָיו פֶּתַח הַבַּיִת׃ 20 וַיֹּאמְרוּ בִּי אֲדֹנָי יִרְדְּנוּ בַּתְּחִלָּה לְשֹׁבֵר  
 אֶכֶל׃ 21 וַיְהִי כִּי־בָאוּ אֶל־הַמָּלֹךְ וַנִּפְתַּחֲהָ אֶת־אִמְתַּחַתֵּנוּ וְהִנֵּה  
 כֶּסֶף־אִישׁ בְּפִי אִמְתַּחַתוֹ כִּסְפֵּנוּ בְּמִשְׁקָלֹו וַנִּשְׁבַּח אֹתוֹ בִּידֵנוּ׃  
 22 וַכֶּסֶף אַחֵר הוֹדִדְנוּ בִּידֵנוּ לְשֹׁבֵר־אֶכֶל לֹא יִדְעֵנוּ מִי־שָׁם  
 כִּסְפֵּנוּ בְּאִמְתַּחַתֵּנוּ׃ 23 וַיֹּאמֶר שְׁלוֹם לָכֶם אֶל־תִּדְאוּ אֱלֹהֵיכֶם  
 וְאֵלֹהֵי אֲבִיכֶם נָתַן לָכֶם מִסֻּמּוֹן בְּאִמְתַּחַתֵּיכֶם כִּסְפָּכֶם בָּא אֵלַי  
 וַיֵּצֵא אֱלֹהִים אֶת־שְׁמֵעוֹן׃ 24 וַיָּבֹא הָאִישׁ אֶת־הָאֲנָשִׁים בֵּיתָה  
 יֹסֵף וַיִּתֶּן־לָמִים וַיִּדְחֲצוּ רַגְלֵיהֶם וַיִּתֵּן מִסְפּוֹא לַחֲמֹדֵיהֶם׃ 25 וַיָּכִינוּ  
 אֶת־הַמִּנְחָח עַד־בֹּא יֹסֵף בְּצֻהָרִים כִּי שָׁמְעוּ כִּי־שָׁם יֵאָכְלוּ לֶחֶם׃  
 26 וַיָּבֹא יֹסֵף הַבַּיִתָּה וַיָּבִיאוּ לוֹ אֶת־הַמִּנְחָח אֲשֶׁר־בָּדָם הַבֵּיתָה  
 וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ־לוֹ אָרְצָה׃ 27 וַיִּשְׁאַל לָחֶם לְשָׁלוֹם וַיֹּאמֶר הַשְׁלוֹם  
 אֲבִיכֶם הֲזֶקֶן אֲשֶׁר אִמְרָתֶם הָעוֹדֵנוּ חַי׃ 28 וַיֹּאמְרוּ שְׁלוֹם לְעַבְדְּךָ  
 לְאֶבְיָנוּ עוֹדֵנוּ חַי וְקָרִי וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ׃ 29 וַיֵּשֶׁא עֵינָיו וַיֵּרָא אֶת־בְּנֵי־מִן  
 אַחֲרֵי בְּרָאמוֹ וַיֹּאמֶר הִזֶּה אֲחֵיכֶם הֶקְטָן אֲשֶׁר אִמְרָתֶם אֵלַי וַיֹּאמֶר  
 אֱלֹהִים יַחַדְךָ בְּנִי׃ **ש** 30 וַיַּמְהֵר יֹסֵף כִּי־יָבֹאוּ רַחֲמָיו אֶל־  
 אֲחָיו וַיִּבְקֹשׁ לְבָכּוֹת וַיָּבֹא הַחֲרָדָה וַיִּבְךְ שָׁמָּה׃ 31 וַיִּדְחֵץ פָּנָיו  
 וַיֵּצֵא וַיִּתְּאֶפֶק וַיֹּאמֶר שִׁימוּ לָחֶם׃ 32 וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ לוֹ לְבָדוֹ וּלְהֵם לְבָדָם  
 וּלְמִצְרַיִם הָאֲכָלִים אֹתוֹ לְבָדָם כִּי לֹא יוֹכְלוֹן הַמִּצְרַיִם לְאֶכֶל

אֶסֶן בִּידֶךָ אֲשֶׁר תִּלְכוּ-בָּהּ וְחֹדְרֹתֶם אֶת-שִׁכְרִי בִּגְזֹן  
שְׂאוֹלָה:

## CHAPTER XLIII.

1 וַיַּרְעֵב כָּבֵד בְּאֶרֶץ: 2 וַיְהִי כֹאֲשֶׁר כָּלוּ לֶאֱכֹל אֶת-חֹשֶׁבֶר  
אֲשֶׁר הָבִיאוּ מִמִּצְרַיִם וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵיהֶם אֲבִיהֶם שְׁבוּ שְׁכַרְדִּלְנִי  
מִעֵט-אֶכֶל: 3 וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו יְהוֹדָה לֵאמֹר הָעַד הָעַד בְּנֵי הָאִישׁ  
לֵאמֹר לֹא-תָרְאוּ פָנַי בְּלֹתִי אַחֲיֵכֶם אַתֶּכֶם: 4 אִם-יִשְׁקֶה מְשַׁלַּח  
אֶת-אֲחִינוּ אֶתְּנוּ נִדְחָה וְנִשְׁכַּרְחָה לָּהּ אֶכֶל: 5 וְאִם-אֵינָהּ מְשַׁלַּח  
לֹא נִדְחָה כִּי-חַיֵּשׁ אָמַר אֲלֵינוּ לֹא-תָרְאוּ פָנַי בְּלֹתִי אַחֲיֵכֶם  
אַתֶּכֶם: 6 וַיֹּאמֶר יִשְׂרָאֵל לָמָּה הִרְעַתֶּם לִי לַחֲנֹד לְאִישׁ הָעוֹד  
לָכֶם אֵח: 7 וַיֹּאמְרוּ שְׂאוֹל שְׂאֵל-הָאִישׁ לָנוּ וּלְמוֹלֹדֹתֵנוּ לֵאמֹר  
רְעוּד אֲבִיכֶם הִי חַיֵּשׁ לָכֶם אֵח וַנַּפְּרֵלֹו עַל-פִּי הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה  
וַיִּדְוַע גִּרְעָה כִּי יֹאמַר חוֹדְדוּ אֶת-אַחֲיֵכֶם: 8 וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוֹדָה אֶל-  
יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲבִיו שְׁלַחָה חֲפֵצֶר אֶתִּי וְנִקְוָמָה וְנִלְכָּה וְנִחְיָה וְלֹא נָמוּת  
גַּם-אֲנַחְנוּ גַּם-אַתָּה גַּם-סָפְנוּ: 9 אָנֹכִי אֶעֱרֹכְנוּ מִיָּד תִּבְקָשְׁנוּ  
אִם-לֹא תִבְיֹאתִיו אֵלַיְךָ וְהִצַּנְתִּיו לַפִּנְיָה וְחִטָּאתִי לָּהּ כָּל-הַיָּמִים:  
10 כִּי לֹלֵא הִתְמַהֲמַחְנוּ כִּרְעַתָּה שְׁכַנּוּ זֶה פַעַמִּים: 11 וַיֹּאמֶר  
אֲלֵיהֶם יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲבִיהֶם אִם-כֵּן וַיֹּאמְרוּ זֹאת עָשׂוּ קָחוּ מִזִּמְרַת  
הָאָרֶץ בְּכִלְיֵכֶם וְחוֹדְדוּ לְאִישׁ מִנְחָה מִעֵט צֹרִי וּמִעֵט דְּבִשׁ נִכְאֹת  
וְלֵט בַּמָּגִים וּשְׂקָדִים: 12 וְכִסָּף מְשֻׁנָּה קָחוּ בְיָדְכֶם וְאֶת-הַכֶּסֶף  
הַמּוֹשֵׁב בְּפִי אֲמַתְחִיתֶכֶם תְּשִׁיבוּ בְיָדְכֶם אוֹלֵי מְשֻׁנָּה הוּא: 13 וְאֶת-  
אַחֲיֵכֶם קָחוּ וְקִוְמוּ שׁוּבוּ אֶל-הָאִישׁ: 14 וְאֵל שָׂדֵי יִתֵּן לָכֶם רַחֲמִים  
לִפְנֵי הָאִישׁ וְשַׁלַּח לָכֶם אֶת-אַחֲיֵכֶם אַחֵר וְאֶת-בְּנֵימִין וְאֹנִי כֹאֲשֶׁר  
שָׁכַלְתִּי שָׁכַלְתִּי: 15 וַיִּקְחוּ הָאֲנָשִׁים אֶת-הַמִּנְחָה הַזֹּאת וּמִשְׁנֵה  
כֶּסֶף לָקְחוּ בְיָדָם וְאֶת-בְּנֵימִין וַיִּקְמוּ וַיֵּרְדּוּ מִצְרַיִם וַיַּעֲמֵדוּ לִפְנֵי



לֹא־מֵדָבָר הַנֶּה נִדְרָשׁ׃ 23 וְהֵם לֹא יָדְעוּ כִּי שָׁמַע יוֹסֵף כִּי הַמַּלְאִי  
 בִּנְתָם׃ 24 וַיִּסַּב מֵעֲלֵיהֶם וַיִּבְכּוּ וַיֵּשֶׁב אֲלֵהֶם וַיְדַבֵּר אֲלֵהֶם וַיִּקַּח  
 מֵאֲתָם אֶת־שְׁמֵעוֹן וַיֹּאסֶר אוֹתוֹ לַעֲנִיָּהֶם׃ 25 וַיֵּצֵא יוֹסֵף וַיִּמְלֵא  
 אֶת־כְּלֵיהֶם כֶּדֶר וַלְחִשִּׁיב בְּסִפְיָהֶם אִישׁ אֶל־שִׁקּוֹ וּלְתַת לָהֶם צֹדֶה  
 לְדַדֵּךְ וַיַּעַשׂ לָהֶם כֵּן׃ 26 וַיִּשְׂאוּ אֶת־שִׁבְרָם עַל־חֲמֻדֵיהֶם וַיָּלְכוּ  
 מִשָּׁם׃ 27 וַיִּפְתַּח הָאָחִיר אֶת־שִׁקּוֹ לְתַת מִסְפּוֹא לְחֻמְרוֹ בַּמָּלֹךְ  
 וַיֵּדָא אֶת־כִּסְפּוֹ וַהֲנִה־הוּא בְּכִי אֲמַתְחָתוֹ׃ 28 וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל־אָחִיו  
 הַיּוֹשֵׁב בְּסִפִּי וְגַם הֵנָּה בְּאִמְתַּחְתִּי וַיֵּצֵא לָכֶם וַיַּחֲדִדוּ אִישׁ אֶל־  
 אָחִיו לֵאמֹר מִהֲזֹאת עָשָׂה אֱלֹהִים לָנוּ׃ 29 וַיָּבֹאוּ אֶל־יַעֲקֹב  
 אֲבִיהֶם אֶרְצָה כְּנָעַן וַיִּגְדּוּ לוֹ אֶת כָּל־הַקִּרְיֹת אֲתָם לֵאמֹר׃  
 30 דָּבָר הָאֵשׁ אֲדַנֵּי הָאָרֶץ אֲתָנוּ קָשׁוֹת וַיִּתֵּן אֲתָנוּ כְּמִרְגָּלִים  
 אֶת־הָאָרֶץ׃ 31 וַנֹּאמֶר אֲלֵיו כְּנִים אֲנַחְנוּ לֹא הִיָּינוּ מִרְגָּלִים׃  
 32 שְׁנַיִם־עָשָׂר אֲנַחְנוּ אָחִים בְּנֵי אָבִינוּ הָאֶחָד אֵינָנו וְהַקָּטָן הַזֶּה  
 אֶת־אָבִינוּ בָּאָרֶץ כְּנָעַן׃ 33 וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵינוּ הָאֵשׁ אֲדַנֵּי הָאָרֶץ  
 בָּזָאת אֵדַע כִּי כְנִים אַתֶּם אֲחִיכֶם הָאֶחָד הִנִּיחוּ אֹתִי וְאֶת־רַעְבּוֹן  
 בְּתִיכֶם קָחוּ וּלְכוּ׃ 34 וַהֲבִיאוּ אֶת־אֲחִיכֶם הַקָּטָן אֵלַי וְאֶדְעָה כִּי  
 לֹא מִרְגָּלִים אַתֶּם כִּי כְנִים אַתֶּם אֶת־אֲחִיכֶם אָתֶן לָכֶם וְאֶת־  
 הָאָרֶץ תִּסְתַּחֲרוּ׃ 35 וַהֲיִי הֵם מְרִיקִים שִׁקְיָהֶם וַהֲנִי־אֵשׁ צָרוּר־  
 כִּסְפּוֹ בְּשִׁקּוֹ וַיֵּדְאוּ אֶת־צָרֻדוֹת כִּסְפֵיהֶם הַפָּה וַאֲבִיהֶם וַיִּירָאוּ׃  
 36 וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵהֶם יַעֲקֹב אֲבִיהֶם אֹתִי שְׁכַלְתֶּם יוֹסֵף אֵינָנו וְשְׁמֵעוֹן  
 אֵינָנו וְאֶת־בְּנֵימֶן תִּקְחוּ עִלִּי הִנֵּה כָלָנָה׃ 37 וַיֹּאמֶר רְאוּבֵן  
 אֶל־אָבִיו לֵאמֹר אֶת־שְׁנֵי בְנֵי תָמָר אִם־לֹא אָבִיָּאנוּ אֵלַיָּה  
 תְּנֶנָּה אוֹתוֹ עַל־יְדִי וַיֹּאנִי אֲשִׁיבֶנּוּ אֵלַיָּה׃ 38 וַיֹּאמֶר לֹא־  
 יָד בְּנֵי עַמְכֶּם כִּי־אָחִיו מֵת וְהוּא לְבָדוֹ נִשְׁאָר וְקִרְאָתוֹ

לְשֹׁכֵד בַּר מִצְרַיִם: 4 וְאֶת־בְּנֵימִן אֶתִּי יוֹסֵף לֹא־שָׁלַח יַעֲקֹב  
 אֶת־אֶחָיו כִּי אָמַר פֶּן־יִקְרָאֵנוּ אֶסּוֹן: 5 וַיָּבֹאוּ בְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לְשֹׁכֵד  
 בְּתוֹךְ הַבָּאִים כִּי־הָיָה הָרָעָב בְּאֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן: 6 וַיּוֹסֶף הוּא הַשְׁלִיט  
 עַל־הָאָרֶץ הוּא הַמִּשְׁפִּיד לְכָל־עַם הָאָרֶץ וַיָּבֹאוּ אֶתִּי יוֹסֵף וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה  
 לוֹ אַפַּיִם אֲרָצָה: 7 וַיֵּרָא יוֹסֵף אֶת־אֶחָיו וַיִּכְרַם וַיַּתְּנֵם אֱלֹהִים  
 וַיְדַבֵּר אִתָּם קִשּׁוֹת וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵהֶם מֵאֵין בְּאִתָּם וַיֹּאמְרוּ מֵאֶרֶץ  
 כְּנָעַן לְשֹׁכֵד־אֲכָל: 8 וַיַּכֵּר יוֹסֵף אֶת־אֶחָיו וְהֵם לֹא הִפְדָּהוּ:  
 9 וַיִּזְכֹּר יוֹסֵף אֶת הַחֲלֻמוֹת אֲשֶׁר חָלַם לָהֶם וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵהֶם מְרֻגְלִים  
 אַתֶּם לְרֹאוֹת אֶת־עֲרֹנוֹת הָאָרֶץ בְּאִתָּם: 10 וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֵלָיו לֹא  
 אֲדֹנָי וַעֲבָדֶיךָ בָּאוּ לְשֹׁכֵד־אֲכָל: 11 כָּלֵנוּ בְנֵי אִישׁ־אֶחָד נָחֲנוּ  
 כְּנִים אֲנַחְנוּ לֹא־הָיוּ עֲבָדֶיךָ מְרֻגְלִים: 12 וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵהֶם לֹא כִּי־  
 עֲרֹנוֹת הָאָרֶץ בְּאִתָּם לְרֹאוֹת: 13 וַיֹּאמְרוּ שְׁנַיִם עָשָׂר עֲבָדֶיךָ  
 אֲחִים וְאֲנַחְנוּ בְנֵי אִישׁ־אֶחָד בְּאֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן וְהִנֵּה הִקְטָן אֶת־אֲבִינוּ  
 הַיּוֹם וְהָאֶחָד אֵינְנוּ: 14 וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵהֶם יוֹסֵף הוּא אֲשֶׁר דִּבַּרְתִּי  
 אֲלֵכֶם לֵאמֹר מְרֻגְלִים אַתֶּם: 15 בּוֹאֹת תִּפְתְּחוּ חֵי פְרֹעָה אִם־  
 תִּצְאוּ מוֹה כִּי אִם־בָּבֹא אֲחִיכֶם הִקְטָן הִנֵּה: 16 שְׁלָחוּ מִכֶּם אֶחָד  
 וַיִּקַּח אֶת־אֲחִיכֶם וְאִתָּם הָאֲסוּרִי וַיַּפְתֵּנוּ דְּבָרֵיכֶם הָאֵמֶת אִתָּכֶם  
 וְאִם־לֹא חֵי פְרֹעָה כִּי מְרֻגְלִים אַתֶּם: 17 וַיֹּאסֶף אִתָּם אֶל־  
 מִשְׁמַר שְׁלֹשֶׁת יָמִים: 18 וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵהֶם יוֹסֵף בֵּינֵם הַשְׁלִישִׁי זֹאת  
 עֲשׂוּ וַחֲיוּ אֶת־הָאֱלֹהִים אֲנִי יֵרָא: 19 אִם־כְּנִים אַתֶּם אֲחִיכֶם  
 אַחֵר יֵאָסֵר בְּבֵית מִשְׁמָרְכֶם וְאִתָּם לָכוּ הֵבִיאוּ שָׂכָר רַעְיוֹן  
 בְּתִיכֶם: 20 וְאֶת־אֲחִיכֶם הִקְטָן תִּבְיִאוּ אֵלָי וַיֹּאמְרוּ דְּבָרֵיכֶם וְלֹא  
 תִּמְוָתוּ וַיַּעֲשׂוּ־כֵן: 21 וַיֹּאמְרוּ אִישׁ אֶל־אֶחָיו אֲבָל־אֲשָׁמִים וְ  
 אֲנַחְנוּ עַל־אֶחָיו אֲשֶׁר רָאִינוּ צָרַת נַפְשׁוֹ בְּהַתְּחַנְּנוֹ אֵלָינוּ וְלֹא  
 שָׁמַעְנוּ עַל־כֵּן בָּאָה אֵלָינוּ הַצָּרָה הַזֹּאת: 22 וַיַּעַן רְאוּבֵן אִתָּם

וַתֵּלֶךְ בְּכָל־אֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם: 45 וַיִּקְרָא פֶרְעָה שְׁם־יוֹסֵף צָמֶנֶת פַּעֲנָה  
 וַיַּתְּדֵלָהּ אֶת־אֲסֵנֹת בֵּת־פּוֹטִי פָרַע כֹּהֵן אֵן לְאִשָּׁה וַיֵּצֵא יוֹסֵף  
 עַל־אֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם: 46 וַיּוֹסֶף בְּר־שְׁלֹשִׁים שָׁנָה בְּעֵמְדוֹ לִפְנֵי פֶרְעָה  
 מִלֶּכֶת־מִצְרַיִם וַיֵּצֵא יוֹסֵף מִלִּפְנֵי פֶרְעָה וַיַּעֲבֹד בְּכָל־אֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם:  
 47 וַתַּעַשׂ הָאָרֶץ בְּשִׁבְעַ שָׁנֵי הַשָּׁבַע לְקִמְצִים: 48 וַיִּקְבֹּץ אֶת־  
 כָּל־אֲכָלוֹ שִׁבְעַ שָׁנִים אֲשֶׁר הָיוּ בָאָרֶץ מִצְרַיִם וַיִּתֵּן־אֲכָל בְּעֵרְתָּ  
 אֲכָל שְׂדֵה־חֲעִיד אֲשֶׁר סָבִיבָתֶּיהָ נָתַן בְּתוֹכָהּ: 49 וַיִּצְבֹּר יוֹסֵף  
 בָּרֶ כַּחֲוֵל הַיָּם חֲרֻבָּה מְאֹד עַד כִּרְחֹלֶל לְסֹפֶר בְּרֵאיוֹן מִסְפָּר:  
 50 וַלְיוֹסֵף יָלַד שְׁנֵי בָנִים בְּמֶרֶס חָבּוּא שְׁנַת הָרָעָב אֲשֶׁר יָלְדָה  
 לָהּ אֲסֵנֹת בֵּת־פּוֹטִי פָרַע אֹזֶן: 51 וַיִּקְרָא יוֹסֵף אֶת־שְׁם  
 הַבְּכֹר מְנַשֶּׁה כִּי־נִשְׁנֵי אֱלֹהִים אֶת־כָּל־עַמְלִי וְאֵת כָּל־בֵּית אָבִי:  
 52 וְאֵת שֵׁם הַשֵּׁנִי קָרָא אֶסְרָיִם כִּי־הִפְרִנִי אֱלֹהִים בָּאָרֶץ עֲנִי: וְכֵי  
 53 וַתִּכְלֶינָה שְׁבַע שָׁנֵי הַשָּׁבַע אֲשֶׁר הָיָה בָאָרֶץ מִצְרַיִם 54 וַתַּחֲלִינָה  
 שְׁבַע שָׁנֵי הָרָעָב לָבוֹא כַּאֲשֶׁר אָמַר יוֹסֵף וַיְהִי רָעָב בְּכָל־הָאֲרָצוֹת  
 וּבְכָל־אֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם הָיָה לֶחֶם: 55 וַתָּרָעַב כָּל־אֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם וַיִּצְעַק  
 חָעָם אֶל־פֶּרְעָה לֶלֶחֶם וַיֹּאמֶר פֶּרְעָה לְכָל־מִצְרַיִם לָכוּ אֶל־יוֹסֵף  
 אֲשֶׁר־אָמַר לָכֶם תַּעֲשׂוּ: 56 וַתָּרָעַב הָיָה עַל כָּל־פְּנֵי הָאָרֶץ  
 וַיִּסְתַּח יוֹסֵף אֶת־כָּל־אֲשֶׁר בָּהֶם וַיִּשְׁבֹּר לְמִצְרַיִם וַיַּחֲזֹק הָרָעָב  
 בָּאָרֶץ מִצְרַיִם: 57 וְכָל־הָאָרֶץ בָּאוּ מִצְרַיִמָּה לְשֹׁבֵד אֶל־יוֹסֵף  
 כִּי־חָזַק הָרָעָב בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ:

## CHAPTER XLII.

1 וַיָּרָא יַעֲקֹב כִּי יֵשׁ־שָׁבֵר בַּמִּצְרַיִם וַיֹּאמֶר יַעֲקֹב לְבָנָיו לָמָּה  
 תִּתְרָאוּ: 2 וַיֹּאמֶר הִנֵּה שָׁמַעְתִּי כִּי יֵשׁ־שָׁבֵר בַּמִּצְרַיִם רְדוּ־שָׁמָּה  
 וְשִׁבְרֵרְלִנוּ מִשָּׁם וְנָחִיָּה וְלֹא נָמוּת: 3 וַיִּירָדוּ אַחֲר־יוֹסֵף עֲשָׂרָה

הָנָה וּשְׁבַע הַשָּׁבָלִים הַסֹּבֶת שִׁבְעַת שָׁנִים הִנֵּה חָלוּם אֶחָד הוּא׃  
27 וּשְׁבַע הַפְּרוֹת הַרְקוֹת וְהָרְעוֹת הָעֵלֹת אַחֲרֵיהֶן שִׁבְעַת שָׁנִים  
הִנֵּה וּשְׁבַע הַשָּׁבָלִים הַרְקוֹת שְׁדָפוֹת הַקָּדִים יִהְיוּ שִׁבְעַת שָׁנֵי רָעָב׃  
28 הוּא הַדָּבָר אֲשֶׁר דִּבַּרְתִּי אֶל־פֶּרְעָה אֲשֶׁר הָאֱלֹהִים עָשָׂה וְהִנֵּה  
אֶת־פֶּרְעָה׃ 29 הִנֵּה שִׁבְעַת שָׁנִים בָּאוֹת שָׁבַע גְּדוֹל בְּכָל־אֶרֶץ  
מִצְרַיִם׃ 30 וְקָמוּ שִׁבְעַת שָׁנֵי רָעָב אַחֲרֵיהֶן וְנִשְׁכַּח כָּל־הַשִּׁבְעַת  
בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם וְכָל־הָרָעָב אֶת־הָאֶרֶץ׃ 31 וְלֹא־יִדָּע הַשִּׁבְעַת  
בְּאֶרֶץ מִפְּנֵי הָרָעָב הַהוּא אַחֲרֵי־כֵן כִּי־כָבֵד הוּא מְאֹד׃ 32 וְעַל  
הַשָּׁנֹת הַחֲלוּם אֶל־פֶּרְעָה פַעַמִּים כִּי־נִכְזַן הַדָּבָר מֵעַם הָאֱלֹהִים  
וּמִמָּחֵר הָאֱלֹהִים לַעֲשׂוֹתוֹ׃ 33 וַעֲתָה יֵרָא פֶּרְעָה אִישׁ נְבוֹן וְחָכָם  
יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה עַל־אֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם׃ 34 יַעֲשֶׂה פֶּרְעָה וַיִּסְקַד פְּקָדִים עַל־  
הָאֶרֶץ וְחִמֹּשׁ אֶת־אֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם בְּשִׁבְעַת שָׁנֵי הַשִּׁבְעַת׃ 35 וַיִּקְבְּצוּ  
אֶת־כָּל־אֹכֵל הַשָּׁנִים הַסֹּבֹת הַבָּאֹת הָאֵלֶּה וַיַּצְבֵּר־בָּר תַּחַת יָד  
פֶּרְעָה אֹכֵל בְּעָרִים וְשִׁמְרוּ׃ 36 וְהָיָה הָאֹכֵל לִפְקֻדֹן לְאֶרֶץ לְשִׁבְעַת  
שָׁנֵי הָרָעָב אֲשֶׁר תִּהְיֶה בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם וְלֹא־תִכָּרֵת הָאֶרֶץ בְּרָעָב׃  
37 וַיִּשָּׁב הַדָּבָר בְּעֵינֵי פֶּרְעָה וּבְעֵינֵי כָל־עַבְדָּיו׃ 38 וַיֹּאמֶר פֶּרְעָה  
אֶל־עַבְדָּיו הִנֵּמְצָא כֹּה־אִישׁ אֲשֶׁר רָחַץ אֱלֹהִים בּוֹ׃ 39 וַיֹּאמֶר  
פֶּרְעָה אֶל־יוֹסֵף אַחֲרֵי הוֹדִיעַ אֱלֹהִים אוֹתָךְ אֶת־כָּל־זֹאת אֵיךְ  
נְבוֹן וְחָכָם כְּמוֹךָ׃ 40 אַתָּה תִּהְיֶה עַל־בֵּיתִי וְעַל־פָּקֶדִי יִשָּׁק כָּל־  
עַמִּי רַק הַכֹּהֵן אֲנִי־לִי מִמֶּךָ׃ 41 וַיֹּאמֶר פֶּרְעָה אֶל־יוֹסֵף רְאֵה  
נִתְתִּי אוֹתָךְ עַל כָּל־אֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם׃ 42 וְיִסַּר פֶּרְעָה אֶת־טַבַּעְתּוֹ  
מֵעַל יָדוֹ וַיִּתֵּן אוֹתָהּ עַל־יָד יוֹסֵף וַיִּלְבַּשׂ אוֹתוֹ בְּגָדֵי־שֵׁשׁ וַיִּשֶׂם רֶבֶד  
חֹזֶק עַל־צוּרָאוֹ׃ 43 וַיַּרְבֵּב אוֹתוֹ בְּמִרְכָּבֹת הַמִּשְׁנָה אֲשֶׁר־לּוֹ  
וַיִּקְרָאוּ לִפְנֵי אֲבִירָה וַנְתַּן אוֹתוֹ עַל כָּל־אֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם׃ 44 וַיֹּאמֶר  
פֶּרְעָה אֶל־יוֹסֵף אֲנִי פֶּרְעָה וְכָל־עַדְיָה לְאֶבְרָהָם אִישׁ אֶת־יָדוֹ וְאֶת־

וַתַּפְעֶם רָחוּוּ וַיִּשְׁלַח יִקְרָא אֶת־כָּל־חֲרָטְמֵי מִצְרַיִם וְאֶת־כָּל־  
 חֲכָמֶיהָ וַיִּסְפֹּר פֶּרְעָה לָּהֶם אֶת־חֲלָמֹו וְאֵין־פֹּתֵר אוֹתָם לְפֶרְעָה׃  
 9 וַיְדַבֵּר שֵׁר הַמִּשְׁקִים אֶת־פֶּרְעָה לֵאמֹר אֶת־חֲסָאִי אֲנִי מִזְכִּיר  
 הַיּוֹם׃ 10 פֶּרְעָה קָצָף עַל־עַבְדּוֹ וַיִּתֵּן אוֹתִי בְּמִשְׁמַר בֵּית שֵׁר  
 הַסַּבְּחִים אֹתִי וְאֵת שֵׁר הָאֲפִים׃ 11 וַנַּחֲלֹמָה חֲלוֹם בְּלִילָה אֶחָד  
 אֲנִי וְהוּא אִישׁ כְּפַתְרוֹן חֲלָמֹו חֲלָמָנוּ׃ 12 וְשֵׁם אֹתָנוּ נָעַר עַבְדִּי  
 עֶבֶד לְשֵׁר הַסַּבְּחִים וַיִּסְפֹּר־לֹו וַיַּסְתֵּר־לָנוּ אֶת־חֲלָמֵתֵינוּ אִישׁ  
 כְּחֲלָמֹו פָּתַר׃ 13 וַיְדַבֵּר בְּאָשֶׁר פָּתַר־לָנוּ כֵּן הָיָה אֹתִי הַשִּׁיב עַל־  
 כִּבְיִי וְאֹתֹו תִּלְחָ׃ 14 וַיִּשְׁלַח פֶּרְעָה וַיִּקְרָא אֶת־יֹסֵף וַיַּרְצֻהוּ מֶךְ  
 הַבּוֹד וַיַּגְלֵחַ וַיַּחֲלֹף שְׂמֹלֹתָיו וַיָּבֹא אֶל־פֶּרְעָה׃ שָׁנָי 15 וַיֹּאמֶר  
 פֶּרְעָה אֶל־יֹסֵף חֲלוֹם חֲלָמָתִי וּפְתָר אֵין אֹתֹו וְאֲנִי שָׁמַעְתִּי עֲלֶיךָ  
 לֵאמֹר תִּשְׁמַע חֲלוֹם לְפָתַר אֹתֹו׃ 16 וַיַּעַן יֹסֵף אֶת־פֶּרְעָה לֵאמֹר  
 בְּלִעְרִי אֱלֹהִים יַעֲנֶה אֶת־שְׁלוֹם פֶּרְעָה׃ 17 וַיְדַבֵּר פֶּרְעָה אֶל־  
 יֹסֵף בְּחֲלָמֵי הַנָּגַי עַמֵּד עַל־שֵׁפֶת הַיָּאֵר׃ 18 וַהֲנֵה מֶן־הַיָּאֵר עֹלֹת  
 שִׁבְעַ פְּרוֹת בְּרִיאֹת בָּשָׂר וַיִּפֹּת תֹּאֵר וַתַּרְעִינָה בָּאָחוּ׃ 19 וַהֲנֵה  
 שִׁבְעַ פְּרוֹת אַחֲרוֹת עֹלֹת אַחֲרֵיהֶן רְלוֹת וַרְעוֹת תֹּאֵר מְאֹד  
 וַדְּקוֹת בָּשָׂר לֹא־רִאֲיוֹתִי כַּהֲנָה בְּכָל־אַרְץ מִצְרַיִם לָרַע׃ 20 וַתֹּאמְלֵנָה  
 הַפְּרוֹת הַדְּקוֹת וַהֲרַעוֹת אֵת שִׁבְעַ הַפְּרוֹת הָרֹאשְׁנוֹת הַבְּרִיאֹת׃  
 21 וַתִּבְאֵנָה אֶל־קַרְבָּנָה וְלֹא נֹדַע כִּי־בָאוּ אֶל־קַרְבָּנָה וּמִרְאִיהֶן  
 רָע כְּאִשֶּׁר בַּתְּחִלָּה וַאֲיָקֶץ׃ 22 וַאֲרֹא בְּחֲלָמִי וַהֲנֵה שִׁבְעַ שָּׂבִילִם  
 עֹלֹת בְּקֶנֶה אֶחָד מִלֵּאֹת וּטְבוֹת׃ 23 וַהֲנֵה שִׁבְעַ שָּׂבִילִם צִנּוּמוֹת  
 דְּקוֹת שְׂדֵפוֹת קָדִים צִנּוּחוֹת אַחֲרֵיהֶם׃ 24 וַתְּבַלְעֵן הַשָּׂבִילִם  
 הַדְּקוֹת אֵת שִׁבְעַ הַשָּׂבִילִם הַטְּבוֹת וַאֲמַר אֶל־הַחֲרָטְמִים וַאֲיִן מִגִּיד  
 לִי׃ 25 וַיֹּאמֶר יֹסֵף אֶל־פֶּרְעָה חֲלוֹם פֶּרְעָה אֶחָד הוּא אֵת אֲשֶׁר  
 הָאֱלֹהִים עֲשָׂה הַגִּיד לְפֶרְעָה׃ 26 שִׁבְעַ פָּרֹת הַטְּבוֹת שִׁבְעַ שָׁנִים

עָמְדִי חֹסֶד וְהוֹפְרָתִנִי אֶל־פְּרָעָה וְהוֹצֵאתִנִי מִן־הַבֵּית הַזֶּה: 15 כִּי  
 גָּנַב גָּנַבְתִּי מֵאֶרֶץ הָעִבְרִים וְגַם־פֹּה לֹא־עָשִׂיתִי מְאוֹמָה כִּי־שָׁמוּ  
 אֹתִי בְבוֹד: 16 וַיֵּרָא שׁוֹדֵה־אֲפִים כִּי־טוֹב פֶּתַח וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל־יוֹסֵף  
 אֶחָ־אֲנִי בְחַלּוּמֵי וְהִנֵּה שְׁלֹשָׁה סִלֵּי חִטִּי עַל־דְּאִשִּׁי: 17 וּבִסְלָה  
 הָעֶלְיוֹן מִכָּל מֵאֲכָל פְּרָעָה מַעֲשֶׂה אִפְּהָ וְהָעוֹף אֲכָל אֹתָם מִן־  
 הַסֶּל מֵעַל רֹאשִׁי: 18 וַיַּעַן יוֹסֵף וַיֹּאמֶר זֶה פִּתְרֹנִי שְׁלֹשַׁת הַסִּלִּים  
 שְׁלֹשַׁת יָמִים הֵם: 19 בַּעֲדֵי־שְׁלֹשַׁת יָמִים יֵשֶׁא פְרָעָה אֶת־דְּאִשְׁךָ  
 מִעֲלֶיךָ וְתָלָה אוֹתָךְ עַל־עֵץ וְאֲכָל הָעוֹף אֶת־בְּשָׂרְךָ מִעֲלֶיךָ:  
 מִסֵּד 20 וְהָיִיבִינָם הַשְּׁלִישִׁי יוֹם הַלָּדָת אֶת־פְּרָעָה וַיַּעַשׂ מִשְׁתָּה  
 לְכָל־עֲבָדָיו וַיֵּשֶׂא אֶת־רֹאשֵׁי־שָׂרֵי הַמִּשְׁקִים וְאֶת־דָּאֵשׁ שָׂרֵי הָאֲפִים  
 בַּתּוֹךְ עֲבָדָיו: 21 וַיָּשֶׁב אֶת־שָׂרֵי הַמִּשְׁקִים עַל־מִשְׁקָהוּ וַיִּתֵּן הַכּוֹס  
 עַל־כַּף פְּרָעָה: 22 וְאֵת שָׂרֵי הָאֲפִים תָּלָה בְּאֵשׁ פֶּתַח לְהֵם  
 יוֹסֵף: 23 וְלֹא־זָכַר שׁוֹד־הַמִּשְׁקִים אֶת־יוֹסֵף וַיִּשְׁכַּחְהוּ: פ

## CHAPTER XLI.

1 וַיְהִי מִקֵּץ שְׁנָתַיִם יָמִים וּפְרָעָה חָלָם וְהִנֵּה עֹמֵד עַל־הַיָּאֵד:  
 2 וְהִנֵּה מִן־הַיָּאֵד עֹלֹת שֶׁבַע פָּרוֹת יְפוֹת מְרֹאָה וּבְרִיאוֹת בָּשָׂר  
 וְתַרְעִינָה בָּאָחוּ: 3 וְהִנֵּה שֶׁבַע פָּרוֹת אַחֲרוֹת עֹלֹת אַחֲרֵיהֶן מִן־  
 הַיָּאֵד רָעוֹת מְרֹאָה וְדָקוֹת בָּשָׂר וְתַעֲמֻדָּה אֵצֶל הַפָּרוֹת עַל־שִׁפְת  
 הַיָּאֵד: 4 וְתִאֲכַלְנָה הַפָּרוֹת רָעוֹת הַמְרֹאָה וְדָקוֹת הַבָּשָׂר אֶת  
 שֶׁבַע הַפָּרוֹת יְפוֹת הַמְרֹאָה וְהַבְּרִיאוֹת וַיִּקֶּץ פְּרָעָה: 5 וַיִּשָּׁן  
 וַיַּחֲלֹם שְׁנִית וְהִנֵּה שֶׁבַע שִׁבְלִים עֹלֹת בִּקְנֶה אַחֵר בְּרִיאוֹת  
 וְטֹכוֹת: 6 וְהִנֵּה שֶׁבַע שִׁבְלִים דָּקוֹת וּשְׂדוּפוֹת קָדִים צִמְחוֹת  
 אַחֲרֵיהֶן: 7 וְתִבְלַעְנָה הַשִּׁבְלִים הַדָּקוֹת אֶת שֶׁבַע הַשִּׁבְלִים  
 הַבְּרִיאוֹת וְהַפְּלֹאוֹת וַיִּקֶּץ פְּרָעָה וְהִנֵּה חִלּוֹם: 8 וַיְהִי בִּבְקָר

הַסֹּחֵר: 22 וַיְהִי שֶׁר בֵּית־הַסֹּחֵר בְּדִיּוֹסָף אֶת כָּל־חֲמִסִּים אֲשֶׁר  
בְּבֵית הַסֹּחֵר וְאֵת כָּל־אֲשֶׁר עֲשִׂים שָׁם הָיָה עֹשֶׂה: 23 אֵין  
שֶׁר בֵּית־הַסֹּחֵר רָאָה אֶת־כָּל־מְאוֹמֵר בְּדֹו כֹּאֲשֶׁר יִהְיֶה אֹתוֹ  
וְאֲשֶׁר־הוּא עֹשֶׂה יִהְיֶה מְצֻלָּח: פ שביע

## CHAPTER XL.

1 וַיְהִי אַחֲרֵי הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה חֲמָאֵי מִשְׁקָה מְלֶכֶּ מְצָרִים  
וְהָאִפָּה לְאֹדְנֵיהֶם לְמֶלֶכֶּ מְצָרִים: 2 וַיִּקְצֹץ פָּרְעָה עַל שְׁנֵי סְרִיסָיו  
עַל שֶׁר הַמִּשְׁקִים וְעַל שֶׁר חָאוּפִים: 3 וַיְהִי אֹתָם בְּמִשְׁמֵר בֵּית  
שֶׁר הַטְּבָחִים אֶל־בֵּית הַסֹּחֵר מְקוֹם אֲשֶׁר יוֹסֵף אָסַר שָׁם:  
4 וַיִּפְקֹד שֶׁר הַטְּבָחִים אֶת־יוֹסֵף אֹתָם וַיִּשְׁרֹת אֹתָם וַיְהִי יָמִים  
בְּמִשְׁמֵר: 5 וַיַּחְלְמוּ חֲלוֹם שְׁנֵיהֶם אִישׁ חֲלֹמוֹ בְּלֵילָה אֶחָד אִישׁ  
כְּפִתְרוֹן חֲלֹמוֹ הַמִּשְׁקָה וְהָאִפָּה אֲשֶׁר לְמֶלֶכֶּ מְצָרִים אֲשֶׁר אֲסוּרִים  
בְּבֵית הַסֹּחֵר: 6 וַיָּבֹא אֲלֵיהֶם יוֹסֵף בְּבֹקֶר וַיֵּרָא אֹתָם וַהֲנֵם וְעַפְסִים:  
7 וַיִּשְׁאַל אֶת־סְרִיסֵי פָרְעָה אֲשֶׁר אֹתוֹ בְּמִשְׁמֵר בֵּית אֲדֹנָיו לֵאמֹר  
סִדְּעֵי פָנֵיכֶם רְעִים הַיּוֹם: 8 וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֵלָיו חֲלוֹם חֲלֹמְנוּ וּפְתָר  
אֵין אֹתוֹ וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵיהֶם יוֹסֵף הֲלֹא לְאֱלֹהִים פְּתָרָנִים סְפָרְדָּנָא  
לִי: 9 וַיִּסְפֹּר שְׁרֵי־הַמִּשְׁקִים אֶת־חֲלֹמֹו לְיוֹסֵף וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ בְּחֻלּוֹמִי  
וַהֲדַגְגָּן לִפְנֵי: 10 וּבִגְפָן שְׁלֹשָׁה שָׁרִיגִם וְהוּא כְּפָרְחַת עֲלֵתָהּ  
נֹצֶה הַבְּשִׁילוֹ אֲשַׁכְּלָתֶיהָ עֲנָבִים: 11 וְכֹס פָּרְעָה בְּיָדִי וְאֶקַּח אֶת־  
הָעֲנָבִים וְאֶשְׁחַט אֹתָם אֶל־כּוֹס פָּרְעָה וְאֶתֵּן אֶת־הַכּוֹס עַל־כַּף  
פָּרְעָה: 12 וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ יוֹסֵף הֵן פְּתָרְנוֹ שְׁלֹשַׁת הַשָּׂרִיגִים שְׁלֹשַׁת  
יָמִים הֵם: 13 בְּעוֹד וְשְׁלֹשַׁת יָמִים יֵשֶׁא פָרְעָה אֶת־רֹאשׁוֹ וְהוֹשִׁיכָהּ  
עַל־כַּנָּהּ וְנָתַתָּ כּוֹס־פָּרְעָה בְּדֹו כְּמִשְׁפַּט הָרֹאשׁוֹן אֲשֶׁר הָיִיתָ  
מִשְׁקָהוּ: 14 כִּי אִם־זָכַרְתָּנִי אִתָּךְ כֹּאֲשֶׁר יִיטֵב לָךְ וְעָשִׂיתָ־נָא

יִשְׁלֹךְ נִתְּן בְּיָדוֹ: 5 יְהִי מֵאֵז הַפֶּקֶד אֹתוֹ בְּבֵיתוֹ וְעַל כָּל־אֲשֶׁר  
 יִשְׁלֹךְ יִכְרֹךְ יְהוָה אֶת־בֵּית הַמִּצְרִי בְּגִלְגַּל יוֹסֵף יְהִי בְּרַבַּת יְהוָה  
 בְּכָל־אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁלֹךְ בַּבַּיִת וּבִשְׂדֵה: 6 וַיַּעֲזֹב כָּל־אֲשֶׁר־לֹךְ בְּיַד־יוֹסֵף  
 וְלֹא־יָדַע אֹתוֹ מֵאוֹמֶה כִּי אִם־הִלָּחֵם אֲשֶׁר־הוּא אוֹכֵל יְהִי יוֹסֵף  
 יִפְהַתָּאֵר וַיִּפֶּה מֵרֹאֶה: שש 7 יְהִי אַחֲרֵי הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה וְהַשָּׂא  
 אֶשְׁת־אֲדֹנָיו אֶת־עֵינֶיהָ אֶל־יוֹסֵף וְהָאֹמֶר שָׁכְבָה עִמִּי: 8 וַיִּמְאֲנוּ  
 וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֶל־אִשְׁת־אֲדֹנָיו הֵן אֲדֹנִי לֹא־יָדַע אֹתִי מִחַבְּבִית וְכָל  
 אֲשֶׁר־יִשְׁלֹךְ נִתְּן בְּיָדִי: 9 אֵינָנו גְּדוֹל בַּבַּיִת הַזֶּה מִפְּנֵי וְלֹא־חֲשָׁךְ  
 מִפְּנֵי מֵאוֹמֶה כִּי אִם־אוֹתָהּ בְּאֲשֶׁר אֶת־אִשְׁתּוֹ וְאִךְ אֶעֱשֶׂה  
 חֲרָעָה הַגְּדֹלָה הַזֹּאת וְחִטָּאתִי לְאֱלֹהִים: 10 יְהִי כִּרְבִּיהָ אֶל־יוֹסֵף  
 יוֹם־יוֹם וְלֹא־שָׁמַע אֱלֹהִים לְשַׁכַּב אֶצְלָהּ לַחַיִּית עִמָּה: 11 יְהִי  
 כַּהֲנוֹם הַזֶּה וַיָּבֹא הַבֵּיתָה לַעֲשׂוֹת מְלָאכָתּוֹ וְאִין אִישׁ מֵאֲנָשֵׁי הַבַּיִת  
 שָׁם בַּבַּיִת: 12 וְהַתְּפֹשֶׁהוּ בְּבִגְדוֹ לֵאמֹר שָׁכְבָה עִמִּי וַיַּעֲזֹב בְּגָדוֹ  
 בִּידָה וַיֵּגַס וַיֵּצֵא הַחוּצָה: 13 יְהִי כִּרְאוֹתֶיהָ כִּרְעוּב בְּגָדוֹ בִּידָה  
 וַיֵּגַס הַחוּצָה: 14 וְהִתְקַרָּא לְאֲנָשֵׁי בֵיתָהּ וְהָאֹמֶר לָחֵם לֵאמֹר רְאוּ  
 הֵבִיא לָנוּ אִישׁ עֲבָרִי לְצַחֵק בָּנוּ בָּא אֵלַי לְשַׁכַּב עִמִּי וְאֶקְרָא  
 בְּקוֹל גְּדוֹל: 15 יְהִי כְשֶׁמְעוּ כִּרְחִימֹתַי קוֹלִי וְאֶקְרָא וַיַּעֲזֹב  
 בְּגָדוֹ אֶצְלִי וַיֵּגַס וַיֵּצֵא הַחוּצָה: 16 וְהִנֵּחַ בְּגָדוֹ אֶצְלָהּ עַד־כּוּא  
 אֲדֹנָיו אֶל־בֵּיתוֹ: 17 וְהִדְבֵּר אֵלָיו כַּדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה לֵאמֹר בָּא אֵלַי  
 הָעֶבֶד הָעֲבָרִי אֲשֶׁר־הִבֵּאתָ לָנוּ לְצַחֵק בִּי: 18 יְהִי כִּרְחִימֵי קוֹלִי  
 וְאֶקְרָא וַיַּעֲזֹב בְּגָדוֹ אֶצְלִי וַיֵּגַס הַחוּצָה: 19 יְהִי כְשֶׁמְעֵ אֲדֹנָיו  
 אֶת־דְּבָרֵי אִשְׁתּוֹ אֲשֶׁר דִּבְּרָה אֵלָיו לֵאמֹר כַּדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה עָשָׂה  
 לִי עֲבָדָה וַיַּחֲרֵ אִפּוֹ: 20 וַיִּקַּח אֲדֹנִי יוֹסֵף אֹתוֹ וַיִּתְּנֶהוּ אֶל־בֵּית  
 הַסֹּחֵר מְקוֹם אֲשֶׁר־אִסְרוּ הַמֶּלֶךְ אֲסוּרִים וַיְהִי־שָׁם בַּבַּיִת הַסֹּחֵר:  
 21 יְהִי יְהוָה אֶת־יוֹסֵף וַיְהִי אֵלָיו חֶסֶד וַיִּתֵּן חָנוּ בְּעֵינָי שֹׁר בֵּית־



וַתֹּאמֶר חַתְמָךְ וּפְתִילֶךָ וּמִטָּה אֲשֶׁר בִּידֶךָ יִתֶּן-לָהּ וַיָּבֹא אֵלֶיהָ  
וַתַּעַד לֵאמֹר: 19 וַתִּקֶּם וַתִּלְכֶּךָ וַתִּסַּר צְעִיפָהּ מֵעֲלֶיהָ וַתִּלְבַּשׁ בְּנֵי  
אֶלְמִנּוּתָהּ: 20 וַיִּשְׁלַח יְהוָה אֶת-נָעִי הָעוֹיִם בִּיד רָעָהוּ הָעַרְלָמִי  
לִקְחַת הָעֶרְבּוֹן מִדֹּ הָאִשָּׁה וְלֹא מֵצָאָהּ: 21 וַיִּשְׁאַל אֶת-אֲנָשֵׁי  
מִקְסָהּ לֵאמֹר אֵיךְ הַקְדָּשָׁה הִוא בְּעֵינַיִם עַל-יְהוָה וַיֹּאמְרוּ לֹא-  
יָהִיתָ בָּזָה קְדָשָׁהּ: 22 וַיָּשָׁב אֶל-יְהוָה וַיֹּאמֶר לֹא מֵצָאתִיהָ וְגַם  
אֲנָשֵׁי הַמָּקוֹם אָמְרוּ לֹא-יָהִיתָ בָּזָה קְדָשָׁהּ: 23 וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה  
תִּקַּח-לָהּ פֶּן נִהְיָה לְכֹחַ חַנָּה שְׁלֵחַתִּי הַנָּעִי הַזֶּה וְאַתָּה לֹא מֵצָאתָהּ:  
24 וַיְהִי וּבְמִשְׁלַשׁ חֳדָשִׁים וַיָּגֵד לַיהוָה לֵאמֹר וְנָתַתָּ תַּמָּר בְּלִתָּהּ  
וְגַם חַנָּה הָיָה לְזִנּוּנַיִם וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה הוֹצִיָּאתָהּ וַתִּשְׁרָף: 25 הִוא  
מֵצִיָּאת וְהִיא שְׁלֵחָה אֶל-חַמְיָהּ לֵאמֹר לְאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר-אֵלֶיהָ לֹא אֲנֹכִי  
הָיָה וַתֹּאמֶר הַכֹּרֶנָּה לְמִי הַחַתָּמָה וְהַפְתִּילִים וְהַמִּטָּה הָאֵלֶּה:  
26 וַיַּכַּר יְהוָה וַיֹּאמֶר צִדְקָה מִפְּנֵי כָּר-עַל-כֵּן לֹא-נִתְּתִיהָ לְשֵׁלָה  
בְּנִי וְלֹא-יִסָּף עוֹד לְדַעְתָּהּ: 27 וַיְהִי בַעַת לְדָתָהּ וַחַנָּה תֹאמִים  
בְּבִטְנָהּ: 28 וַיְהִי בְלִלְתָּהּ יִתְרָדָה וַתִּקַּח הַמִּילָדָה וַתִּקְשֹׁר עַל-  
יְדֵי שְׁנֵי לֵאמֹר זֶה יֵצֵא רִאשׁוֹנָה: 29 וַיְהִי וּבְמִשְׁכִּיב יָדוֹ וַחַנָּה יֵצֵא  
אֶחָיו וַתֹּאמֶר מִה-פְּרָצָת עָלֶיךָ פָּרִץ וַיִּקְרָא שְׁמוֹ פָּרִץ: 30 וְאַחֲרַיִם  
יֵצֵא אֶחָיו אֲשֶׁר עַל-יְדֵיו הַשְּׁנִי וַיִּקְרָא שְׁמוֹ זָרַח: ס חֲמִישִׁי

## CHAPTER XXXIX.

1 וַיִּזְכֹּר הָרֹדֶד מִצְרִימָה וַיִּקְנֶהוּ פּוֹטִיפָר סָרִיס פַּרְעֹה שֶׁר  
הַטְּפָחִים אִישׁ מִצְרִי מִדֹּ הַשְּׂמֵעָאִלִּים אֲשֶׁר הוֹדְרָהוּ שָׁמָּה: 2 וַיְהִי  
יְהוָה אֶת-יִזְכָּר וַיְהִי אִישׁ מְצָלִיחַ וַיְהִי בְּבֵית אֲדֹנָיו הַמִּצְרִי: 3 וַיִּרְא  
אֲדֹנָיו כִּי יְהוָה אִתּוֹ וְכָל אֲשֶׁר-הוּא עֹשֶׂה יְהוָה מְצָלִיחַ בְּיָדוֹ:  
4 וַיִּמָּצֵא יִזְכָּר חֵן בְּעֵינֵי וַיִּשְׁרַת אֹתוֹ וַיַּסְקֶרְהוּ עַל-בֵּיתוֹ וְכָל-

36 וְהַמִּדְּנִים מָכְרוּ אֹתוֹ אֶל-מִצְרַיִם לְפֹשִׁיפֹל סָרִיס פֶּרְעָה שָׂר

הַמִּבְחִים: רביע ד

# CHAPTER XXXVIII.

1 יְהִי בָּעֵת הַהוּא וַיָּרֶד יִחְזָקָה מֵאֵת אָחִיו וַיֵּם עַד-אִישׁ  
 עַדְלָמִי וְשָׁמוֹ חִדְרָה: 2 וַיֵּדֹא-שָׁם יִחְזָקָה בַּת-אִישׁ כְּנַעֲנִי וְשָׁמוֹ  
 שְׁוֹעַ וַיִּקְחָהּ רִבְאָא אֵלֶיהָ: 3 וַתַּהַר וַתֵּלֶד בֶּן וַיִּקְרָא אֶת-שָׁמוֹ עֵר:  
 4 וַתַּהַר עוֹד וַתֵּלֶד בֶּן וַתִּקְרָא אֶת-שָׁמוֹ אוֹנָן: 5 וַתִּסָּף עוֹד וַתֵּלֶד  
 בֶּן וַתִּקְרָא אֶת-שָׁמוֹ שִׁלָּה וְהָיָה בְּכֹזִיב בְּלִדְתָּהּ אֹתוֹ: 6 וַיִּקַּח  
 יִחְזָקָה אִשָּׁה לָעַר בְּכוֹרוֹ וְשִׁמְהָ תָמָר: 7 וְהָיָה עַר בְּכוֹר יִחְזָקָה רָע  
 בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה וַיִּסְתְּהוּ יְהוָה: 8 וַיֹּאמֶר יִחְזָקָה לְאוֹנָן בָּא אֶל-אִשְׁתִּי  
 אַחִיקָה וַיְבִים אֹתָהּ וַחֲקָם וְרָע לְאַחִיקָה: 9 וַיֵּרֶע אוֹנָן כִּי לֹא לוֹ  
 יְהִי הַזֶּרַע וְהָיָה אִם-בָּא אֶל-אִשְׁתִּי אָחִיו וְשָׁחַת אֶרְצָה לְבִלְתִּי  
 נַתֵּן-זֶרַע לְאָחִיו: 10 וַיֵּרֶע בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה וַיָּמָת גַּם-  
 אֹתוֹ: 11 וַיֹּאמֶר יִחְזָקָה לְתָמָר כָּלְתִּי שְׂבִי אֶלְמָנָה בֵּית-אֲבִיךָ  
 עַד-יִגְדַּל שִׁלָּה בְנִי כִּי אָמַר פְּרִימֹת גַּם-הוּא כְּאָחִיו וַתֵּלֶד תָּמָר  
 וַתֵּשֶׁב בֵּית אָבִיהָ: 12 חֲרִבֵּי הַיָּמִים וַתָּמָת בַּת-שְׁוֹעַ אִשְׁתִּי-יִחְזָקָה  
 וַיִּנָּחַם יִחְזָקָה רָעַל עַל-גִּזְזֵי צֹאנֹהּ הוּא וְחִדְרָה רַעְיוֹ הָעַדְלָמִי  
 תִּמְנָתָהּ: 13 וַיָּגֶד לְתָמָר לֵאמֹר הִנֵּה חֲמִידָה עָלָה תִּמְנָתָה לָנוּ  
 צֹאנֵנוּ: 14 וַתִּסָּר בְּגֵרִי אֶלְמָנוּתָהּ מֵעַלֶּיהָ וַחֲכָם בַּצָּעִיף וַתִּתְעַלֶּף  
 וַתֵּשֶׁב בַּפֶּתַח עֵינִים אֲשֶׁר עַל-דֶּרֶךְ תִּמְנָתָה כִּי רָאָתָה כִּי-יִגְדַּל  
 שִׁלָּה הוּא לֹא-נִתְּנָה לוֹ לְאִשָּׁה: 15 וַיֵּדֹא יִחְזָקָה וַיַּחְשְׁבָה לַזֹּנָה  
 כִּי כִסְתָה פָנֶיהָ: 16 וַיֵּם אֵלֶיהָ אֶל-דֶּרֶךְ וַיֹּאמֶר הֲבָה נָא אָבֹא  
 אֵלֶיךָ כִּי לֹא יָדַע כִּי כָלְתִי הוּא וַתֹּאמֶר מַה-תַּתֵּן-לִי כִּי תָבֹא  
 אֵלַי: 17 וַיֹּאמֶר אָנֹכִי אֲשַׁלַּח גִּרְעִים מִן-הַצֹּאן וַתֹּאמֶר אִם-  
 תִּתֵּן עֲרֵבוֹן עַד שְׁלֹחֶךָ: 18 וַיֹּאמֶר מֶה הָעֲרֵבוֹן אֲשֶׁר אֶתֶּן-לְךָ

18 וַיֵּדְאוּ אוֹתוֹ מִדְּרָחַק וּבְטָרִם יִקְרַב אֲלֵיהֶם וַיַּחַבְּלוּ אוֹתוֹ לַחֲמִיתוֹ:  
 19 וַיֹּאמְרוּ אִישׁ אֶל-אָחִיו הִנֵּה בָעַל הַחֲלָמוֹת הָלָהָה בָּא: 20 וַעֲתִידוּ  
 לָכֹו וְנַהַרְגֵהוּ וְנִשְׁלַחֵהוּ בְּאֶרֶץ הַבְּרוֹת וְאָמְרֵנוּ חַיָּה רָעָה אָכְלָתָהּ  
 וְגִרָאָה מִהֲיָדָיו חֲלָמָיו: 21 וַיִּשְׁמַע רְאוּבֵן וַיַּצְלֵהוּ מִיָּדָם וַיֹּאמֶר  
 לֹא נִפְגֹּו נַפְשׁ: 22 וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵיהֶם רְאוּבֵן אֶל-תְּשַׁכְּרוּדֶם הַשְׁלִיכוּ  
 אוֹתוֹ אֶל-הַבּוֹר הַזֶּה אֲשֶׁר בְּמִדְבָּר וַיֵּד אֶל-תְּשַׁלְּחוּדוֹ לְמַעַן הַצִּיל  
 אוֹתוֹ מִיָּדָם לְהַשִּׁיבֻ אֶל-אָבִיו: 23 וַיְהִי כַּאֲשֶׁר-בָּא יוֹסֵף  
 אֶל-אָחִיו וַיִּשְׁשִׁימוּ אוֹת-יוֹסֵף אוֹת-כְּתָנִיתוֹ אוֹת-כְּתָנִית הַפָּסִים אֲשֶׁר  
 עָלָיו: 24 וַיִּקְחֵהוּ וַיִּשְׁלַכֵּהוּ אוֹתוֹ הַבּוֹר וַחֲבוֹד רֶק אֵין בּוֹ מַיִם:  
 25 וַיִּשְׁבּוּ לֹאכַל-לֶחֶם וַיִּשְׁאוּ עֵינֵיהֶם וַיֵּדְאוּ וַחֲנָה אֶרְחַת לִשְׁמַעֲאֵלִים  
 בָּאָה מִגִּלְעָד וַתְּמַלִּיחֶם נִשְׂאִים נִבְאָת וַחֲדָי תֵּלֶם הַזֹּלִקִים לְחֹרֶד  
 מִצְרֵימָה: 26 וַיֹּאמֶר יִחְדָּה אֶל-אָחִיו מִדְּבַצֵּעַ כִּי גִדְּרָג אוֹת-  
 אָחִינוּ וְכִסְתֵנוּ אוֹת דָּמוֹ: 27 לָכֹו וְנִמְכְּרֵנוּ לִשְׁמַעֲאֵלִים וַיִּדְּנוּ אֶל-  
 תְּהִיבֻ כִּי-אָחִינוּ בְּשָׂרֵנוּ הוּא וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ אֹדָד: 28 וַיַּעֲבְרוּ אַנְשֵׁים  
 מִדְּנִים סֹחְרִים וַיִּמְשְׁכּוּ וַיַּעֲלֻ אוֹת-יוֹסֵף מִן-הַבּוֹר וַיִּמְכְּרוּ אוֹת-  
 יוֹסֵף לִשְׁמַעֲאֵלִים בַּעֲשָׂרִים כֶּסֶף וַיָּבִיאוּ אוֹת-יוֹסֵף מִצְרֵימָה:  
 29 וַיָּשָׁב רְאוּבֵן אֶל-הַבּוֹר וַחֲנָה אֵין-יוֹסֵף בַּבּוֹר וַיִּקְרַע אוֹת-בְּגָדָיו:  
 30 וַיָּשָׁב אֶל-אָחִיו וַיֹּאמֶר הִילָד אֵינֵנו וְהִנֵּנוּ אֲנָה אֲנִי-בָא: 31 וַיִּקְחוּ  
 אוֹת-כְּתָנִית יוֹסֵף וַיִּשְׁחָטוּ שְׂעִיד עֲזִים וַיִּסְבְּלוּ אוֹת-הַכְּתָנִית בָּדָם:  
 32 וַיִּשְׁלְחוּ אוֹת-כְּתָנִית הַפָּסִים וַיָּבִיאוּ אֶל-אָבִיהֶם וַיֹּאמְרוּ זֹאת  
 מִצָּאֵנוּ הַבְּרִיָאָה הַכְּתָנִית בְּנֵהּ הִיא אִם-לֹא: 33 וַיִּבְרָחַה וַיֹּאמֶר  
 כְּתָנִית בְּנֵי חַיָּה רָעָה אָכְלָתָהּ סָרַח סָרַח יוֹסֵף: 34 וַיִּקְרַע  
 יַעֲקֹב שְׂמֹלְתוֹ וַיִּשֶׂם שָׁק בְּמַתָּנוֹ וַיַּחַבֵּל עַל-בָּנָו יָמִים  
 רַבִּים: 35 וַיִּקְמוּ כָל-בָּנָיו וְכָל-בְּנָתוֹ לְנַחֲמוֹ וַיֵּמָּן לְהַחֲנִיחֶם  
 וַיֹּאמֶר כִּי-יֵאָרֵד אֶל-בָּנֵי אָבִל שְׂאֵלָה וַיִּבֶךְ אוֹתוֹ אָבִיו:

## CHAPTER XXXVII.

1 יֵשֶׁב יַעֲקֹב בְּאֶרֶץ מִגְדֵי אָבִיו בְּאֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן: 2 אֵלֶּה הַתְּלָדוֹת  
 יַעֲקֹב יֹסֵף בֶּן־שִׁבְעֵ־עֶשְׂרֵה שָׁנָה הָיָה רָעָה אֶת־אָחִיו בְּצָאן וְהָיָא  
 נָעַר אֶת־בָּנָיו בְּלִהָה וְאֶת־בָּנָיו וְלִפְנֵי נָשׁ אָבִיו הָבֵא יֹסֵף אֶת־  
 דִּבְתָּם רָעָה אֶל־אֲבִיהֶם: 3 וַיִּשְׁדָּאֵל אֲהָב אֶת־יוֹסֵף מִכָּל־בָּנָיו  
 כִּי־כָרֻקָּנִים הָיָא לוֹ וַעֲשֶׂה לוֹ כְּתֹנֶת פָּסִים: 4 וַיֵּדְאוּ אָחָיו כִּי־  
 אָהָב אֲהָב אֲבִיהֶם מִכָּל־אָחָיו וַיִּשְׁנֹאוּ אוֹתוֹ וְלֹא יָכֹלוּ דַּבָּר לְשֹׁלֵם:  
 5 וַיַּחֲלֹם יֹסֵף חֲלֹם וַיַּגֵּד לְאָחָיו וְיוֹסֵפוֹ עוֹד שָׁנָא אוֹתוֹ: 6 וַיֹּאמֶר  
 אֲלֵיהֶם שְׂמַעְרֵנָא הַחֲלֹם הַזֶּה אֲשֶׁר חֲלַמְתִּי: 7 וְהִנֵּה אֲנִי חָנוּ  
 מֵאֲלֹמִים אֲלֹפִים בְּתוֹךְ הַשָּׂדֶה וְהִנֵּה קָמָה אֵלַי וְגַם־נָצְבָה וְהִנֵּה  
 תִּסְבִּינָה אֲלַמְתִּיכֶם וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוִין לֵאלֹמֹתַי: 8 וַיֹּאמְרוּ לוֹ אָחָיו הַמֶּלֶךְ  
 תִּמְלֹךְ עָלֵינוּ אִם־מִשׁוֹל תִּמְשֹׁל בָּנוּ וְיוֹסֵפוֹ עוֹד שָׁנָא אוֹתוֹ עַל־  
 חֲלֻמָּתוֹ וַעֲלֵ־דִבְרָיו: 9 וַיַּחֲלֹם עוֹד חֲלֹם אַחֵר וַיִּסְפֹּר אוֹתוֹ  
 לְאָחָיו וַיֹּאמֶר הִנֵּה חֲלֻמֹּתַי חֲלֹם עוֹד וְהִנֵּה הַשָּׁמֶשׁ וְהַיָּרֵחַ וְאַחֵר  
 עֲשֹׂר כּוֹכָבִים מִשְׁתַּחֲוִים לוֹ: 10 וַיִּסְפֹּר אֶל־אָבִיו וְאֶל־אָחָיו וַיַּגִּיד  
 כִּי אָבִיו וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ מֶה הַחֲלֹם הַזֶּה אֲשֶׁר חֲלַמְתָּ הִבּוֹא נִבּוֹא אֲנִי  
 וְאַמֶּנֶה וְאַחֲדֵה לְהִשְׁתַּחֲוֹת לָךְ אֶרְצָה: 11 וַיִּקְנֹאוּ־בּוֹ אָחָיו וְאָבִיו  
 שָׁמַר אֶת־הַדָּבָר: שֵׁנִי 12 וַיֵּלְכוּ אָחָיו לְדַעוֹת אֶת־צָאן אֲבִיהֶם  
 בְּשָׂכֶם: 13 וַיֹּאמֶר יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶל־יֹסֵף הֲלֹא אֲחִיךָ רַעִים בְּשָׂכֶם  
 לָכֵה וְאַשְׁלַחְךָ אֲלֵיהֶם וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ הַנְּנִי: 14 וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ לִךְ־נָא רֵאֵה  
 אֶת־שָׁלוֹם אֲחִיךָ וְאֶת־שָׁלוֹם הַצָּאן וְהַשִּׁבְנִי דָּבָר וַיִּשְׁלַחְהוּ מֵעֵמֶק  
 תְּבֵרָן וַיָּבֵא שָׂכְמָה: 15 וַיִּמְצְאוּ אוֹתוֹ אִישׁ וְהִנֵּה תַעֲהָ בַשָּׂדֶה וַיִּשְׁאַלְהוּ  
 הָאִישׁ לֵאמֹר מַה־תִּבְקֹשׁ: 16 וַיֹּאמֶר אֶת־אִמִּי אֲנִי מִבְּקֹשׁ הַצִּידָה  
 נָא לִי אִיפֹה הֵם רַעִים: 17 וַיֹּאמֶר הָאִישׁ נָסְעוּ מִזֶּה כִּי שָׁמַעְתִּי  
 אֲמָרִים נִלְכָּה דַּתְּנִינָה וַיֵּלֶךְ יֹסֵף אַחֵר אָחָיו וַיִּמְצְאוּם בְּדָתָן:

בְּנֵי שְׁעִיר בְּאֶרֶץ אֲדוֹם: 22 וַיְהִי בְּגִלְלוֹטָן חֲרֵי הַיָּמִם וַאֲחֻזֹּת  
לוֹטָן תִּמְנָע: 23 וְאֵלֶּה בְּנֵי שׁוּבֵל עֲלֹן וּמִנַּחַת וְעִיבֵל שְׁפֹן וְאוֹנֶם:  
24 וְאֵלֶּה בְּנֵי צִבְעֹן וְאִידָה וְעֵנָה הָיָה עֵנָה אִשְׁרָה מִצָּא אֶת־הַיָּמִם  
בַּמִּדְבָּר בְּרַעְתּוֹ אֶת־הַחֲמֹרִים לְצִבְעֹן אָבִיו: 25 וְאֵלֶּה בְּנֵי־עֵנָה  
דִּשָּׁן וְאַהֲלִיבָמָה בַת־עֵנָה: 26 וְאֵלֶּה בְּנֵי רִישֹׁן חֲמֹדִן וְאַשְׁבֵּן וַיִּתְּרוּ  
וַכְּרֹן: 27 אֵלֶּה בְּנֵי־אֶצֶר בִּלְהֹן וְזֻעֲוֹן וְעֶקֶן: 28 אֵלֶּה בְּנֵי־רִישֹׁן  
עוֹץ וְאֶרְן: 29 אֵלֶּה אֱלוֹפֵי הַחֲרֵי אֱלֹף לֹטָן אֱלֹף שׁוּבֵל אֱלֹף  
צִבְעֹן אֱלֹף עֵנָה: 30 אֱלֹף דִּשָּׁן אֱלֹף אֶצֶר אֱלֹף רִישֹׁן אֵלֶּה  
אֱלוֹפֵי הַחֲרֵי לְאֶלְפֵיהֶם בְּאֶרֶץ שְׁעִיר: פ 31 וְאֵלֶּה הַמְּלָכִים  
אֲשֶׁר מָלְכוּ בְּאֶרֶץ אֲדוֹם לִפְנֵי מֶלֶךְ־מֶלֶךְ לִבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל: 32 וַיְמָלֶךְ  
בְּאֲדוֹם בָּלַע בֶּרֶךְ־עֹדֹר וְשֵׁם עִירֹו דְּנָהֲבָה: 33 וַיָּמָת בָּלַע וַיְמָלֶךְ  
תַּחֲתָיו יוֹכָב בֶּן־זֶרַח מִבְּצֻרָה: 34 וַיָּמָת יוֹכָב וַיְמָלֶךְ תַּחֲתָיו חֶשֶׁם  
מֵאֶרֶץ הַתִּימָנִי: 35 וַיָּמָת חֶשֶׁם וַיְמָלֶךְ תַּחֲתָיו הֲדָד בֶּן־בֶּדֶד הַמִּכָּה  
אֶת־מִדְּיָן בְּשֶׁרָה מֹואָב וְשֵׁם עִירֹו עֵיִת: 36 וַיָּמָת הֲדָד וַיְמָלֶךְ  
תַּחֲתָיו שִׁמְלָה מִפְּשֻׁרָקָה: 37 וַיָּמָת שִׁמְלָה וַיְמָלֶךְ תַּחֲתָיו שָׁאוּל  
מִרְחִבֹת הַנָּהָר: 38 וַיָּמָת שָׁאוּל וַיְמָלֶךְ תַּחֲתָיו בָּעַל חֲגֹן בֶּן־  
עֶכְבֹּד: 39 וַיָּמָת בָּעַל חֲגֹן בֶּן עֶכְבֹּד וַיְמָלֶךְ תַּחֲתָיו הֲדָד וְשֵׁם  
עִירֹו פָּעוֹ וְשֵׁם אִשְׁתּוֹ מְהִיטְבָּאֵל בַּת־מִסְרֵד בַּת מִי זָהָב: מַסְסִיר  
40 וְאֵלֶּה שְׁמוֹת אֱלוֹפֵי עֵשָׂו לְמִשְׁפַּחְתָּם לְמִקְמָתָם בְּשִׁמְתָם  
אֱלֹף תִּמְנָע אֱלֹף עֲלָה אֱלֹף יִתָּח: 41 אֱלֹף אַהֲלִיבָמָה אֱלֹף  
אֵלֶּה אֱלֹף פִּינֹן: 42 אֱלֹף קֶנֶן אֱלֹף תִּימָן אֱלֹף מִבְּצֹר: 43 אֱלֹף  
מִגְדִּיאֵל אֱלֹף עִידָם אֵלֶּה־אֱלוֹפֵי אֲדוֹם לְמִשְׁבָּחָם בְּאֶרֶץ אֲחֻזָּתָם  
וְהָיָה עֵשָׂו אָבִי אֲדוֹם: פ

בַּת־צִבְעֹן הַחָרִי: 3 וְאֶת־בְּשֵׁמֶת בַּת־יִשְׁמָעֵאל אָחֹת גְּבִיּוֹת:  
 4 וַתֵּלֶד עֶדְהָ לַעֲשׂוֹ אֶת־אֱלִיפַז וּבִשְׁמֹת יִלְדָּהּ אֶת־רְעוּאֵל:  
 5 וְאֶהֱלִיבָמָה יִלְדָּה אֶת־יַעֲשׂוֹ וְאֶת־יַעֲלָם וְאֶת־קָרַח אֹלֶה בְּנֵי עֲשׂוֹ  
 אֲשֶׁר יִלְדוּלוֹ בְּאֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן: 6 וַיִּקַּח עֲשׂוֹ אֶת־נָשָׁיו וְאֶת־בָּנָיו  
 וְאֶת־בָּנָתָיו וְאֶת־כָּל־נַפְשׁוֹת בֵּיתוֹ וְאֶת־מִקְנֵהוּ וְאֶת־כָּל־בְּהֶמְתּוֹ  
 וְאֵת כָּל־קִנְיָנוֹ אֲשֶׁר רָכַשׁ בְּאֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן וַיֵּלֶךְ אֶל־אֶרֶץ מִסְּפִי  
 יַעֲקֹב אָחִיו: 7 בְּרִיחָהּ רְכוּשָׁם רַב מִשְׁבַּת יַחֲדוֹ וְלֹא יָכֹלָה אֶרֶץ  
 מִגֵּדִיהֶם לָשֵׂאת אוֹתָם מִסְּפִי מִקְנֵיהֶם: 8 וַיָּשָׁב עֲשׂוֹ בְּהַר שִׁעִיר  
 עֲשׂוֹ הוּא אָדוֹם: 9 וְאֵלֶּה תִּלְדוֹת עֲשׂוֹ אָבִי אָדוֹם בְּהַר שִׁעִיר:  
 10 אֵלֶּה שְׁמוֹת בְּנֵי־עֲשׂוֹ אֱלִיפַז בֶּרֶךְ־עֶדְהָ אִשְׁתּוֹ עֲשׂוֹ רְעוּאֵל בֶּן־  
 בְּשֵׁמֶת אִשְׁתּוֹ עֲשׂוֹ: 11 וַיְהִי בְּנֵי אֱלִיפַז תִּימָן אוֹמֵר צָפוֹ וְגַעְתָּם  
 וּקְנוֹ: 12 וַתִּמְנַעַי הָיְתָה פִּילֶגֶשׁ לְאֱלִיפַז בֶּן־עֲשׂוֹ וַתֵּלֶד לְאֱלִיפַז  
 אֶת־עַמְלֵק אֵלֶּה בְּנֵי עֶדְהָ אִשְׁתּוֹ עֲשׂוֹ: 13 וְאֵלֶּה בְּנֵי רְעוּאֵל גִּחַת  
 חֶרֶח שְׁמֹה וּמֹזָה אֵלֶּה הָיוּ בְּנֵי בְּשֵׁמֶת אִשְׁתּוֹ עֲשׂוֹ: 14 וְאֵלֶּה הָיוּ  
 בְּנֵי אֶהֱלִיבָמָה בַּת־עֵנָה בַּת־צִבְעֹן אִשְׁתּוֹ עֲשׂוֹ וַתֵּלֶד לַעֲשׂוֹ אֶת־  
 יַעֲשׂוֹ וְאֶת־יַעֲלָם וְאֶת־קָרַח: 15 אֵלֶּה אֱלוֹפֵי בְּנֵי־עֲשׂוֹ בְּנֵי אֱלִיפַז  
 בְּכֹד עֲשׂוֹ אֱלוֹף תִּימָן אֱלוֹף אוֹמֵר אֱלוֹף צָפוֹ אֱלוֹף קְנוֹ: 16 אֱלוֹף־  
 קָרַח אֱלוֹף גַּעְתָּם אֱלוֹף עַמְלֵק אֵלֶּה אֱלוֹפֵי אֱלִיפַז בְּאֶרֶץ אָדוֹם  
 אֵלֶּה בְּנֵי עֶדְהָ: 17 וְאֵלֶּה בְּנֵי רְעוּאֵל בֶּרֶךְ־עֲשׂוֹ אֱלוֹף גִּחַת אֱלוֹף  
 חֶרֶח אֱלוֹף שְׁמֹה אֱלוֹף מֹזָה אֵלֶּה אֱלוֹפֵי רְעוּאֵל בְּאֶרֶץ אָדוֹם  
 אֵלֶּה בְּנֵי בְּשֵׁמֶת אִשְׁתּוֹ עֲשׂוֹ: 18 וְאֵלֶּה בְּנֵי אֶהֱלִיבָמָה אִשְׁתּוֹ עֲשׂוֹ  
 אֱלוֹף יַעֲשׂוֹ אֱלוֹף יַעֲלָם אֱלוֹף קָרַח אֵלֶּה אֱלוֹפֵי אֶהֱלִיבָמָה בַּת־  
 עֵנָה אִשְׁתּוֹ עֲשׂוֹ: 19 אֵלֶּה בְּנֵי־עֲשׂוֹ וְאֵלֶּה אֱלוֹפֵיהֶם הוּא  
 אָדוֹם: ׀ שְׁבִיעִי 20 אֵלֶּה בְּנֵי־שִׁעִיר הַחָרִי יִשְׁבִּי הָאֶרֶץ לוֹטָן  
 וְשׁוּבָל וְצִבְעֹן וְעֵנָה: 21 וַיִּשְׁחַן וַאֲצֹר וַיִּשְׁחַן אֵלֶּה אֱלוֹפֵי הַחָרִי

12 וְאֶת־הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר נָתַתִּי לְאַבְרָהָם וְלִיצְחָק לָךְ אֶתְנַנָּה וְלִזְרָעָךְ  
 אֲחִירָךְ אֶתֶּן אֶת־הָאָרֶץ: 13 וַיַּעַל מֵעֵלֹז אֱלֹדִים בְּמִקּוֹם אֲשֶׁר  
 רִבְרָ אִתּוֹ: 14 וַיַּצַּב יַעֲקֹב מַצֵּבָה בְּמִקּוֹם אֲשֶׁר־דָּבַר אִתּוֹ מַצֵּבַת  
 אֲבֹן וַיִּסֹּךְ עָלֶיהָ נֶסֶךְ וַיִּצַּק עָלֶיהָ שֵׁמֶן: 15 וַיִּקְרָא יַעֲקֹב אֶת־שֵׁם  
 הַמִּקּוֹם אֲשֶׁר רִבְרָ אִתּוֹ שֵׁם אֱלֹדִים בֵּית־אֵל: 16 וַיַּסְעוּ מִבֵּית־אֵל  
 וַיֵּדֻעַ עֹד בְּכַרְת־הָאָרֶץ לָבוֹא אֶסְרֶתָהּ וְתֹלֵד רָחֵל וַתִּקְשׁ בְּלִדְתָּהּ:  
 17 וַיְהִי בַּהֲקִשְׁתָּהּ בְּלִדְתָּהּ וַתֹּאמֶר לָהּ הַמְלִידָת אֶל־תִּדְרָאִי כִּי־  
 נִמְצְיָה לָךְ בֶּן: 18 וַיְהִי בַצָּאת נַפְשָׁהּ כִּי מָתָה וַתִּקְרָא שְׁמוֹ בֶּן־  
 אוֹתִי וַאֲבִיו קָרָא־לּוֹ בְנִימִן: 19 וַתָּמָת רָחֵל וַתִּקְבֹּר בְּדֶרֶךְ אֶסְרֶתָהּ  
 חוּץ בֵּית לָחֶם: 20 וַיַּצַּב יַעֲקֹב מַצֵּבָה עַל־קְבֻרָתָהּ הוּא מַצֵּבַת  
 קְבֻרַת־רָחֵל עַד־יְחִיּוֹם: 21 וַיַּסֶּעַ יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיֵּם אֶהֱלָה מֵהֶלְהָה  
 לְמִנְעֵל־עֹד: 22 וַיְהִי בַשֹּׁכֵן יִשְׂרָאֵל בָּאָרֶץ הַהוּא וַיֵּלֶךְ רְאוּבֵן  
 וַיִּשְׁכַּב אֶת־בִּלְהָה פִּלְגֶשׁ אֲבִיו וַיִּשְׁמַע יִשְׂרָאֵל: 23 וַיְהִי  
 בְנֵי־יַעֲקֹב שְׁנַיִם עָשָׂר: 24 בְּנֵי רָחֵל יִזְחָר וְבְנִימִן: 25 וּבְנֵי  
 בִלְהָה שְׁמֹנֶת רָחֵל בֶּן וַתְּפֹתֵלִי: 26 וּבְנֵי זִלְפָּה שְׁשָׁמָת לָהּ בֶּן  
 וְאֲשֶׁר אֵלָה בְּנֵי יַעֲקֹב אֲשֶׁר יָלְדוּ לוֹ בְּסוּדֵן אָרֶם: 27 וַיָּבֹא יַעֲקֹב  
 אֶל־יִצְחָק אֲבִיו מִמִּרְאָ קִרְיַת הָאָרְבֶּעַ חוּץ חֲבֹרֹן אֲשֶׁר־עַד־שֵׁם  
 אַבְרָהָם וַיִּצְחָק: 28 וַיְהִי יָמֵי יִצְחָק מֵאָה שָׁנָה וְשִׁמְנִים שָׁנָה:  
 29 וַיָּנֹעַ יִצְחָק וַיָּמָת וַיֹּאסֶף אֶל־עַמּוּז וְקֹן וַיִּשְׁבַּע יָמִים וַיִּקְבְּרֻ  
 אוֹתוֹ עָשׂו וַיַּעֲקֹב בְּנָיו: 30

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

1 וְהָאֵלֶּה תֹּלְדוֹת עָשׂו חוּץ אֲרָזִים: 2 עָשׂו לָקַח אֶת־נָשָׁיו  
 מִבְּנוֹת בְּנֵי־עֵדֻה בֶּת־אֵילֹן הַחֲתָי וְאֶת־אֶהֱלִיבָמָה בֶּת־עֵנָה

28 אֶת־צֹאנֵם וְאֶת־בָּקָרָם וְאֶת־חֲמֹרֵיהֶם וְאֶת־אֲשֶׁר־בְּעֶדְ וְאֶת־  
 אֲשֶׁר בַּשָּׂדֶה לָקְחוּ: 29 וְאֶת־כָּל־חִילָם וְאֶת־כָּל־מִסְפָּם וְאֶת־  
 נְשֵׁיהֶם שָׂבוּ וַיָּבֹאוּ וְאֶת־כָּל־אֲשֶׁר בַּבֵּית: 30 וַיֹּאמֶר יַעֲקֹב אֶל־  
 שְׁמֹעוֹן וְאֶל־לֵוִי עֲבַדְתֶּם אֹתִי לְהַבְאִישְׁנִי בִישָׁב הָאָרֶץ בְּכַנְעִי  
 וּבְפָרִיז וְאֲנִי מִתִּי מִסֹּפֶר וְנֹאסֶפֶר עָלַי וְהַכְנִי וְנִשְׁמַדְתִּי אֲנִי וּבֵיתִי:  
 31 וַיֹּאמְרוּ הַכֹּזֶנֶה יַעֲשֶׂה אֶת־אֲחֻתָּנוּ: פ

## CHAPTER XXXV.

1 וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים אֶל־יַעֲקֹב קוּם עֲלֶה בֵּיתֶאל וְשָׁב־שָׁם וַעֲשׂוּ־  
 שָׁם מִזְבֵּחַ לֵאלֹהֵי הַנִּרְאָה אֵלֶיךָ בְּבִרְחֶךָ מִפְּנֵי עֲשׂוֹ אֲחִיךָ: 2 וַיֹּאמֶר  
 יַעֲקֹב אֶל־בָּיתוֹ וְאֶל כָּל־אֲשֶׁר עִמּוֹ הָסְרוּ אֶת־אֱלֹהֵי הַנֹּכֶר אֲשֶׁר  
 בְּיָדֵכֶם וְהִסְתִּירוּ וְהַחֲלִסוּ שְׂמֹלַחֵיכֶם: 3 וַנִּקְוָה וַנַּעֲלֶה בֵּיתֶאל  
 וְהָעֲשׂוּרִים מִזְבֵּחַ לֵאלֹהֵי הָעֵנָה אֹתִי בַיּוֹם צָרְתִּי וְהָיָה עִמָּדִי פִּדְדָּךְ  
 אֲשֶׁר חִלַּכְתִּי: 4 וַיָּתֵנוּ אֶל־יַעֲקֹב אֶת כָּל־אֱלֹהֵי הַנֹּכֶר אֲשֶׁר בְּיָדָם  
 וְאֶת־הַנְּזֻמִּים אֲשֶׁר בְּאֻזְנֵיהֶם וַיִּטְמֵן אֹתָם יַעֲקֹב תַּחַת הָאֵלֶּה אֲשֶׁר  
 עִם־שָׁכֶם: 5 וַיִּסְעוּ וַיְהִי־וַחֲתַת אֱלֹהִים עַל־הָעֵרִים אֲשֶׁר סְבִיבוֹתֵיהֶם  
 וְלֹא רָדְפוּ אַחֲרָי בְּנֵי יַעֲקֹב: 6 וַיָּבֹא יַעֲקֹב לָדָר אֲשֶׁר בָּאָרֶץ  
 כְּנָעַן הוּא בֵּיתֶאל הוּא וְכָל־הָעָם אֲשֶׁר־עִמּוֹ: 7 וַיְבֹן שָׁם מִזְבֵּחַ  
 וַיִּקְרָא לְמָקוֹם אֵל בֵּיתֶאל כִּי שָׁם נִגְלוּ אֵלָיו הָאֱלֹהִים בְּבִרְחוֹ  
 מִפְּנֵי אֲחִיו: 8 וַתִּמָּת דְּבָרָה מִיִּנְקַת רַבֶּקָּה וַתִּקְבֹּר מִתַּחַת לְבֵיתֶאל  
 תַּחַת הָאֵלֹץ וַיִּקְרָא שְׁמוֹ אֵלֹן בְּכַת: פ 9 וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶל־  
 יַעֲקֹב עוֹד בָּבֹאוֹ מִפָּרָן אַרְם וַיְבָרֶךְ אוֹתוֹ: 10 וַיֹּאמְרוּ לוֹ אֱלֹהִים  
 שְׁמוֹךְ יַעֲקֹב לֹא־יִקְרָא שְׁמוֹךְ עוֹד יַעֲקֹב כִּי אִם־יִשְׂרָאֵל יִהְיֶה שְׁמוֹ  
 וַיִּקְרָא אֶת־שְׁמוֹ יִשְׂרָאֵל: 11 וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ אֱלֹהִים אֲנִי אֵל שְׂדֵי פָרָה  
 וַיִּבָּה גֹז וְקָתַל גֹּזִים יִהְיֶה מִמֶּנּוּ וּמִלְּקִים מִחֲלָצֶיךָ יֵצְאוּ: ש



בְּתִיתוֹ תִקְחוּ לָכֶם: 10 וְאַתָּנוּ תֵשְׁבוּ וְהָאָרֶץ תִּהְיֶה לְפָנֵיכֶם שְׂבוּ  
וּסְתַרְתֶּהּ וְהִחְזוּ בָּהּ: 11 וַיֹּאמֶר שָׂכֶם אֶל־אֲבִיהָ וְאֶל־אֲחִיהָ  
אֲמַצְאֲתָן בְּעֵינֵיכֶם וְאֲשֶׁר תֹּאמְרוּ אֵלַי אַתָּן: 12 הֲרָפוּ עָלַי מֵאֹד  
מִיָּד וּמִתָּן וְאַתָּנָה כְּאֲשֶׁר תֹּאמְרוּ אֵלַי וְתִגְדְּלִי אֶת־הַנַּעַר לְאִשָּׁה:  
13 וַיַּעֲנוּ בְנֵי־יַעֲקֹב אֶת־שָׂכֶם וְאֶת־חֲמוּד אָבִיו בְּמִרְמָה וַיִּדְּבֹרוּ  
אֲשֶׁר טָפָא אֶת דִּינָה אַחֲתָם: 14 וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֲלֵיהֶם לֹא נִכְלָלָה עֲשׂוֹת  
הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה לַתּוֹת אֶת־אֲחֹתָנוּ לְאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר־לָנוּ עֲרֻלָּה פִּירְחָרְפָּה  
הִוא לָנוּ: 15 אַךְ־בֹּזֵאת נָאוֹת לָכֶם אִם תִּהְיוּ כְּמֵנוּ לְהַמּוֹל לָכֶם  
כָּל־זָכָר: 16 וְנִתְּנוּ אֶת־בָּנֵינוּ לָכֶם וְאֶת־בָּנוֹתֵיכֶם נִקַּח־לָנוּ  
וְיִשְׁבְּנוּ אִתְּכֶם וְהִיוּ לָעַם אֶחָד: 17 וְאִם־לֹא תִשְׁמָעוּ אֵלֵינוּ  
לְהַמּוֹל וּלְקַחְנוּ אֶת־בָּתְּנוּ וְהִלְכְּנוּ: 18 וַיִּסְכּוּ דְבָרֵיהֶם בְּעֵינֵי חֲמוּד  
וּבְעֵינֵי שָׂכֶם בֶּן־חֲמוּד: 19 וְלֹא־אַחֵר הִנָּעַר לַעֲשׂוֹת הַדָּבָר כִּי  
חָפֵץ בַּבַּת־יַעֲקֹב הִוא נִכְפָּד מִכָּל בֵּית אָבִיו: 20 וַיָּבֹא חֲמוּד  
וְשָׂכֶם בָּנוּ אֶל־שַׁעַר עִירָם וַיִּדְּבֹרוּ אֶל־אֲנָשֵׁי עִירָם לֵאמֹר:  
21 הַאֲנָשִׁים הָאֵלֶּה שְׁלָמִים הֵם אֲתָנוּ וַיֵּשְׁבוּ בָאָרֶץ וַיִּסְתְּרוּ אֹתָהּ  
וְהָאָרֶץ הִנֵּה רַחֲבַת־יָדַיִם לְפָנֵיהֶם אֶת־בָּנֹתָם נִקַּח־לָנוּ לְנָשִׁים  
וְאֶת־בָּנֵינוּ נָתַן לָהֶם: 22 אַךְ־בֹּזֵאת יָאֲתוּ לָנוּ הָאֲנָשִׁים לְשִׁבַת  
אֲתָנוּ לְהִזּוֹת לָעַם אַחֵר בְּהַמּוֹל לָנוּ כָּל־זָכָר כְּאֲשֶׁר הֵם נְמוּלִים:  
23 מִקְנֵהֶם וּקְנִינֵם וְכָל־בְּהֶמְתָּם הֲלֹא לָנוּ הֵם אַךְ נִאוֹתָהּ לָהֶם  
וַיֵּשְׁבוּ אֲתָנוּ: 24 וַיִּשְׁמָעוּ אֶל־חֲמוּד וְאֶל־שָׂכֶם בָּנוּ כָּל־יִצְאֵי שַׁעַר  
עִירוֹ וַיִּפְּלוּ כָּל־זָכָר כָּל־יִצְאֵי שַׁעַר עִירוֹ: 25 וַיְהִי בַיּוֹם הַשְּׁלִישִׁי  
בִּהְיוֹתָם כְּאֲבִים וַיִּקְחוּ שְׁנֵי־בְנֵי־יַעֲקֹב שְׁמֹעוֹן וְלֵוִי אֲחֵי דִינָה אִישׁ  
זָרָבָו וַיָּבֹאוּ עַל־הָעִיר בַּטַּח וַיַּחְרְגוּ כָּל־זָכָר: 26 וְאֶת־חֲמוּד וְאֶת־  
שָׂכֶם בָּנוּ חָרְגוּ לְפִירְחָרְבַּת וַיִּקְחוּ אֶת־דִּינָה מִבֵּית שָׂכֶם וַיֵּצְאוּ:  
27 בְּנֵי יַעֲקֹב בָּאוּ עַל־הַחֲלָלִים וַיָּבִיזוּ הָעִיר אֲשֶׁר טָפָאוּ אֹחֹתָם:

12 וַיֹּאמֶר נִסְעָה וְנִלְכָּה וְאִלְכָּה לְנִגְדָּךְ: 13 וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו אֲדֹנָי  
 יְדֹעַ כִּי־הִילָדִים רַבִּים וְהֵצֵאן וְהִבָּקֶר עָלוֹת עָלַי וְדַפְקוּם יוֹם אֶחָד  
 וּמָתוּ כָּל־הֵצֵאן: 14 יַעֲבֹר־נָא אֲדֹנָי לִפְנֵי עַבְדִּי וְאֲנִי אֶתְנַהֲלֶה  
 לְאַפִּי לְדָגֶל הַמִּלְאכָּה אֲשֶׁר־לִפְנֵי וְלִדְגַל הַיִּלָּדִים עַד אֲשֶׁר־אָבֹא  
 אֶל־אֲדֹנָי שְׁעִידָה: 15 וַיֹּאמֶר עֲשׂוּ אֲצִיטָה־נָּא עִמָּךְ מִן־הָעֵם  
 אֲשֶׁר אִתִּי וַיֹּאמֶר לָמָּה זֶה אֲמַצֵּא־חֵן בְּעֵינֵי אֲדֹנָי: 16 וַיֵּשֶׁב בְּיָם  
 הַהוּא עֹשֶׂו לְדַרְכּוֹ שְׁעִידָה: 17 וַיַּעֲקֹב נָסַע סָפְתָה וַיָּבֵן לוֹ בֵּית  
 וּלְמִקְנֵהוּ עֲשֶׂה סֶכֶת עַל־כֵּן קָרָא שְׁם־הַמָּקוֹם סְכוּת: 18  
 וַיָּבֹא יַעֲקֹב שָׁלֹם עִיר שָׁכֶם אֲשֶׁר בְּאַרְץ כְּנָעַן בָּבֹאוּ מִפְּרָן  
 אֲדָם וַיַּחַן אֶת־פְּנֵי הָעִיר: 19 וַיִּקֶּן אֶת־חִלְקַת הַשָּׂדֶה אֲשֶׁר נָטָה־  
 שָׁם אָהֱלֹו מִדֶּ בְּנֵי־חֲמוֹד אָבִי שָׁכֶם בְּמֵאָה קָשִׁיטָה: 20 וַיָּצֵב־  
 שָׁם מִזְבֵּחַ וַיִּקְרָא־לוֹ אֵל אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל: 21 חֲמִישִׁי

## CHAPTER XXXIV.

1 וַיֵּצֵא רִינָה בֶּת־לֵאָה אֲשֶׁר יָלְדָה לַיַּעֲקֹב לְרָאוּת בְּכָנּוֹת  
 הָאָרֶץ: 2 וַיֵּרָא אֹתָהּ שָׁכֶם בֶּן־חֲמוֹד הַחִתִּי נָשִׂיא הָאָרֶץ וַיִּקַּח  
 אֹתָהּ וַיִּשְׁכַּב אִתָּהּ וַיַּעֲוֶה: 3 וַתִּדְּבַק נִפְשׁוֹ פְדִינָה בֶּת־יַעֲקֹב וַיֵּאָהֵב  
 אֶת־הַנַּעֲרָ וַיְדַבֵּר עַל־לֵב הַנַּעֲרָ: 4 וַיֹּאמֶר שָׁכֶם אֶל־חֲמוֹד אָבִיו  
 לֵאמֹר קַח־לִי אֶת־הַיִּלְדָּה הַזֹּאת לְאִשָּׁה: 5 וַיַּעֲקֹב שָׁמַע בִּי מִמָּא  
 אֶת־דִּבְרָהּ בָּתוֹ וּבָנָיו הָיוּ אֶת־מִקְנֵהוּ בַשָּׂדֶה וַהֲחִרֹשׁ יַעֲקֹב עַד־  
 בָּאָם: 6 וַיֵּצֵא חֲמוֹד אֶבְרִשָׁכֶם אֶל־יַעֲקֹב לְדַבֵּר אִתּוֹ: 7 וּבָנָיו  
 יַעֲקֹב בָּאוּ מִן־הַשָּׂדֶה בְּשִׁמְעֵם וַיַּתְעֲצֹבוּ הָאֲנָשִׁים וַיַּחֲרֹ לָהֶם מְאֹד  
 כִּי נִבְלָה עָשָׂה בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל לְשַׁכַּב אֶת־בֶּת־יַעֲקֹב וְכֵן לֹא יַעֲשֶׂה:  
 8 וַיְדַבֵּר חֲמוֹד אִתָּם לֵאמֹר שָׁכֶם בְּנֵי חַשְׁקָה נִפְשׁוֹ בְּבִתְכֶם תָּנוּ  
 נָא אֹתָהּ לוֹ לְאִשָּׁה: 9 וַהֲתַחַתְּנוּ אִתָּנוּ בְּנִיתְכֶם תִּתְּנֵר לָנוּ וְאֶת־

מִדֹּשֶׁמֶךְ וַיֹּאמֶר יַעֲקֹב: 29 וַיֹּאמֶר לֹא יַעֲקֹב יֹאמַר עוֹד שְׂמֹךְ  
 כִּי אִם יִשְׂרָאֵל כִּי־שָׂרִית עִם־אֱלֹהִים וְעִם־אֲנָשִׁים וַתִּבְרָל: 30 וַיִּשְׁאַל  
 יַעֲקֹב וַיֹּאמֶר הִנֵּדָה־נָּא שְׂמֹךְ וַיֹּאמֶר לָמָּה זֶה וַיִּשְׁאַל לְשֵׁמִי וַיִּבְרָךְ  
 אֹתוֹ שֵׁם: 31 וַיִּקְרָא יַעֲקֹב שֵׁם הַמָּקוֹם פְּנִיאל כִּי־רָאִיתִי  
 אֱלֹהִים פָּנִים אֶל־פָּנִים וַתִּנָּצַל נַפְשִׁי: 32 וַיּוֹרֶדְלֹ הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ כַּאֲשֶׁר  
 עָבַר אֶת־פְּנִיאל וְהוּא צָלַע עַל־יָדָיו: 33 עַל־כֵּן לֹא־יֹאכְלוּ בְנֵי־  
 יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת־צֵד הַנָּשׁוּחַ אֲשֶׁר עַל־כַּף הַדֶּרֶךְ עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה כִּי נִגַּעַ  
 בְּכַף־הַדֶּרֶךְ יַעֲקֹב בְּגֵד הַנָּשׁוּחַ:

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

1 וַיִּשָּׂא יַעֲקֹב עֵינָיו וַיֵּרָא וַהֲנִיחַ עֵשָׂו בָּא וְעִמּוֹ אַרְבַּע מֵאוֹת  
 אִישׁ וַיַּחַץ אֶת־הַיְלָלִים עַל־לֵאָה וְעַל־רָחֵל וְעַל שְׁתֵּי הַשִּׁפְחוֹת:  
 2 וַיִּשֶׂם אֶת־הַשִּׁפְחוֹת וְאֶת־יְלִדֵיהֶן רֹאשְׁנָה וְאֶת־לֵאָה וְיְלִדֶיהָ  
 אַחֲרָנִים וְאֶת־רָחֵל וְאֶת־יוֹסֵף אַחֲרָנִים: 3 וְהוּא עָבַר לַפְּנִיָּהִם  
 וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה אֶרְצָה שִׁבְעַת פַּעַמִּים עַד־נִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה עַד־אַחֲזִי: 4 וַיֵּרָץ  
 עֵשָׂו לִקְרָאתוֹ וַיִּתְּבַקְּהוּ וַיִּפֹּל עַל־צִוְּאָרֹו וַיִּשָּׁקֶהוּ וַיִּבְכּוּ: 5 וַיִּשָּׂא  
 אֶת־עֵינָיו וַיֵּרָא אֶת־הַנָּשִׁים וְאֶת־הַיְלָדִים וַיֹּאמֶר מִי־אַלֹּה לָךְ  
 וַיֹּאמֶר הַיְלָדִים אֲשֶׁר־תָּנָן אֱלֹהִים אֶת־עַבְדְּךָ: 6 רַבִּיעִי 6 וַתִּנָּשֵׂן  
 הַשִּׁפְחוֹת הַנָּה וַיִּלְדִּיהֶן וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ: 7 וַתִּנָּשֵׂן גַּם־לֵאָה וַיִּלְדֶיהָ  
 וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ וְאַחֵר נִגַּשׁ יוֹסֵף וַיִּתְּבַח וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ: 8 וַיֹּאמֶר מִי לָךְ כָּל־  
 הַמַּחֲנֶה הַזֶּה אֲשֶׁר פָּגַשְׁתִּי וַיֹּאמֶר לְמַצְאֵהוּ בְּעֵינֵי אֲדָמִי: 9 וַיֹּאמֶר  
 עֵשָׂו יִשְׁלִי רֵב אֲחִי וְהִי לָךְ אֲשֶׁר־לָךְ: 10 וַיֹּאמֶר יַעֲקֹב אֵלֶיָּהּ  
 אִם־נָא מַצְאֵתִי הִן בְּעֵינֶיךָ וְלִקְחַת מִנִּי מִיָּדִי כִּי עַל־כֵּן רָאִיתִי  
 פָּנֶיךָ כִּרְאֹת פָּנֵי אֱלֹהִים וַתִּרְצָנִי: 11 קַח־נָא אֶת־בְּרִכְתִּי אֲשֶׁר  
 הִבָּאת לָךְ כִּי־חַנְּנִי אֱלֹהִים וְכִי יִשְׁלִי־כָל הַפֶּצֶר־בּוֹ וַיִּקַּח:

ואלה אבי יצחק יהוה האמר אלי שוב לארצך ולמולדתך ואימבר  
 עפד: 11 קטנתי מכל החסדים ומכל האמנות אשר עשית את-  
 עבדך כי במקלי עברתי את-יחידן הזה ועתה הייתי לשני מחנות :  
 12 הצילני נא מיד אחי מיד עשו כי-ירא אנכי אתו פן-יבוא  
 ויחפני אם על-פנים: 13 ואתה אמרת היטב אימב עפד ושמת  
 את-זרעך כחול הים אשר לא-יספר מרב: שני 14 וילן שם  
 בלילה תחא ויקח מרחבא בדו מנחה לעשו אחיו: 15 ענים  
 מאתים ותשיש עשרים רחלים מאתים ואילים עשרים: 16 גמלים  
 מיניקות ובניהם שלשים פרות ארבעים ופרים עשרה אתנת  
 עשרים ועיגרים עשרה: 17 ויהן בד-עבדו עדר עדר לבד  
 ויאמר אל-עבדו עברו לפני ורחו תשימו בין עדר ובין עדר:  
 18 ויצו את-חראשון לאמר כי יפגשך עשו אחי ושאלך לאמר  
 למיאתך ואנח תלך ולמי אלה לפנה: 19 ואמרת לעבדך  
 ליעקב מנחה הוא שלוחה לאדני לעשו והנה גם-הוא אחיני:  
 20 ויצו גם את-השני גם את-השלישי גם את-כל-התלכים אחרי  
 העדרים לאמר כדבר הזה תדברון אל-עשו במצאכם אתו:  
 21 ואמרתם גם תנה עבדך יעקב אחיני כי-אמר אכפרה פניו  
 במנחה תחלכת לפני ואחר-כן אראה פניו אולי ישא פני:  
 22 ותעבד חמנחה על-פניו והוא לן בלילה-הוא במחנה:  
 23 ויקם בלילה הוא ויקח את-שתי נשיו ואת-שתי שפחתיו  
 ואת-אחד עשר ילדיו ויעבר את מעבר יבק: 24 ויקחם ויעברם  
 את-הנחל ויעבר את-אשר-לו: 25 ויהי יעקב לבדו ויאבק  
 איש עמו עד עלות השחר: 26 וירא כי לא יכל לו ויגע בכח-  
 ידכו והתקע פת-ידו יעקב בהאבק עמו: 27 ויאמר שלחני כי  
 עלה השחר ויאמר לא אשלחך כי אם-ברכתני: 28 ויאמר אלי

הַיּוֹם עַל־כֵּן קָרָא שְׁמוֹ גִּלְעָד׃ 49 וְהַמִּצְפָּה אֲשֶׁר אָמַר יַצָּח יְהוָה  
 בִּינֵי וּבִינָהּ כִּי נִסְתָּר אִישׁ מֵרֵעֵהוּ׃ 50 אִם־תֵּעָנֶה אֶת־בְּנֹתַי וְאִם־  
 תִּקַּח נָשִׁים עַל־בְּנֹתַי אֵין אִישׁ עִמָּנוּ רֹאֵה אֱלֹהִים עַד בִּינֵי וּבִינָהּ׃  
 51 וַיֹּאמֶר לָבֹן לִיעֲקֹב הִנֵּה הַגֵּל הַזֶּה וְהִנֵּה הַמִּצְבָּה אֲשֶׁר יָרִיתִי  
 בִּינֵי וּבִינָהּ׃ 52 עַד הַגֵּל הַזֶּה וְעַד הַמִּצְבָּה אִם־אֲנִי לֹא־אֶעֱבֹד  
 אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֶת־הַגֵּל הַזֶּה וְאִם־אֲמַר לֹא־תֵעֱבֹד אֵלַי אֶת־הַגֵּל הַזֶּה  
 וְאֶת־הַמִּצְבָּה הַזֹּאת לְרַעָה׃ 53 אֱלֹהֵי אֲבֹרָהֶם וְאֱלֹהֵי נַחֲוֹד יִשְׁמְטוּ  
 בִּינֵינוּ אֱלֹהֵי אֲבִיהֶם וַיִּשְׁבַּע יַעֲקֹב בַּפֶּתַח אָבִיו יִצְחָק׃ 54 וַיִּזְבַּח  
 יַעֲקֹב זֶבַח פָּחַד וַיִּקְרָא לְאָחָיו לֵאמֹל לֶחֶם וַיֹּאכְלוּ לֶחֶם  
 וַיֵּלֶינוּ בַּחֹדֶשׁ׃ מַסָּר

## CHAPTER XXXII.

1 וַיִּשְׁכֹּם לָבֹן בַּפֶּקֶד וַיִּנְשָׁק לְבָנָיו וּלְבָנוֹתָיו וַיְבָרֶךְ אֹתָהֶם  
 וַיֵּלֶךְ וַיָּשָׁב לָבֹן לְמִקְמוֹ׃ 2 וַיַּעֲקֹב הָלַךְ לְדַרְכּוֹ וַיִּסְגְּעוּרְבוּ מִלֵּאכֵי  
 אֱלֹהִים׃ 3 וַיֹּאמֶר יַעֲקֹב בְּאֲשֶׁר רָאִם מִחֲנֵה אֱלֹהִים זֶה וַיִּקְרָא  
 שֵׁם־הַמָּקוֹם הַהוּא מִחְנֵיִם׃ פ

4 וַיִּשְׁלַח יַעֲקֹב מַלְאָכִים לִפְנֵי אֶל־עֲשׂוֹ אָחָיו אֲרֻצָּה שְׂעִיר שָׂדֶה  
 אֲדוֹם׃ 5 וַיֵּצֵא אֹתָם לֵאמֹר כֹּה תֹאמְרוּן לְאָרְנִי לַעֲשׂוֹ כֹּה אָמַר  
 עֲבַדְךָ יַעֲקֹב עִם־לָבֹן גִּרְתִּי וְאַחֲרֵי עַד־עָתָה׃ 6 וַיְהִי־לִי שׂוֹד וְחִמּוֹד  
 צֹאן וַעֲבַד וְשִׁפְתָּה וְאֶשְׁלַחְהָ לְחֵנֶד לְאָרְנִי לְמִצְאָ־חַן בְּעֵינֶיךָ׃  
 7 וַיִּשְׁכְּבוּ הַמַּלְאָכִים אֶל־יַעֲקֹב לֵאמֹר בָּאנוּ אֶל־אָחִיךָ אֶל־עֲשׂוֹ  
 וְגַם הָלַךְ לְקִרְאָתְךָ וְאַרְבַּע־מֵאוֹת אִישׁ עִמּוֹ׃ 8 וַיִּדָּא יַעֲקֹב מְאֹד  
 וַיֵּצֵר לוֹ חֵץ אֶת־הָעֵם אֲשֶׁר־אָתּוֹ וְאֶת־הַצֹּאן וְאֶת־הַבָּקָר וְהַגְּמָלִים  
 לְשֵׁנֵי מַחֲנֹת׃ 9 וַיֹּאמֶר אִם־יָבוֹא עֲשׂוֹ אֶל־הַמַּחֲנֵה הָאֶחָת וְהִכָּהוּ  
 וְהָיָה הַמַּחֲנֵה הַנִּשְׁאָר לְפִלְטָה׃ 10 וַיֹּאמֶר יַעֲקֹב אֱלֹהֵי אָבִי אֲבֹרָהֶם

תִּגְלוּ אֶת־בְּנוֹתֶיךָ מֵעַמִּי: 32 עִם אֲשֶׁר תִּמְצָא אֶת־אֱלֹהֶיךָ לֹא  
יִחַדּוּ נָגֶד אֲחֵינוּ הַכְּרִלָּה מִרָּה עַמּוּדִי וְקַח־לָךְ וְלֹא־יִדַּע יַעֲקֹב  
כִּי רָחֵל גָּנְבָתָם: 33 וַיָּבֹא לָבֶן בְּאֹהֶל־יַעֲקֹב וּבְאֹהֶל לָאָה וּבְאֹהֶל  
שְׁתֵּי הָאִמּוֹת וְלֹא מָצָא וַיֵּצֵא מֵאֹהֶל לָאָה וַיָּבֹא בְּאֹהֶל רָחֵל:  
34 וְרָחֵל לָקְחָה אֶת־הַתְּרָפִים וַתִּשְׁמַם בְּכַר הַגִּמְלָה וַתֵּשֶׁב עֲלֵיהֶם  
וַיִּמָּשֶׁשׁ לָבֶן אֶת־כָּל־הָאֹהֶל וְלֹא מָצָא: 35 וַתֹּאמֶר אֶל־אָבִיהָ אֶל־  
יִחִר בְּעֵינַי אֲדֹנָי כִּי לֹא אוֹכַל לָקוֹם מִפְּנֵיךָ פִּי־דֶרֶךְ נָשִׁים לִי  
וַיַּחֲפֹשׂ וְלֹא מָצָא אֶת־הַתְּרָפִים: 36 וַיַּחֲרֵץ לַיעֲקֹב וַיִּרְבּ בְּלָבֶן  
וַיַּעַן יַעֲקֹב וַיֹּאמֶר לְלָבֶן מַה־פְּשָׁעִי מָה חָטָאתִי כִּי דִלַקְתָּ אַחֲרָי:  
37 כִּי־מִשְׁשָׁתָּ אֶת־כָּל־כְּלִי מַה־מָּצָאתָ מִכָּל כְּלֵי־בֵיתְךָ שֵׁים פֹּה  
נָגֶד אֲחִי וְאֶחָדֶךָ יוֹדֵכִיו בֵּין שְׁנֵינוּ: 38 זֶה עֲשָׂרִים שָׁנָה אָנֹכִי  
עִמָּךְ רָחֵלְךָ וְעֵזְרָה לֹא שָׁכְלוּ וַאֲלִי צִאֲנָה לֹא אָכַלְתִּי: 39 מִרְפָּה  
לֹא־הִבֵּאתִי אֵלֶיךָ אָנֹכִי אֲחֻסָּנָה מִיָּדִי תִבְקָשְׁנָה גָּנַבְתִּי יוֹם וּגְנַבְתִּי  
לֵילָה: 40 הָיִיתִי בָּיִם אָכַלְנִי חֶרֶב וְקָרָח בְּלִילָה וַתִּגְדּוּ שְׁנֵתִי  
מִקְעִי: 41 זֶה־לִּי עֲשָׂרִים שָׁנָה בְּבֵיתְךָ עֲבַדְתִּיךָ אַרְבַּע־עֶשְׂרֵה  
שָׁנָה בְּשֵׁתִי בְּנֹתֶיךָ וְשֵׁשׁ שָׁנִים בְּצִאֲנָה וַתַּחַלֵּךְ אֶת־מִשְׁכַּבְתִּי  
עֲשֹׂרֶת מָנִים: 42 לֹלִי אֱלֹהֵי אָבִי אֱלֹהֵי אֲבֹרָהִם וּפְחַד יִצְחָק הָיָה  
לִּי כִּי עָתָה רִיקָם שְׁלַחְתָּנִי אֶת־עֲנִי וְאֶת־יָגֵעַ פִּי רָאָה אֱלֹהִים  
וַיִּזְכֹּךְ אִמְשׁ: שְׁבִיעִי 43 וַיַּעַן לָבֶן וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל־יַעֲקֹב הַבְּנוֹת בְּנֹתֵי  
וְהַבָּנִים בְּנֵי הַצֵּאֵן צִאֲנִי וְכָל אֲשֶׁר־אַתָּה רָאָה לִי הוּא וּלְבַנְתִּי מִדֶּ־  
אֲעֹשֶׂה לְאֵלֶּה הַיּוֹם אוֹ לְבָנֶיהֶן אֲשֶׁר יִלְדוּ: 44 וְעָתָה לֵכָה נִכְרַתָּה  
בְּרִית אֲנִי וְאַתָּה וְהָיָה לְעֵד בֵּינִי וּבֵינֶךָ: 45 וַיִּקַּח יַעֲקֹב אֲבֹן  
וַיִּדְמָה מִצְבָּה: 46 וַיֹּאמֶר יַעֲקֹב לְאֶחָיו לְקַטְּפוּ אֲבָנִים וַיִּקְחוּ אֲבָנִים  
וַיַּעֲשִׂי־גִל וַיֹּאכְלוּ שָׁם עַל־הַגִּל: 47 וַיִּקְרָא־לוֹ לָבֶן יֶגֶר שֹׁהַדוּתָא  
וַיַּעֲקֹב קָרָא לוֹ גִלְעָד: 48 וַיֹּאמֶר לָבֶן הֲגַל הַזֶּה עַד בֵּינִי וּבֵיתְךָ

אֲשֶׁר לָבֶן עָשָׂה לָךְ: 13 אָנֹכִי הָאֵל בֵּיתְאֵל אֲשֶׁר מִשְׁחַת שָׁם  
מִצְבֵּה אֲשֶׁר בָּרַחְתָּ לִּי שָׁם נָדָד עִמָּה קָדָם צֶא מִדְּהָאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת  
וְשׁוּב אֶל-אָדָם מוֹלְדֶיךָ: 14 וַתַּעַן רַחֵל וּלְאָה וְהָאִמְדָּנָה לֵּי הָעוֹד  
לָבֶן חֶלֶק וְנַחֲלָה בְּבֵית אָבִינוּ: 15 הֲלוֹא נִכְרִיתָ נַחֲשֹׁכֵנוּ לֵּי כִּי  
מִכְרָנוּ וְהָאֵכֶל גַּם-אָכַל אֶת-כֶּסֶּפֵּנוּ: 16 כִּי כָל-הָעֹשֶׂה אֲשֶׁר הָצִיל  
אֱלֹהִים מֵאֲבֵנוּ לָבֶן הוּא וּלְבָנֵינוּ וְעִמָּה כָּל אֲשֶׁר אָמַד אֱלֹהִים  
אֵלֶיךָ עָשָׂה: שֵׁשׁ 17 וַיָּקָם יַעֲקֹב וַיֵּשֶׁא אֶת-בָּנָיו וְאֶת-נָשָׁיו עַל-  
הַגַּמְלִים: 18 וַיָּנֻחַ אֶת-כָּל-מִקְנֵהוּ וְאֶת-כָּל-רֶכְשׁוֹ אֲשֶׁר רָכַשׁ  
מִקְנֵה קִנְיָנוּ אֲשֶׁר רָכַשׁ בְּשָׂרָן אֲרָם לָבוֹא אֶל-יִצְחָק אָבִיו אֶרֶצָה  
בְּנֵעֹן: 19 וּלְבֶן הָלֶךְ לָבֶן אֶת-צֹאֲנוֹ וְהַגְנֵב רַחֵל אֶת-הַחֲרָפִים  
אֲשֶׁר לְאִבְיָה: 20 וַיָּנֻחַ יַעֲקֹב אֶת-לֵב לָבֶן הָאָרֶץ עַל-בְּלִי הַיּוֹד  
לֹא כִּי בָרַח הָיָא: 21 וַיְבָרַח הוּא וְכָל-אֲשֶׁר-לוֹ וַיָּקָם וַיַּעֲבֹר אֶת-  
הַנָּהָר וַיֵּשֶׁם אֶת-פָּנָיו הַדֶּה הַגִּלְעָד: 22 וַיָּגֵד לְלָבֶן בֵּינָם הַשְּׁלִישִׁי  
כִּי בָרַח יַעֲקֹב: 23 וַיִּקַּח אֶת-אָחִיו עִמּוֹ וַיַּחֲדֹף אַחֲרָיו דֶּרֶךְ שְׁבַעַת  
יָמִים וַיִּדְבֹק אֹתוֹ בְּדֶרֶךְ הַגִּלְעָד: 24 וַיָּבֹא אֱלֹהִים אֶל-לָבֶן הָאָרֶץ  
בַּחֲלֹם הַלַּיְלָה וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ הַשְׁמַר לָךְ פֶּן-יִדְבֹּר עִם-יַעֲקֹב מִסּוּב  
עֲרֶרְעֶ: 25 וַיֵּשֶׁן לָבֶן אֶת-יַעֲקֹב וַיַּעֲקֹב תָּקַע אֶת-אָחִיו בַּיּוֹד  
וּלְבֶן תָּקַע אֶת-אָחִיו בְּדֶרֶךְ הַגִּלְעָד: 26 וַיֹּאמֶר לָבֶן לַיַּעֲקֹב מַה  
עָשִׂיתָ וְהַגְנֵב אֶת-לִבִּי וְהַתְנַחֵ אֶת-בָּנָי פֶּשְׁעֵי־חַיִּת חָרִב: 27 לָמָּה  
נִחַצְתָּ לַבָּרִחַ וְהַגְנֵב אֹתִי וְלֹא-הִגַּדְתָּ לִּי וְאֲשַׁלְּחֶךָ בְּשִׁמְחָה וּבִשְׂרָרִי  
בַּחֹף וּבִכְבוֹד: 28 וְלֹא נִשְׁתַּתִּי לְנִשֶּׁק לְבָנִי וּלְבָנָי עִמָּה הַסִּפְלָה  
עָשָׂה: 29 יִשְׂרָאֵל דִּי לַעֲשׂוֹת עִמָּכֶם רַע וְאֵלֹהֵי אֲבִיכֶם אִמְשׁוּ  
אִמְרֵי אֲלֵי לֵאמֹר הַשְׁמַר לָךְ מִדְּבַר עִם-יַעֲקֹב מִסּוּב עֲרֶרְעֶ:  
30 וְעִמָּה הָלַךְ הַלֶּכֶת כִּי-נִכְסְתָם נִכְסִפְתָּה לְבֵית אֲבִיךָ לָמָּה גִּנַּבְתָּ  
אֶת-אֱלֹהֵי: 31 וַיַּעַן יַעֲקֹב וַיֹּאמֶר לְלָבֶן כִּי יֵרָאִתִּי כִּי אִמְרָתִי פֶן-

הַצֵּאן וְהַמִּנְהָ בְּבֹאן לַשָּׂהָדָה: 39 וְהָמָּה הַצֵּאן אֶל־הַמִּקְלָחַת  
וְהַלְדֹן הַצֵּאן עֲקָדִים נִקְדִּים וּשְׂלָאִים: 40 וְהַכְּשִׁיבִים הַפְּרִיד יַעֲקֹב  
וַיִּתֵּן פָּנָיו הַצֵּאן אֶל־עֵקֶד וְכָל־חֹסֶם בָּצֹאן לָבֹן וַיֵּשֶׁת לוֹ עֲרִידִים  
לְבָדָּהּ וְלֹא שָׁתָם עַל־צֵאן לָבֹן: 41 וַיְהִי בְּכָל־יְחֹסֶם הַצֵּאן הַמִּקְשָׁרוֹת  
וְשֵׁם יַעֲקֹב אֶת־הַמִּקְלָחַת לַעֲיִנִי הַצֵּאן בְּרֹהֲטִים לַחֲסֻמָּה בַּמִּקְלָחַת:  
42 וּבַהֲעֵמֶיף הַצֵּאן לֹא יֵשִׁים וַיְהִי הַעֲמָפִים לְלָבֹן וְהַקְּשָׁרִים  
לַיעֲקֹב: 43 וַיִּפְרֹץ הָאִישׁ מְאֹד מְאֹד וַיְהִי לוֹ צֹאן רַבּוֹת וּשְׁפָחוֹת  
וַעֲבָדִים וְתַמְלִים וְחֹמְרִים:

## CHAPTER XXXI.

- 1 וַיִּשְׁמַע אֶת־דְּבַר־יְבֹרָכָה לָבֹן לֵאמֹר לָקַח יַעֲקֹב אֶת פֶּלֶאֶשֶׁר  
לְאִבְתּוֹ וּמֵאִשֶּׁר לְאִבְתּוֹ עָשָׂה אֶת פֶּלֶאֶשֶׁר הַזֶּה: 2 וַיֵּרָא יַעֲקֹב  
אֶת־פָּנָיו לָבֹן וַהֲנִה אֵינָנִי עֹמֵד כְּתִמְזֹל שְׁלֹשׁוֹם: 3 וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה  
אֶל־יַעֲקֹב שׁוּב אֶל־אֶרֶץ אֲבוֹתֶיךָ וּלְמִלְחָתְךָ וְאֶחָיָה עִמָּךְ: 4 וַיִּשְׁלַח  
יַעֲקֹב וַיִּקְרָא לְרַחֵל וּלְלֵאָה הַשְׂדָּה אֶל־צֹאנָן: 5 וַיֹּאמֶר לָהֶן רַחֵל  
אֲנִי אֶת־פָּנָי אֲבִיכֶן כִּי־אֵינָנִי אֵלַי כְּתִמְזֹל שְׁלֹשָׁם וְאֵלַי אֲבִי  
יְהִי עִמָּדִי: 6 וְאִתָּנָה יִדְעֶתָן כִּי בְּכָל־כְּפוֹי עֲמַדְתִּי אֶת־אֲבִיכֶן:  
7 וְאֲבִיכֶן הִתֵּל בִּי וַיַּחֲלֹף אֶת־מִשְׁפָּרְתִּי עֲשֶׂרֶת מָנִים וְלֹא־נִתְּנִי  
אֱלֹהִים לְהִדַּע עִמָּדִי: 8 אִם־כֹּה יֹאמֶר נִקְדִּים יְהִי שְׂכָרְךָ וַיִּלְדוּ  
כָּל־הַצֹּאן נִקְדִּים וְאִם־כֹּה יֹאמֶר עֲקָדִים יְהִי שְׂכָרְךָ וַיִּלְדוּ כָל־  
הַצֹּאן עֲקָדִים: 9 וַיֵּצֵל אֱלֹהִים אֶת־מִקְנֶה אֲבִיכֶם וַיַּחֲדֹלֵי: 10 וַיְהִי  
בַּעַת יָחַם הַצֹּאן וַאֲשָׁא עֵינֵי וַאֲרָא בַּחֲלוֹם וַהֲנִה הַעֲתָדִים הָעֵלִים  
עַל־הַצֹּאן עֲקָדִים נִקְדִּים וּבְרָדִים: 11 וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלַי מִלֶּאךָ הָאֱלֹהִים  
בַּחֲלוֹם יַעֲקֹב וַאֲמַר הִנְנִי: 12 וַיֹּאמֶר שְׂאֵנָא עֵינֶיךָ וַיֵּרָא כָל־  
הַעֲתָדִים הָעֵלִים עַל־הַצֹּאן עֲקָדִים נִקְדִּים וּבְרָדִים כִּי רָאִיתִי אֶת כָּל־



כִּי־יִלְדֶּתִי לוֹ שְׁשֶׁה בָּנִים וַתִּקְרָא אֶת־שְׁמוֹ וּזְכוּן: 21 וְאַחַר יִלְדָּה  
 בֵּת וַתִּקְרָא אֶת־שְׁמָהּ דִּינָה: 22 וַיִּזְבֹּד אֱלֹהִים אֶת־רַחֵל וַיִּשְׁמַע  
 אֱלֹהֶיהָ אֱלֹהִים וַיִּפְתַּח אֶת־רַחֲמָהּ: 23 וַתַּהַר וַתֵּלֶד בֶּן וַתֹּאמֶר  
 אִסָּף אֱלֹהִים אֶת־חַרְפֹּתַי: 24 וַתִּקְרָא אֶת־שְׁמוֹ יוֹסֵף וַיֹּסֶף לֵאמֹר יוֹסֵף  
 יִהְיֶה לִי בֶן אַחֵר: 25 וַיְהִי כַּאֲשֶׁר יִלְדָּה רַחֵל אֶת־יוֹסֵף וַיֹּאמֶר  
 יַעֲקֹב אֶל־לֵבָן שְׁלַחֲנִי וְאַלְכָה אֶל־מְקוֹמִי וְלֹאֲרָצִי: 26 תָּנֹה אֶת־  
 נַשִּׁי וְאֶת־יִלְדֵי אֲשֶׁר עֲבַדְתִּי אִתָּךְ בָּהֶן וְאַלְכָה כִּי אֲתִירָה יְדַעַת  
 אֶת־עֲבַדְתִּי אֲשֶׁר עֲבַדְתִּיךָ: 27 וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו לֵבָן אִם־נָא מִצְאֲתִי  
 חֵן בְּעֵינֶיךָ נַחֲשֵׁתִי וַיְבָרְכֵנִי יְהוָה בְּגִלְלוֹךָ: חֲמִישִׁי 28 וַיֹּאמֶר נִקְבְּהָ  
 שְׂכָרְךָ עָלַי וְאֲתַנְּהָ: 29 וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו אֲתִירָה יְדַעַת אֵת אֲשֶׁר  
 עֲבַדְתִּיךָ וְאֵת אֲשֶׁר־הָיָה מִקְנֶה אֲתִי: 30 כִּי מַעַט אֲשֶׁר־הָיָה לָךְ  
 לִפְנֵי וַיִּפְרָץ לְרֹב הִבְרָךְ יְהוָה אֶתָּה לְרִגְלִי וְעַתָּה מִתִּי אֲעִשֶׂה  
 גַּם־אֲנֹכִי לְבֵיתִי: 31 וַיֹּאמֶר מָה אֶתֶּן־לָךְ וַיַּעֲקֹב לֹא־תָתֵן  
 לִי מֵאוֹמָה אִם־תַּעֲשֶׂה־לִּי הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה אֲשׁוּבָה אֶרְעֶה צֹאנֶךָ אֲשֶׁמֹר:  
 32 אֲעֹבֵד בְּכָל־צֹאנֶךָ הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה מִשָּׁם כָּל־שָׂה וְנָקֹד וּטְלוֹא וְכָל־  
 שׂוֹד־חוֹם בְּכַשְׂבִּים וּטְלוֹא וְנָקֹד בְּעֵזִים וְהִיא שְׂכָרִי: 33 וְעַתָּה־  
 כִּי צָדַקְתִּי בֵּינִם מִחֵר כִּי־תָבוֹא עַל־שְׂכָרִי לִפְנֶיךָ כָּל אֲשֶׁר־אֵינֹנִי  
 נָקֹד וּטְלוֹא בְּעֵזִים וְחוֹם בְּכַשְׂבִּים נָגִיב הוּא אֲתִי: 34 וַיֹּאמֶר לֵבָן  
 הֵן לוֹ יְהִי כְדִבְרְךָ: 35 וַיֵּסֶר בֵּינֵם הַחוּא אֶת־הַתִּישִׁים הָעֵקֶדִים  
 וְהַטְּלָאִים וְאֵת כָּל־הָעֵזִים הַנִּקְדּוֹת וְהַטְּלָאֹת כָּל אֲשֶׁר־לֵבָן בּוֹ  
 וְכָל־חוֹם בְּכַשְׂבִּים וַתֵּן בִּיד־בָּנָיו: 36 וַיֵּשֶׁם דָּרָךְ שְׁלֹשֶׁת יָמִים  
 בֵּינוֹ וּבֵין יַעֲקֹב וַיַּעֲקֹב רָעָה אֶת־צֹאן לֵבָן הַנּוֹתֵרֹת: 37 וַיִּקַּח־  
 לוֹ יַעֲקֹב מִקָּל לִבְנָה לָח וְלֹחַ וְעֶרְמוֹן וַיַּפְצֵל בָּהֶן פְּצֻלוֹת לִבְנוֹת  
 מִחֹשֶׁף הַלֵּבָן אֲשֶׁר עַל־הַמִּקְלוֹת: 38 וַיִּצַּג אֶת־הַמִּקְלוֹת אֲשֶׁר  
 פָּצַל בְּרֹחֲטִים בְּשִׁקְתוֹת הַכִּיִּים אֲשֶׁר תָּבֹאן הַצֹּאן לִשְׂתוֹת לִנְטַח

## CHAPTER XXX.

1 וַתֵּרָא רָחֵל כִּי לֹא יֵלְדָה לְיַעֲקֹב וַתִּקְנֶה רָחֵל בְּאֶחָתָהּ  
 וַתֹּאמֶר אֶל־יַעֲקֹב תְּבַהֲלֵי בָנִים וְאִם־אֵין מִתָּה אֲנִכִּי: 2 וַיַּחֲדֹד  
 אִתָּהּ יַעֲקֹב בְּרָחֵל וַיֹּאמֶר הִתַּחַת אֱלֹהִים אֲנִכִּי אֲשֶׁר־מָנַע מִמֶּנּוּ  
 פְּרִי־בֶטֶן: 3 וַתֹּאמֶר הִנֵּה אֲמַתִּי בָלָהָה בָּא אֵלֶיהָ וַתֵּלֶד עַל־בְּרִפִּי  
 וַאֲבִנָּה נִם־אֲנִכִּי מִמֶּנָּה: 4 וַתֵּתֶן־לּוֹ אֶת־בְּלָחָה שְׂפֹחָתָהּ לְאִשָּׁה  
 וַיָּבֹא אֵלֶיהָ יַעֲקֹב: 5 וַתַּחֲדֹד בְּלָחָה וַתֵּלֶד לְיַעֲקֹב בֶּן: 6 וַתֹּאמֶר  
 רָחֵל דָּגְנִי אֱלֹהִים וְגַם שָׁמַע בְּקֹלִי וַתֵּתֶן־לִּי בֶן עַל־כֵּן קָרָאתִי שְׁמוֹ  
 דָּן: 7 וַתַּחֲדֹד עוֹד וַתֵּלֶד בְּלָחָה שְׂפֹחַת רָחֵל בֶּן שֵׁנִי לְיַעֲקֹב:  
 8 וַתֹּאמֶר רָחֵל נִפְתָּלִי אֱלֹהִים נִפְתַּלְתִּי עִם־אֶחָתִי גַם־יִכְלָתִי  
 וַתִּקְרָא שְׁמוֹ נִפְתָּלִי: 9 וַתֵּרָא לֵאמֹר כִּי עָמְדָה מַלְדָּת וַתִּקַּח  
 אֶת־זִלְפָּה שְׂפֹחָתָהּ וַתֵּתֶן אֹתָהּ לְיַעֲקֹב לְאִשָּׁה: 10 וַתֵּלֶד זִלְפָּה  
 שְׂפֹחַת לֵאמֹר לְיַעֲקֹב בֶּן: 11 וַתֹּאמֶר לֵאמֹר בְּנֵה וַתִּקְרָא אֶת־שְׁמוֹ  
 גָד: 12 וַתֵּלֶד זִלְפָּה שְׂפֹחַת לֵאמֹר בֶּן שֵׁנִי לְיַעֲקֹב: 13 וַתֹּאמֶר  
 לֵאמֹר בְּאֲשֶׁר־כִּי אֲשֶׁר־וָנִי בָנוֹת וַתִּקְרָא אֶת־שְׁמוֹ אֲשֶׁר: רִבְעִי 14 וַיֵּלֶד  
 רְאוּבֵן בִּימֵי קִצְר־חַסִּים וַיִּמְצָא רְדָאִים בַּשּׂדֶה וַיָּבֹא אֹתָם אֶל־  
 לֵאמֹר אֲמֹן וַתֹּאמֶר רָחֵל אֶל־לֵאמֹר הִנֵּרְנָא לִי מִרְדָּאִי בְנֵה:  
 15 וַתֹּאמֶר לָהּ הִמָּעַט קַחְתָּךְ אֶת־אִישִׁי וְלָקַחְתָּ גַם אֶת־רְדָּאִי  
 בְנִי וַתֹּאמֶר רָחֵל לָכֵן יִשְׁכַּב עִמָּךְ הַלַּיְלָה תַּחַת רְדָּאִי בְנֵה:  
 16 וַיָּבֹא יַעֲקֹב מִן־הַשָּׂדֶה בַּעֲרִב וַתֵּצֵא לֵאמֹר לִקְרָאתוֹ וַתֹּאמֶר  
 אֵלַי תָּבוֹא כִּי שָׁכַד שְׂכָרְךָ בְּרְדָּאִי בְנִי וַיִּשְׁכַּב עִמָּה בַּלַּיְלָה  
 הַזֶּה: 17 וַיִּשְׁמַע אֱלֹהִים אֶל־לֵאמֹר וַתַּחֲדֹד וַתֵּלֶד לְיַעֲקֹב בֶּן חַמִּישִׁי:  
 18 וַתֹּאמֶר לֵאמֹר נָתַן אֱלֹהִים שְׂכָרִי אֲשֶׁר־נָתַתִּי שְׂפֹחַתִּי לְאִישִׁי  
 וַתִּקְרָא שְׁמוֹ יִשְׁשָׁכָר: 19 וַתַּחֲדֹד עוֹד לֵאמֹר וַתֵּלֶד בֶּן־שֵׁשִׁי לְיַעֲקֹב:  
 20 וַתֹּאמֶר לֵאמֹר זָכַרְנִי אֱלֹהִים וְאֹתִי וְכִּי טוֹב הִפַּעַם וַיִּזְכֹּנֵנִי אִישִׁי

מִדִּפְסָרְתָּהּ: 16 וּלְלֶבֶן שְׁתֵּי בָנוֹת שֵׁם הַגְּדֹלָה לֵאמֹר וְשֵׁם  
 הַקְּטָנָה רָחֵל: 17 וַעֲנִי לֵאמֹר רַבּוֹת וְרָחֵל הָיְתָה יִפְתָּהָר וַיִּפְתֹּת  
 מֵרֵאָה: שֵׁשׁ 18 וַיֹּאֲהֵב יַעֲקֹב אֶת־רָחֵל וַיֹּאמֶר אֶעֱבֹדָה שְׁבַע  
 שָׁנִים בְּרָחֵל בְּתֻךְ הַקְּטָנָה: 19 וַיֹּאמֶר לָכֵן מִכּוֹן תִּתֵּן אֹתָהּ לָךְ  
 מִתִּתִּי אֹתָהּ לְאִישׁ אַחֵר שָׁבָה עִמָּדִי: 20 וַיַּעֲבֹד יַעֲקֹב בְּרָחֵל  
 שְׁבַע שָׁנִים וַיְהִי בַעֲנִיּוֹ כִּימִים אַחֲרִים בְּאַהֲבָתוֹ אֹתָהּ: 21 וַיֹּאמֶר  
 יַעֲקֹב אֶל־לֶבֶן הֲבֵה אֶת־אִשְׁתִּי כִּי מָלְאוּ יָמִי וַאֲבֹאָה אֵלֶיךָ:  
 22 וַיֹּאמֶר לָכֵן אֶת־כָּל־אֲנָשִׁי הַמָּקוֹם וַיַּעַשׂ מִשְׁתָּהּ: 23 וַיְהִי  
 בְּעָרֵב וַיִּקַּח אֶת־לֵאָה בָּתּוֹ וַיָּבֵא אֹתָהּ אֵלָיו וַיָּבֵא אֵלֶיהָ: 24 וַיִּתֵּן  
 לָכֵן לָהּ אֶת־זֹלְפָה שִׁפְחָתוֹ לְלֵאָה בָּתּוֹ שִׁפְחָהּ: 25 וַיְהִי בִבְקָר  
 הַיּוֹם הַהוּא לֵאמֹר אֶל־לֶבֶן מַה־זֹּאת עָשִׂיתָ לִּי הֲלֹא בְרָחֵל  
 עֲבַדְתִּי עִמָּךְ וְלָמָּה רַמִּיתָנִי: 26 וַיֹּאמֶר לָכֵן לֹא־יַעֲשֶׂה כֵן בַּמָּקוֹמִנִי  
 לָתֵת הַצִּיעִידָה לִפְנֵי תַבְכִּידָהּ: 27 מָלֵא שְׁבַע זֹאת וְנִתְּנָה לָךְ גַּם־  
 אֶת־זֹאת בַּעֲבֹדָה אֲשֶׁר תַּעֲבֹד עִמָּדִי עוֹד שְׁבַע־שָׁנִים אַחֲרֹת:  
 28 וַיַּעַשׂ יַעֲקֹב כֵּן וַיִּמְלֵא שְׁבַע זֹאת וַיִּתֵּן־לּוֹ אֶת־רָחֵל בָּתּוֹ לוֹ  
 לְאִשָּׁה: 29 וַיִּתֵּן לָכֵן לְרָחֵל בָּתּוֹ אֶת־בִּלְהָה שִׁפְחָתוֹ לָהּ לְשִׁפְחָהּ:  
 30 וַיָּבֵא גַם אֶל־רָחֵל וַיֹּאֲהֵב גַּם־אֶת־רָחֵל מִלֵּאָה וַיַּעֲבֹד עִמָּו  
 עוֹד שְׁבַע־שָׁנִים אַחֲרֹת: 31 וַיֵּרָא יְהוָה כִּי־שָׁנוּאָה לֵאמֹר וַיִּפְתַּח  
 אֶת־רַחֲמָיו וְרָחֵל עָקְרָה: 32 וַתַּהַר לֵאמֹר וַתֵּלֶד בֶּן וַתִּקְרָא שְׁמוֹ  
 רְאוּבֵן כִּי אָמַרְהָ כִּי־רָאָה יְהוָה בַּעֲנִיּוֹ כִּי עָתִידָה יֶאֱהָבֵנִי אִישִׁי:  
 33 וַתַּהַר עוֹד וַתֵּלֶד בֶּן וַתֹּאמֶר כִּי־שָׁמַע יְהוָה כִּי־שָׁנוּאָה אֲנִכִּי  
 וַיִּתֵּן־לִי גַם־אֶת־זֶה וַתִּקְרָא שְׁמוֹ שִׁמְעוֹן: 34 וַתַּהַר עוֹד וַתֵּלֶד בֶּן  
 וַתֹּאמֶר עָתָה הִפְעַם יִלְדָה אִישִׁי אֵלַי כִּי־יִלְדֹתִי לוֹ שְׁלֹשָׁה בָנִים  
 עַל־כֵּן קָרָא־שְׁמוֹ לֵךְ: 35 וַתַּהַר עוֹד וַתֵּלֶד בֶּן וַתֹּאמֶר הִפְעַם  
 אֹתָהּ אֶת־יְהוָה עַל־כֵּן קָרָאָה שְׁמוֹ יְהוּדָה וַתַּעֲמֹד מִלְּדָתָהּ:

הזה אשר אנכי חולד ונתן לי לחם לאכל ובגר ללבש: 21 ושבת  
בשלוש אל בית אבי והיה יהוה לי לאלהים: 22 והאבן הזאת  
אשר שמתי מצבה יהיה בית אלהים וכל אשר נתן לי עשר  
אעשרנו לך: שני

CHAPTER XXIX.

1 וישא יעקב רגליו וילך ארצה בני־קדם: 2 וירא והנה  
באר בשדה והנה שם שלשה עררי־צאן רבצים עליה פי מן־  
הבאר ההוא ישקו העדרים והאבן גדלה על־פי הבאר: 3 ונאספו־  
שמה כל־העדרים וגללו את־האבן מעל פי הבאר והשקו את־  
הצאן והשיבו את־האבן על־פי הבאר למקמה: 4 ויאמר להם  
יעקב אחי מאין אתם ויאמרו מחרן אנחנו: 5 ויאמר להם  
הידעתם את־לכן בן־נחור ויאמרו ידענו: 6 ויאמר להם השלום  
לו ויאמרו שלום והנה רחל בתו באה עם־הצאן: 7 ויאמר הן  
עוד היום גדול לא־עת האספה המקנה השקו הצאן ולכו רעו:  
8 ויאמרו לא נוכל ער אשר יאספו כל־העדרים וגללו את־האבן  
מעל פי הבאר והשקנו הצאן: 9 עודנו מדבר עמם ורחל באה  
עם־הצאן אשר לאביה פי רעה הוא: 10 והי באשר ראה יעקב  
את־רחל בת־לכן אחי אמו ואת־צאן לכן אחי אמו ויגש יעקב  
ויגל את־האבן מעל פי הבאר וישק את־צאן לכן אחי אמו:  
11 וישק יעקב לרחל וישא את־קלו ויבך: 12 ויגד יעקב לרחל  
פי אחי אביה הוא וכי בר־בקה הוא ותרץ ותגד לאביה: 13 והי  
כשמע לכן את־שמע יעקב בן־אחוז וירץ לקראתו ויחבק־לו  
וינשק־לו ויביאהו אל־ביתו ויספר ללכן את כל־הדברים האלה:  
14 ויאמר לו לכן אך עצמי ובשרי אתה וישב עמו חדש ימים:  
15 ויאמר לכן ליעקב הכר אתי אתה ועבדתני חנם הנני

וַאֲשֶׁר־נָתַן אֱלֹהִים לְאַבְרָהָם׃ שִׁבְעִי 5 וַיִּשְׁלַח יִצְחָק אֶת־יַעֲקֹב  
 וַיִּלְכֶּד פָּדָנָה אֶרֶם אֶל־לָבָן בֶּן־בְּתוּאֵל הָאֲרָמִי אֲחִי רִבְקָה אִם  
 יַעֲקֹב וַעֲשׂוּ׃ 6 וַיָּרָא עֲשׂוֹ כִּי־בִרְךְ יִצְחָק אֶת־יַעֲקֹב וַיִּשְׁלַח אוֹתוֹ  
 פָּדָנָה אֶרֶם לְקַחַת־לוֹ מִשָּׁם אִשָּׁה בְּבָרְכוֹ אוֹתוֹ וַיֵּצֵא עָלָיו לְאִמּוֹ  
 לֹא־תִקַּח אִשָּׁה מִבְּנוֹת כְּנָעַן׃ 7 וַיִּשְׁמַע יַעֲקֹב אֶל־אָבִיו וְאֶל־  
 אִמּוֹ וַיֵּלֶךְ פָּדָנָה אֶרֶם׃ 8 וַיָּרָא עֲשׂוֹ כִּי רָעוֹת בָּנוֹת כְּנָעַן בְּעֵינֵי  
 יִצְחָק אָבִיו׃ 9 וַיִּלְכֶּד עֲשׂוֹ אֶל־יִשְׁמָעֵאל וַיִּקַּח אֶת־מַחְלֵית־בֶּת־  
 יִשְׁמָעֵאל בֶּן־אַבְרָהָם אֲחֻזַּת נְבִיחַת עַל־נָשָׁיו לוֹ לְאִשָּׁה׃ 10

10 וַיֵּצֵא יַעֲקֹב מִבְּאֵר שָׁבַע וַיֵּלֶךְ חֲרָנָה׃ 11 וַיִּפְגַּע בַּמָּקוֹם וַיִּלֵּן  
 שָׁם כִּי־בָא הַשָּׁמֶשׁ וַיִּקַּח מֵאֲבֵנֵי הַמָּקוֹם וַיִּשֶׁם מְרֹאשֹׁתָיו וַיִּשְׁכֵּב  
 בַּמָּקוֹם הַהוּא׃ 12 וַיַּחְלֹם וְהִנֵּה סֹלֶם מֻצָּב אֶרֶצָה וּרְאִשׁוֹ מִגִּיעַ  
 הַשָּׁמַיְמָה וְהִנֵּה מַלְאָכֵי אֱלֹהִים עֹלִים וְיֹרְדִים בּוֹ׃ 13 וְהִנֵּה יְהוָה  
 נֹצֵב עָלָיו וַיֹּאמֶר אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי אַבְרָהָם אָבִיךָ וְהָאֵלֹהִי יִצְחָק  
 הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר אֲתָהּ שֹׁכֵב עָלֶיהָ לָךְ אֶתְנַנָּה וְלוֹרְעָה׃ 14 וְהָיָה  
 זֶרְעֶךָ כְּעֶפְרַיִם הָאָרֶץ וּפְרֻצֹת יָמָה וְקִדְמָה וְצַפְנָה וְנִגְבָּה וְנִבְרָכוּ  
 כָּךְ כָּל־מִשְׁפַּחַת הָאֲדָמָה וְכוּרְעָה׃ 15 וְהִנֵּה אֲנִי עֹפֶד וְשֹׁמְרֵתֶיךָ  
 בְּכָל אֲשֶׁר־תֵּלֶךְ וְהִשְׁכַּתֶּךָ אֶל־הָאֲדָמָה הַזֹּאת כִּי לֹא אֶעֱזָבְךָ עַד  
 אֲשֶׁר אֶסְעֶשְׂתִּי אֶת אֲשֶׁר־דִּבַּרְתִּי לָךְ׃ 16 וַיִּקַּץ יַעֲקֹב מִשְׁנָתוֹ  
 וַיֹּאמֶר אֲכֵן יֵשׁ יְהוָה בַּמָּקוֹם הַזֶּה וְאֲנִי לֹא יָדָעְתִּי׃ 17 וַיָּרָא  
 וַיֹּאמֶר מִה־נִּזְרָא הַמָּקוֹם הַזֶּה אֵין זֶה כִּי אִם־בֵּית אֱלֹהִים הוּא  
 שְׁעַר הַשָּׁמַיִם׃ 18 וַיִּשְׁכֶּם יַעֲקֹב בְּבֹקֶר וַיִּקַּח אֶת־הָאֲבָן אֲשֶׁר־  
 שָׁם מְרֹאשֹׁתָיו וַיִּשֶׁם אֹתָהּ מִצְבָּה וַיִּצֹק שָׁמֶן עַל־רֹאשָׁהּ׃ 19 וַיִּקְרָא  
 אֶת־שֵׁם־הַמָּקוֹם הַהוּא בֵּית־אֵל וְאוֹלָם לוֹ שֵׁם־הָעִיר לָרֹאשָׁנָה׃  
 20 וַיָּרֶד יַעֲקֹב נָדָר לֵאמֹר אִם־יִהְיֶה אֱלֹהִים עִמָּדִי וְשָׁמְרָנִי בַּדֶּרֶךְ

בְּרַכְתָּהּ: 36 וַיֹּאמֶר הִכִּי קָרָא שְׁמוֹ יַעֲקֹב וַיַּעֲקֹבֵנִי יְהוָה פַּעַמַּיִם  
 אֶת־בְּרַכְתִּי לָקַח וְהִנֵּה עֹתָה לָקַח בְּרַכְתִּי וַיֹּאמֶר הֲלֹא־אֲצַלֶּתָּ לִּי  
 בְּרַכָּהּ: 37 וַיַּעַן יִצְחָק וַיֹּאמֶר לַעֲשׂוֹ הֵן גִּבֹּר שְׁמַתִּיו לָךְ וְאֶת־  
 כָּל־אֲחִיו נָתַתִּי לָךְ לַעֲבָדִים וְהֵן וְחִדָּשׁ סִמְכַתִּיו וְלָכֵה אִפְּוֹא מִן־  
 אֲנִישָׁה בְּנִי: 38 וַיֹּאמֶר עֲשׂוֹ אֶל־אָבִיו הַבְּרָכָה אַחֶרֶת הוּא־לָךְ  
 אָבִי בְּרַכְנִי גַם־אֲנִי אָבִי וַיֵּשֶׁא עֲשׂוֹ קִלּוֹ וַיִּבֶךְ: 39 וַיַּעַן יִצְחָק  
 אָבִיו וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו הִנֵּה מִשְׁמַנִּי הָאָרֶץ יְהִי מִשְׁכָּבְךָ וּמִטַּל הַשָּׁמַיִם  
 מֵעַל: 40 וְעַל־חֶרְבֶּךָ תַּחֲיוֶה וְאֶת־אֲחִיךָ תַּעֲבֹד וְהָיָה כַּאֲשֶׁר תִּרְדּוּ  
 וּפְרַקְתָּ עָלָיו מֵעַל צִוְּאָרְךָ: 41 וַיִּשָּׁטֵם עֲשׂוֹ אֶת־יַעֲקֹב עַל־הַבְּרָכָה  
 אֲשֶׁר בֵּרַכוּ אָבִיו וַיֹּאמֶר עֲשׂוֹ בִלְבָבוֹ יִקְרְבוּ יָמֵי אָבִל אָבִי וְאַחֲרָנָה  
 אֶת־יַעֲקֹב אָחִיו: 42 וַיֵּצֵד לְרִבְקָה אֶת־דִּבְרֵי עֲשׂוֹ בְּנֵה הַגִּדֹל וְתִשְׁלַח  
 וְתִקְרָא לַיַּעֲקֹב בְּנֵה הַקָּטָן וְתֹאמַר אֵלָיו הִנֵּה עֲשׂוֹ אֲחִיךָ מִתְנַחֵם  
 לָךְ לְחֶרְבֶּךָ: 43 וַעֲתָה בְנִי שְׁמַע בְּקוֹלִי וְקוּם בְּרַח־לָךְ אֶל־לָבֶן  
 אָחִי חֲרָנָה: 44 וַיִּשְׁבֹּת עִמּוֹ יָמִים אַחֲרִים עַד אֲשֶׁר־תָּשׁוּב חֲמַת  
 אֲחִיךָ: 45 עַד־שׁוּב אֶחָ־אֲחִיךָ מִפֶּה וּשְׁכַח אֶת אֲשֶׁר־עָשִׂיתָ לוֹ  
 וְתִשְׁלַחְתִּי וְלִקְחַתִּיךָ מִשָּׁם לָמָּה אֲשַׁכַּל גַּם־שִׁנִּיכֶם יוֹם אֶחָד:  
 46 וְתֹאמַר רִבְקָה אֶל־יִצְחָק קִצְתִּי בְּחַיִּי מִפְּנֵי בָנוֹת חַת אִם־לָקַח  
 יַעֲקֹב אִשָּׁה מִבְּנוֹת־חַת כְּאֵלֶּה מִבְּנוֹת הָאָרֶץ לָמָּה לִּי חַיִּים:

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

1 וַיִּקְרָא יִצְחָק אֶל־יַעֲקֹב וַיְבָרֶךְ אֹתוֹ וַיִּצְחָחוּ וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ לֹא־  
 תִקַּח אִשָּׁה מִבְּנוֹת כְּנָעַן: 2 קוּם לָךְ פָּדְנָה אֲרָם בֵּיתָה בְּתוּאֵל  
 אָבִי אִמָּה וְקַח־לָךְ מִשָּׁם אִשָּׁה מִבְּנוֹת לָבֶן אָחִי אִמָּה: 3 וְאֵל  
 שִׁדִּי יִבְרָךְ אֹתָךְ וּפְרֹךְ וַרְבֵּךְ וְחֵיֶיךָ לָקַחְלָ עִמָּם: 4 וַיִּתֵּן־לָךְ  
 אֶת־בְּרִכַּת אַבְרָהָם לָךְ וְלִדְרֹעָה אֵתָּה לְרִשְׁתָּהּ אֶת־אָרֶץ מִגְרִיךָ

צֹאצֹאֲדִי: 17 וַתֵּתֶן אֶת־הַמַּטְעָמִים וְאֶת־הַלֶּחֶם אֲשֶׁר עָשְׂתָה בֵּד  
יַעֲקֹב בָּנָה: 18 וַיָּבֹא אֶל־אָבִיו וַיֹּאמֶר אָבִי וַיֹּאמֶר הֲנִנִי מִי אַתָּה  
בְּנִי: 19 וַיֹּאמֶר יַעֲקֹב אֶל־אָבִיו אָנֹכִי עָשׂוּ בְכוֹרְךָ עֲשִׂיתִי כַּאֲשֶׁר  
דִּבַּרְתָּ אֵלַי קֹדֶם־נָא שָׁכַח וְאָכְלָה מִצִּידִי בַּעֲבוּר תִּבְרַכְנִי נִפְשָׁךְ:  
20 וַיֹּאמֶר יִצְחָק אֶל־בְּנוֹ מַה־זֶּה מַה־רַּתָּ לִּמְצֹא בְנִי וַיֹּאמֶר כִּי  
הִקְרָה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ לִפְנֵי: 21 וַיֹּאמֶר יִצְחָק אֶל־יַעֲקֹב גִּשְׁה־נָּא  
וַיִּמְשָׁה בְנֵי הָאִמָּה וְהָ בְנֵי עֵשָׂו אִם־לֹא: 22 וַיָּגֶשׁ יַעֲקֹב אֶל־  
יִצְחָק אָבִיו וַיִּמְשָׁהוּ וַיֹּאמֶר הִקְלָ קוֹל יַעֲקֹב וַחֲדָיִם יָדַי עֲשׂוּ:  
23 וְלֹא הִכִּירוּ כִּי־הָיוּ יָדָיו כִּדְר־עֲשׂוֹ אָחִיו שְׁעָרַת וַיִּבְרַכְהוּ:  
24 וַיֹּאמֶר אַתָּה זֶה בְנִי עָשׂוּ וַיֹּאמֶר אָנִי: 25 וַיֹּאמֶר הַגִּשְׁה לִי  
וְאָכְלָה מִצִּיד בְנִי לִמְעַן תִּבְרַכְךָ נִפְשִׁי וַיִּגְשְׁלֵהוּ וַיֹּאכַל וַיָּבֹא לוֹ  
יֵין וַיִּשְׁתָּ: 26 וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו יִצְחָק אָבִיו גִּשְׁה־נָּא וַשְׁקֵה־לִי בְנִי:  
27 וַיָּגֶשׁ וַיִּשְׁק־לוֹ יָדָה אֶת־רִיחַ בְּגָדָיו וַיִּבְרַכְהוּ וַיֹּאמֶר רֵאָה רֵיחַ  
בְּנִי כִּרְיַח שְׂדֵה אֲשֶׁר בָּרַכְו יְהוָה: שֵׁשׁ 28 וַתִּתְּרֶלֶךְ הָאֱלֹהִים  
מִכָּל־הַשָּׁמַיִם וּמִשְׁמַנֵּי הָאָרֶץ וְרֹב דָּגָן וַחֲדָשׁ: 29 יַעֲבֹדֶךָ עַמִּים  
וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוּ לָךְ לְאִמִּים חַוָּה גְּבִירָה לְאִחֶיךָ וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוּ לָךְ בְּנֵי אִמָּה  
אַרְבָּעָה אָרֶז וּמִבְרַכְיָה בְּרוּךְ: 30 וַיְהִי כַּאֲשֶׁר כָּלָה יִצְחָק לִבְרָכָה  
אֶת־יַעֲקֹב וַיְהִי אָךְ יָצָא יַעֲקֹב מֵאֵת פְּנֵי יִצְחָק אָבִיו וַעֲשׂוֹ  
אָחִיו בָּא מִצִּידוֹ: 31 וַיַּעַשׂ גַּם־הוּא מַטְעָמִים וַיָּבֹא לְאָבִיו וַיֹּאמֶר  
לְאָבִיו יָקָם אָבִי וַיֹּאכַל מִצִּיד בְּנוֹ בַּעֲבֹר תִּבְרַכְנִי נִפְשָׁךְ: 32 וַיֹּאמֶר  
לוֹ יִצְחָק אָבִיו מִ־אַתָּה וַיֹּאמֶר אָנִי בָנָה בְכוֹרְךָ עֲשׂוּ: 33 וַיַּחֲדֵד  
יִצְחָק חֲרָדָה גְּדֻלָּה עַד מָאֹד וַיֹּאמֶר מִ־רֵאפּוֹא הוּא הִצֵּר־צִיד וַיָּבֹא  
לִי וַיֹּאכַל מִכָּל בְּטֶרֶם הָבּוֹא וַיִּבְרַכְהוּ גַם־בְּרוּךְ יְהוָה: 34 כִּשְׁמַע  
עָשׂוֹ אֶת־דִּבְרֵי אָבִיו וַיַּצְעַק צַעֲקָה גְּדֻלָּה וּמָרָה עַד־מָאֹד וַיֹּאמֶר  
לְאָבִיו בְּרַכְנִי גַם־אָנִי אָבִי: 35 וַיֹּאמֶר בָּא אַחֶיךָ בְּמֶרְמֶה וַיִּקַּח

הַבָּאֵר אֲשֶׁר חָפְרוּ וַיֹּאמְרוּ לוֹ מִצְאָנוּ מַיִם: 33 וַיִּקְרָא אֹתָהּ  
שִׁבְעָה עַל-כֵּן שֵׁם-הָעֵדֶר בָּאֵר שִׁבְעָה עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה: 34 וַיֵּדַע  
עֶשָׂו בֶּן-אַרְבָּעִים שָׁנָה וַיִּקַּח אִשָּׁה אֶת-יְהוּדִית בַּת-בְּאֵרִי הַחִתִּי וְאֶת-  
בְּשֵׁמֶת בַּת-אֵילָן הַחִתִּי: 35 וַתְּהִיֶּנּוּ מֵדַת רוּחַ לִיצְחָק וּלְרִבְקָה: 36

## CHAPTER XXVII.

1 וַיֵּדַע בְּרִיזְקֹן יִצְחָק וַתִּכְתּוּן עֵינָיו מֵרָאֹת וַיִּקְרָא אֶת-עֶשָׂו  
בְּנוֹ הַגָּדֹל וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו בְּנִי וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו הִנְנִי: 2 וַיֹּאמֶר הִנֵּה-נָא  
וְקִנֵּיתִי לֹא יִדְעֵתִי יוֹם מוֹתִי: 3 וַעֲתָה שְׂאֵנָא כְּלִיָּהּ תִּלְכֶּה וְקִשְׁתְּךָ  
וְצֵא הַשָּׂדֶה וְצֻדָה לִי צִידָה: 4 וַעֲשֵׂה-לִי מִסְעָפִים כַּאֲשֶׁר אָהַבְתִּי  
וְהִבִּיֵּאתָ לִי וְאָכְלָה בַּעֲבוּר תִּבְרַכְךָ נַפְשִׁי בְּטָרֶם אָמוֹת: 5 וְרִבְקָה  
שָׁמְעַת בְּדִבְרֵי יִצְחָק אֶל-עֶשָׂו בְּנוֹ וַיִּלְכֶּה עֶשָׂו הַשָּׂדֶה לְצֻד צִיד  
לְהָבִיא: 6 וְרִבְקָה אָמְרָה אֶל-יַעֲקֹב בְּנָה לֵאמֹר הִנֵּה שָׁמְעֵתִי אֶת-  
אָבִיךָ מְדַבֵּר אֶל-עֶשָׂו אֲחִיךָ לֵאמֹר: 7 הִבִּיֵּאתָ לִי צִיד וַעֲשֵׂה-לִי  
מִסְעָפִים וְאָכְלָה וְאִבְרַכְכָּה לִפְנֵי יְהוָה לִפְנֵי מוֹתִי: 8 וַעֲתָה בְנִי  
שָׁמַע בְּקֹלִי לֵאשֶׁר אָנִי מֵצֵה אֹתָךְ: 9 לָךְ-נָא אֶל-הִצְאֹן וְקַח-  
לִי מִשָּׁם שְׁנֵי גִדִּי עֹיִם טָבִים וְאֶעֱשֶׂה אִתָּם מִסְעָפִים לְאָבִיךָ  
כַּאֲשֶׁר אָהַב: 10 וְהִבֵּאתָ לְאָבִיךָ וְאָכַל בַּעֲבוּר אֲשֶׁר יִבְרַכְךָ לִפְנֵי  
מוֹתִי: 11 וַיֹּאמֶר יַעֲקֹב אֶל-רִבְקָה אִמּוֹ הֵן עָשׂו אָחִי אֵישׁ שָׂעִר  
וְאָנֹכִי אִישׁ חָלָק: 12 אֲוִלִי יִמְשְׁנִי אָבִי וְהִיִּיתִי בְּעֵינָיו כַּמְתַּעֲתַע  
וְהִבֵּאתִי עָלַי קָלְלָה וְלֹא בִרְכָה: 13 וַתֹּאמֶר לוֹ אִמּוֹ עָלֶיךָ קִלְלָתְךָ  
בְּנִי אֲךָ שָׁמַע בְּקֹלִי וְלֹךְ קַח-לִי: 14 וַיִּלְכֶּה וַיִּקַּח וַיָּבֵא לְאִמּוֹ וַתַּעַשׂ  
אִמּוֹ מִסְעָפִים כַּאֲשֶׁר אָהַב אָבִיו: 15 וַתִּקַּח רִבְקָה אֶת-בְּגָדֶי עֶשָׂו  
בְּנָהּ הַגָּדֹל הַחֲמֹדֹת אֲשֶׁר אֹתָהּ בִּפְרִית וַתִּלְבָּשׂ אֶת-יַעֲקֹב בְּנָהּ  
הַקָּטָן: 16 וְאֵת עֹרֹת גִּדֵּי הָעֹיִם הִלְבִּישָׁה עַל-יָדָיו וְעַל חִלְקָת



וַיָּבֹא עַד פְּרִטְל מֶאֶד׃ 14 וַיְהִי לוֹ מִקְנֵה-צֹאן וּמִקְנֵה בָקָר וַעֲבֹדָה  
רָבָה וַיִּקְנְאוּ אֹתוֹ פְּלִשְׁתִּים׃ 15 וְכָל-הַבְּאֵרֹת אֲשֶׁר חָפְרוּ עֲבָדֵי  
אָבִיו בְּיַמֵּי אַבְרָהָם אָבִיו סִתְּמוּם פְּלִשְׁתִּים וַיִּמְלְאוּם עָפָר׃ 16 וַיֹּאמֶר  
אַבְיִמֶלֶךְ אֶל-יִצְחָק לֵךְ מֵעִמָּנוּ כִּי-עָצַמְתָּ מִמָּנוּ מֶאֶד׃ 17 וַיֵּלֶךְ  
מִשָּׁם יִצְחָק וַיֵּחָן בְּנַחֲל־גֶרַר וַיֵּשֶׁב שָׁם׃ 18 וַיֵּשֶׁב יִצְחָק וַיַּחְפְּרוּ  
אֶת-הַבְּאֵרֹת הַמֵּיִם אֲשֶׁר חָפְרוּ בְּיַמֵּי אַבְרָהָם אָבִיו וַסִּתְּמוּם פְּלִשְׁתִּים  
אַחֲרֵי מוֹת אַבְרָהָם וַיִּקְרָא לָהֶן שְׁמוֹת בְּשֵׁמֹת אֲשֶׁר-קָרָא לָהֶן  
אָבִיו׃ 19 וַיַּחְפְּרוּ עֲבָדֵי-יִצְחָק בְּנַחֲל וַיִּמְצְאוּ-שָׁם בְּאֵר מַיִם חַיִּים׃  
20 וַיְרִיבוּ רַעִי גֶרַר עִם-רַעֲיֵי יִצְחָק לֵאמֹר לָנוּ הַמַּיִם וַיִּקְרָא שֵׁם-  
הַבְּאֵר עֵשֶׂק כִּי הִתְעַשְׂקוּ עִמּוֹ׃ 21 וַיַּחְפְּרוּ בְּאֵר אַחֲרֵת וַיְרִיבוּ  
נֹם-עֲלִיָּה וַיִּקְרָא שְׁמָהּ שִׁטְנָה׃ 22 וַיַּעֲתֶק מִשָּׁם וַיַּחְפֹּר בְּאֵר  
אַחֲרֵת וְלֹא רָבוּ עָלֶיהָ וַיִּקְרָא שְׁמָהּ רְחֹבוֹת וַיֹּאמֶר כִּי-רַעְתָּה הָרְחִיב  
יְהוָה לָנוּ וּפְרִינוּ בְּאֶרֶץ׃ רַבִּי 23 וַיַּעַל מִשָּׁם בְּאֵר שָׁבַע׃ 24 וַיִּרְא  
אֱלֹהֵי יְהוָה בַּלַּיְלָה הַהוּא וַיֹּאמֶר אֲנֹכִי אֱלֹהֵי אַבְרָהָם אָבִיךָ אֵל-  
תִּדְאָ כִּי-אַתָּה אֲנֹכִי וּבִרְכַּתִּיךָ וַהֲרִבִּיתִי אֶת-זֶרְעֶךָ בַּעֲבוּר אַבְרָהָם  
עֲבָדִי׃ 25 וַיָּבֶן שָׁם מִזְבֵּחַ וַיִּקְרָא בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה וַיִּסַּח-שָׁם אֹהֶל  
וַיִּכְרֹשֶׁם עֲבָדֵי-יִצְחָק בְּאֵר׃ 26 וַאֲבִימֶלֶךְ הֵלֵךְ אֵלָיו מִגֶּרַר וַאֲחֻזַּת  
מַרְעָהּ וּפִיכֹל שׁוֹר-צִבְאוֹ׃ 27 וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָהֶם יִצְחָק מִדּוֹעַ בָּאתֶם  
אֵלַי וְאַתֶּם שֹׁנְאֶתֶם אוֹתִי וְתִשְׁלַחְנִי מֵאַתְכֶּם׃ 28 וַיֹּאמְרוּ רָאוּ  
רָאִינוּ כִּי-רַחֲמֵי יְהוָה עִמָּךְ וְנֹאמַר תְּהִי נָא אֱלֹהֵי בְנוֹתֵינוּ בְּיַעֲנוּ  
וּבִנֵּיךָ וְנִכְרַתָּה בְרִית עִמָּךְ׃ 29 אִם-תַּעֲשֶׂה עִמָּנוּ רָעוּהָ כַּאֲשֶׁר  
לֹא נִגְעַנְךָ וְכַאֲשֶׁר עָשִׂינוּ עִמָּךְ רַק-טוֹב וְנִשְׁלַחְךָ בְּשָׁלוֹם אִתָּה  
עֲתָה בְרוּךְ יְהוָה׃ חֲמִישׁ 30 וַיַּעַשׂ לָהֶם מִשְׁתֶּה וַיֹּאכְלוּ וַיִּשְׁתּוּ׃  
31 וַיִּשְׁכְּמוּ בַּבֹּקֶר וַיִּשָּׁבְעוּ אִישׁ לְאָחִיו וַיִּשְׁלַחֵם יִצְחָק וַיָּלְכוּ מֵאֹתוֹ  
בְּשָׁלוֹם׃ 32 וַיְהִי בֵּינָם הַהוּא וַיָּבֹאוּ עֲבָדֵי יִצְחָק וַיַּגִּדוּ לוֹ עַל-אֲדֻזּוֹת

32 וַיֹּאמֶר עֲשׂוּ הַנְּהָ אֲנֹכִי הוֹלֵךְ לָמוֹת וּלְפַחֲזָה לִי בְכֹרָה:  
 33 וַיֹּאמֶר יַעֲקֹב הַשְׁבַּעָה לִּי כִּי־זֶה יוֹם וַיִּשָּׁבַע לּוֹ וַיִּמְכֹּר אֶת־בְּכֹרְתּוֹ  
 לַיַּעֲקֹב: 34 וַיַּעֲקֹב נָתַן לַעֲשׂוֹ לֶחֶם וַיָּנִיד עַד־שֵׁם וַיֹּאכַל וַיִּשֶׁת  
 וַיָּקֶם חֵלֶד וַיָּבֹו עֲשׂוֹ אֶת־הַבְּכֹרָה: פ

## CHAPTER XXVI.

1 וַיְהִי רָעַב בָּאָרֶץ מְלֵכַד הָרָעַב הָרִאשׁוֹן אֲשֶׁר הָיָה בִּימֵי  
 אַבְרָהָם וַיֵּלֶךְ יִצְחָק אֶל־אֲבִימֶלֶךְ מֶלֶךְ־פְּלִשְׁתִּים נִגְרָה: 2 וַיֵּרָא  
 אֵלָיו יְהוָה וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל־תֵּרֶד מִצְרַיִם שָׁכֵן בָּאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר אָמַר אֲלֶיךָ:  
 3 גֵּד בָּאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת וְאֵתָּה עִמָּךְ וְאֶבְרָכְךָ כִּי־לֶךְ וּלְזֹרְעָךְ אֶתֵּן  
 אֶת־כָּל־הָאָרֶצַּת הָאֵל וַחֲקֻמֹּתַי אֶת־הַשְׁבַּעָה אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי  
 לְאַבְרָהָם אָבִיךָ: 4 וְהִרְבִּיתִי אֶת־זֹרְעָךְ כְּכֹכְבֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם וְנָתַתִּי  
 לְזֹרְעָךְ אֶת כָּל־הָאָרֶצַּת הָאֵל וְהִתְבָּרְכוּ בְּזֹרְעָךְ כָּל גִּיד הָאָרֶץ:  
 5 עָקֹב אֲשֶׁר־שָׁמַע אַבְרָהָם בְּקִלִּי וַיִּשְׁמֹר מִשְׁמֶרֶתִי מִצֻּרֵי חֻקֹּתַי  
 וְחֻדֹתַי: שׁ 6 וַיֵּשֶׁב יִצְחָק בְּנִגְרָה: 7 וַיִּשְׁאָלוּ אֲנָשֵׁי הַמָּקוֹם  
 לְאִשְׁתּוֹ וַיֹּאמֶר אֲחַתִּי הִיא כִּי יֵדָא לֵאמֹד אִשְׁתִּי פֶן־יִהְיֶה־לִּי אֲנָשִׁי  
 הַמָּקוֹם עַל־רִבְקָה כִּי־טוֹבַת מְרָאָה הִיא: 8 וַיְהִי כִּי־אָרְכְּבוּ־לּוֹ שֵׁם  
 הַיָּמִים וַיִּשְׁקָח אֲבִימֶלֶךְ מֶלֶךְ פְּלִשְׁתִּים בְּעַד הַחֲלוֹן וַיֵּדָא וְהַנְּה  
 יִצְחָק מִצְחָק אֶת רִבְקָה אִשְׁתּוֹ: 9 וַיִּקְרָא אֲבִימֶלֶךְ לְיִצְחָק וַיֹּאמֶר  
 אַךְ הִנֵּה אִשְׁתְּךָ הִיא וְאֵיךְ אָמַרְתָּ אֲחַתִּי הִיא וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו יִצְחָק  
 כִּי אָמַרְתִּי פֶן־אָמוֹת עָלֶיךָ: 10 וַיֹּאמֶר אֲבִימֶלֶךְ מִדַּוְּזֹאת עֲשִׂית  
 לָנוּ כְּמַעַט שָׁכַב אַחַד הָעָם אֶת־אִשְׁתְּךָ וַחֲבַאתָ עָלֵינוּ אֲשָׁם:  
 11 וַיֵּצֵא אֲבִימֶלֶךְ אֶת־כָּל־הָעָם לֵאמֹד הַנִּגְעַ בְּאִישׁ הַזֶּה וּבְאִשְׁתּוֹ  
 מוֹת יוֹמָת: 12 וַיִּזְרַע יִצְחָק בָּאָרֶץ הַהִוא וַיִּמְצָא בִּשְׁנָה הַהִוא  
 מֵאָה שְׁעָרִים וַיְבָרְכֵהוּ יְהוָה: שׁלִישׁ 13 וַיִּגְדַּל הָאִישׁ וַיֵּלֶךְ הוֹלֵךְ

יָלְדָה חַגַר הַמִּצְרִית שְׂפָחַת שָׂרָה לְאַבְרָהָם: 13 וְאֵלֶּה שְׁמוֹת בְּנֵי  
 יִשְׁמָעֵאל בְּשִׁמְתָם לְחֻלְדָּתָם בְּכֹר יִשְׁמָעֵאל נָבִית וְקָדָר וְאַדְבָּאֵל  
 וּמִבְשָׁם: 14 וּמִשְׁמַע וְדֹמָה וּמִשָּׂא: 15 חֲדָד וְחִימָא יִמּוֹד נָפִישׁ  
 וְקִדְמָה: מִפְסֵר 16 אֵלֶּה הֵם בְּנֵי יִשְׁמָעֵאל וְאֵלֶּה שְׁמֹתָם בְּחֻצֵּיהֶם  
 וּבְמִדְרֹתָם שְׁנֵים-עָשָׂר נָשִׂיָּם לְאַבְרָהָם: 17 וְאֵלֶּה שְׁנֵי חַיֵּי יִשְׁמָעֵאל  
 מֵאֵת שָׂנָה וּשְׁלֹשִׁים שָׁנָה וְשִׁבְעַת שָׁנִים חַיָּוָה וְחַיָּוָה וְיִאֲסָף אֶל-  
 עַמּוּז: 18 וַיִּשְׁכְּנוּ מִחִילָה עַרְשׁוֹר אֲשֶׁר עַל-פְּנֵי מִצְרַיִם בְּאֶמְתָּה  
 אֲשֶׁרָה עַל-פְּנֵי כָל-אֶחָיו נָפַל: פ

19 וְאֵלֶּה הַחֻלְדֹת יִצְחָק בֶּן-אַבְרָהָם אֲבִירָהּ הוֹלִיד אֶת-יִצְחָק:  
 20 וְיִדָּה יִצְחָק בֶּן-אַרְבָּעִים שָׁנָה בְּקָחָתוֹ אֶת-רִבְקָה בַּת-בְּתוּאֵל  
 הָאֲרָמִי מִפֶּדֶן אָרָם אֲחֹת לָבֵן הָאֲרָמִי לוֹ לְאִשָּׁה: 21 וַיַּעֲמֵר  
 יִצְחָק לַיהוָה לְנֶכֶח אִשְׁתּוֹ כִּי עֲקָרָה הָיָה וַיַּעֲמֵר לוֹ יְהוָה וַתֵּהָרֵד  
 רִבְקָה אִשְׁתּוֹ: 22 וַיִּתְרַצְצוּ תְּבָנִים בְּקִרְבָּהּ וַתֹּאמֶר אִם-כֵּן לִפְנֵי  
 יְהוָה אֲנִי וְתִלְכָּה לְדָרֶשׁ אֶת-יְהוָה: 23 וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה לָהּ שְׁנֵי גֵימִל  
 בְּבִטְנָהּ וּשְׁנֵי לֵאמִים מִמֶּעַיִן יִפְרְדוּ וְלֹאֵם מִלֵּאֵם יֵאֱמָץ וְרֵב יַעֲבֹד  
 צֶעֶד: 24 וַיִּמְלְאוּ יְמִיהָ לְלֵדָת וַחֲנָה תוֹמָם בְּבִטְנָהּ: 25 וַיֵּצֵא  
 תְּדֹאשׁוֹן אֲרָמוֹנִי כָּלֹו בְּאֵדְרֵת שַׁעַר וַיִּקְרָאוּ שְׁמוֹ עֶשָׂו: 26 וְאַחֲרֵי-  
 כֵן יֵצֵא אָחִיו וְיִדָּה אֲחֹת בְּעֵקֶב עֶשָׂו וַיִּקְרָא שְׁמוֹ יַעֲקֹב וַיִּצְחָק  
 בְּרִשְׁשֵׁים שָׁנָה בְּלֵדָת אֶתָּם: 27 וַיִּגְדְּלוּ הַנְּעָרִים וַיִּדָּה עֶשָׂו אִישׁ  
 יִדְעָ צִיד אִישׁ שָׂדֶה וַיַּעֲקֹב אִישׁ תֵּם יֹשֵׁב אֲחֻלִּים: 28 וַיֵּאָתֶב  
 יִצְחָק אֶת-עֶשָׂו כִּי-צִיד בָּפִיו וּרְבִקָּה אֶהְבֵּת אֶת-יַעֲקֹב: 29 וַיִּזְדַּר  
 יַעֲקֹב נָגִיד וַיָּבֹא עֶשָׂו מִן-הַשָּׂדֶה וְהוּא עָיִף: 30 וַיֹּאמֶר עֶשָׂו אֶל-  
 יַעֲקֹב הֲלֹעִיטָנִי גֵא מִן-הָאָדָם הָאָדָם הַזֶּה כִּי עָיִף אֲנִי עַל-כֵּן  
 קָרָא-שְׁמוֹ אֲדָוָם: 31 וַיֹּאמֶר יַעֲקֹב מִכָּרָה כִּי־וָאֵת-בְּכֹרְתִי לִי:

61 וַתָּקֶם רַבְקָה וַתַּעֲרֹתֶיהָ וַתִּרְפָּנֶהָ עַל-הַגְּמָלִים וַתִּלְכְּנָה אַחֲרֵי הָאִישׁ וַיִּקַּח הָעֶבֶד אֶת-רַבְקָה לְיָלָד׃ 62 וַיִּצְחָק בָּא מְבֹאֵא בְּאֶרֶץ לְחֵי רְאִי וְהוּא יוֹשֵׁב בְּאֶרֶץ הַנּוֹב׃ 63 וַיֵּצֵא יִצְחָק לְשׁוּחַ בִּשְׂדֵה לַפְּנוֹת עָרֹב וַיִּשָּׂא עֵינָיו וַיֵּרָא וַהֲנֵה גְמָלִים בָּאִים׃ 64 וַתִּשָּׂא רַבְקָה אֶת-עֵינֶיהָ וַתֵּרָא אֶת-יִצְחָק וַתִּפֹּל מֵעַל הַגְּמָל׃ 65 וַתֹּאמֶר אֶל-הָעֶבֶד מִי-הָאִישׁ הַלֹּזֶה הַהֶלֶךְ בִּשְׂדֵה לְקִרְאֹתַי וַיֹּאמֶר הָעֶבֶד הוּא אֲדֹנִי וַתִּקַּח הַצִּעִיף וַתַּחֲבֹס׃ 66 וַיִּסְפֹּר הָעֶבֶד לְיִצְחָק אֵת כָּל-הַדְּבָרִים אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה׃ 67 וַיְבָאֶה יִצְחָק הָאֱלֹהִלָּה שָׂרָה אִמּוֹ וַיִּקַּח אֶת-רַבְקָה וַתַּחֲזִילוּ לָאִשָּׁה וַיִּתְּנָהּ יִצְחָק אַחֲרֵי אִמּוֹ׃

אָמוֹ׃ פ ששי

## CHAPTER XXV.

1 וַיָּסֶף אַבְרָהָם וַיִּקַּח אִשָּׁה וְשֵׁמָה קְטוֹרֶה׃ 2 וַתֵּלֶד לוֹ אֶת-זִמְרָן וְאֶת-יִקְשָׁן וְאֶת-מִדָּן וְאֶת-מִדְּגָן וְאֶת-יִשְׂבָּק וְאֶת-שׁוּחַ׃ 3 וַיִּקְשָׁן יָלַד אֶת-שִׁבְאָה וְאֶת-דָּדָן וּבְנֵי דָדָן הֵיוּ אֲשׁוּרִים וְלִטְוִשִׁים וְלֵאמִיִּם׃ 4 וּבְנֵי מִדָּן עֵיפָה וְעֵפֶר וְחִנֹּךְ וַאֲבִדֶּעַ וְאֶלְדֶּעָה כָּל-אֵלֶּה בְּנֵי קְטוֹרֶה׃ 5 וַיִּתֵּן אַבְרָהָם אֶת-כָּל-אֲשֶׁר-לוֹ לְיִצְחָק׃ 6 וּלְבְנֵי הַפִּילִגְשִׁים אֲשֶׁר לְאַבְרָהָם נָתַן אַבְרָהָם מִתְּנַת וְשִׁלְחָם מֵעַל יִצְחָק בְּנֵי בְעוֹרְתּוֹ חֵי קְדָמָה אֶל-אֶרֶץ קְדָם׃ 7 וְאֵלֶּה יְמֵי שְׁנֵי-חַיֵּי אַבְרָהָם אֲשֶׁר-חֵי מֵאֵת שָׁנָה וְשִׁבְעִים שָׁנָה וְחֹמֶשׁ שָׁנִים׃ 8 וַיָּגַע וַיָּמָת אַבְרָהָם בְּשִׁיבָה סוּבָה וְקָן וְשָׁבַע וַיֵּאסֹף אֶל-עַמּוּ׃ 9 וַיִּקְבְּרוּ אֹתוֹ יִצְחָק וַיִּשְׁמַעֵאל בְּנָיו אֶל-מַעֲרַת הַמַּכְפֵּלָה אֶל-שְׂדֵה עֶפְרָן בֶּן-צֹחַר הַחֲתִי אֲשֶׁר עַל-פְּנֵי מְמֹרָא׃ 10 הַשְּׂדֵה אֲשֶׁר-קָנָה אַבְרָהָם מֵאֵת בְּנֵי-חֲתִי שֵׁמָה קָבַר אַבְרָהָם וְשָׂרָה אִשְׁתּוֹ׃ 11 וַיְהִי אַחֲרָי מוֹת אַבְרָהָם וַיְבָרֶךְ אֱלֹהִים אֶת-יִצְחָק בָּנוֹ וַיֵּשֶׁב יִצְחָק עִם-בְּאֵר לְחֵי רְאִי׃ פ שביעי 12 וְאֵלֶּה תִּלְדוֹת יִשְׁמַעֵאל בֶּן-אַבְרָהָם אֲשֶׁר

וַיְהִי הָעֶלְמָה הַיְצֵאת לְשָׂאֵב וְאִמְרָתִי אֵלֶיהָ הִשְׁקִינִינָא מַעַם-  
טִים מִכָּדָד: 44 וְאָמְרָה אֵלַי נָם-אַתָּה שְׂתָה וְגַם לְגַמְלִיק אֲשָׂאֵב  
וְהָאִשָּׁה אֲשֶׁר-הִכִּיתִי יְהוָה לְבֶן-אֲדָנִי: 45 אֲנִי מָרָם אֲכַלָּהּ  
לְדַבֵּר אֶל-לְבִי וְהִנֵּה רַבָּקָה יֵצֵאת וְכִדָּה עַל-שִׁכְמָהּ וְתֹרֵד הָעֵינָה  
וְהַשָּׂאֵב וְאָמַר אֵלֶיהָ הִשְׁקִינִי נָא: 46 וְתַמְחֵר וְתֹרֵד כִּדָּה מַעְלֶיהָ  
וְתֹאמַר שְׂתָה וְגַם-גַּמְלִיק אֲשָׁקָה וְאִשָּׁה וְגַם הַגַּמְלִים הִשְׁקָתָה:  
47 וְאֲשָׂאֵל אוֹתָהּ וְאָמַר בְּתַמִּי אַתְּ וְתֹאמַר בְּתַבְּתִי וְאֵל בֶּן-נַחֲוֹר  
אֲשֶׁר יִלְדֶה-לּוֹ מִלְכָּה וְאִשָּׁם הַנּוֹם עַל-אַפָּהּ וְהַצְמִידִים עַל-יָדֶיהָ:  
48 וְאָקֵד וְאֲשַׁתְּחִיחַ לַיהוָה וְאֶבְרָךְ אֶת-יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי אֲדָנִי אֲבָרְכֶם  
אֲשֶׁר הִנַּחְנִי בְּדֶרֶךְ אֲמַת לִקְחַת אֶת-בְּתַאֲחִי אֲדָנִי לְבִנּוֹ: 49 וְעַתָּה  
אִם-יִשְׁכֶּם עֲשִׂים חֶסֶד וְאֲמַת אֶת-אֲדָנִי הִגִּידוּ לִי וְאִם-לֹא הִגִּידוּ  
לִי וְאִפְּנֶה עַל-יָמִין אוֹ עַל-שְׂמָאל: 50 וַיַּעַן לָבָן וּבְתוּאֵל וַיֹּאמְרוּ  
מִי־הוּא יֵצֵא הַדָּבָר לֹא נֹכַח דָּבָר אֵלֶיךָ רַע אִדְּטוֹב: 51 הִגִּיד  
רַבָּקָה לְפָנֶיהָ קַח גֵּלָד וְתַחֲוִי אִשָּׁה לְבֶן-אֲדָנִיךָ כַּאֲשֶׁר דָּבָר יְהוָה:  
52 וַיְהִי כַּאֲשֶׁר שָׁמַע עֶבֶד אֲבָרְהָם אֶת-דִּבְרֵיהֶם וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ אֶרְצָה  
לַיהוָה: חֲסִישׁ 53 וַיֵּצֵא הָעֶבֶד כָּל-כֶּסֶף וְכָל זָהָב וּבְגָדִים וַיִּתֵּן  
לְרַבָּקָה וּמִגְדָּנָתָה נָתַן לְאַחִיזָהּ וּלְאִמָּהּ: 54 וַיֹּאכְלוּ וַיִּשְׁתּוּ הוּא  
וְהָאֲנָשִׁים אֲשֶׁר-עִמּוֹ וַיִּלְּנוּ וַיִּקְוּמוּ בִּבְקֹר וַיֹּאמַר שְׁלַחְנִי לְאֲדָנִי:  
55 וַיֹּאמַר אַחִיזָה וְאִמָּה תֵּשֶׁב הַנֶּעֱרָ אִתָּנוּ יָמִים אוֹ עֲשׂוֹר אַחֵר  
תֵּלֶךְ: 56 וַיֹּאמַר אֱלֹהִים אֶל-תַּאֲחֶרֹּי אוֹתִי יְהוָה הַצִּלִּיתִי בְּדַפִּי  
שְׁלַחְנִי וְאִלְכָה לְאֲדָנִי: 57 וַיֹּאמְרוּ נִקְרָא כְּנַעֲרָ וְנִשְׂאָלָה אֶת-  
פִּיהָ: 58 וַיִּקְרְאוּ לְרַבָּקָה וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֵלֶיהָ הַתִּלְכִּי עִם-דָּהָאִישׁ הַזֶּה  
וְתֹאמַר אֵלָיךְ: 59 וַיִּשְׁלְחוּ אֶת-רַבָּקָה אֶחָתָם וְאֶת-מִנְקָתָהּ וְאֶת-  
עֶבֶד אֲבָרְהָם וְאֶת-אֲנָשָׁיו: 60 וַיְבָרְכוּ אֶת-רַבָּקָה וַיֹּאמְרוּ לָהּ  
אֶחָתָנוּ אַתְּ הִי לְאִלְפִי רַבָּקָה וַיִּירֶשׁ זֶרַעְךָ אֶת שַׁעַר שְׁנָאִיו:

אֲנִי בְּרַמְלָה אֲשֶׁר יָלְדָה לְנָחוֹר׃ 25 וַתֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו גַּם־תָּבֶן  
גַּם־מִסְפּוֹא רַב עִמָּנוּ גַּם־מָקוֹם לָלוֹן׃ 26 וַיִּקַּד הָאִישׁ וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ  
לַיהוָה׃ וַיֹּאמֶר בְּרוּךְ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי אֲדֹנִי אֲבִרָהָם אֲשֶׁר לֹא־  
עָזַב חֲסִדּוֹ וְאַמְתּוֹ מֵעַם אֲדֹנִי אֲנִי בְּדֶרֶךְ נִתְּנִי יְהוָה בֵּית אֲחִי  
אֲדֹנִי׃ 28 וַתֵּרֶץ הַנַּעֲרָה וַתֵּגֶד לְבֵית אִמָּהּ בַּדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה׃  
29 וּלְרַבְקָה אָח וּשְׁמוֹ לִבְנֵי יִרְצָן לִבְנֵי אֱלִיהָאִישׁ הַחוּצָה אֶל־  
הָעֵין׃ 30 וַיְהִי כִּרְאֹת אֶת־הַנָּזִים וְאֶת־הַצְמִידִים עַל־יְדֵי אַחֲתָיו  
וּכְשָׁמְעוּ אֶת־דְּבָרֵי רַבְקָה אַחֲתוֹ לֵאמֹר כֹּה־דִבֶּר אֵלַי הָאִישׁ וַיָּבֹא  
אֶל־הָאִישׁ וְהַנָּרָה עִמָּד עַל־הַגְּמָלִים עַל־הָעֵין׃ 31 וַיֹּאמֶר בּוֹא  
בְּרוּךְ יְהוָה לָמָּה תַעֲמֹד בַּחוּץ וְאַנְכִי פָנִיתִי הַבַּיִת וּמָקוֹם לְגַמְלִים׃  
32 וַיָּבֹא הָאִישׁ הַבִּיתָה וַיַּפְתָּח הַגְּמָלִים וַיִּתֵּן תָּבֶן וּמִסְפּוֹא לְגַמְלִים  
וְיִמִּים לִרְחֹץ רַגְלָיו וְרַגְלֵי הָאֲנָשִׁים אֲשֶׁר אִתּוֹ׃ 33 וַיֵּשֶׁם לִפְנֵי  
לֵאכֹל וַיֹּאמֶר לֹא אֲכַל עֹד אִם־דִּבַּרְתִּי דְּבָרִי וַיֹּאמֶר דְּבַר׃ 34 וַיֹּאמֶר  
עַבְד אֲבִרָהָם אֲנִי׃ 35 וַיְהִי בֶרֶךְ אֶת־אֲדֹנִי מְאֹד וַיִּגְדַּל וַיִּתֵּן־  
לּוֹ צֹאן וּבָקָר וְכֶסֶף וְזָהָב וְעַבְדִּים וְשִׁפְחוֹת וּגְמָלִים וַחֲמֹרִים׃  
36 וַתֵּלֶד שָׂרָה אִשְׁת אֲדֹנִי בֶן לְאֲדֹנִי אַחֲרִי וַקְּנָתָהּ וַיִּתֵּן־לָהּ אֶת־  
כָּל־אֲשֶׁר־לָהּ׃ 37 וַיִּשְׁבַּעַנִּי אֲדֹנִי לֵאמֹר לֹא־תִקַּח אִשָּׁה לְבְנִי  
מִבְּנוֹת הַכְּנַעֲנִי אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי יֹשֵׁב בְּאֶרֶצוֹ׃ 38 אִם־לֹא אֶל־בֵּית־  
אָבִי תֵלֶךְ וְאֶל־מִשְׁפַּחְתִּי וּלְקַחְתָּ אִשָּׁה לְבְנִי׃ 39 וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל־אֲדֹנִי  
אֵלַי לֹא־תֵלֶךְ הָאִשָּׁה אַחֲרַי׃ 40 וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלַי יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר־הִתְּהַלַּכְתִּי  
לִפְנֵי יְשׁוּלָח מַלְאָכּוֹ אֲתָךְ וְהַצְלִיחַ דְּרָכְךָ וּלְקַחְתָּ אִשָּׁה לְבְנִי  
מִמִּשְׁפַּחְתִּי וּמִבֵּית אָבִי׃ 41 אַז תִּנָּקֶה מֵאֲלֹתַי כִּי תָבוֹא אֶל־  
מִשְׁפַּחְתִּי וְאִם־לֹא יִתְּנֵנוּ לָךְ וְהָיִית גְּנִי מֵאֲלֹתַי׃ 42 וַיָּבֹא הַיּוֹם  
אֶל־הָעֵין וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי אֲדֹנִי אֲבִרָהָם אִם־יִשְׁדָּנָא מְצַלִּיחַ  
דְּרָכֵי אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי הֹלֵךְ עֲלֶיהָ׃ 43 הִנֵּה אֲנִי נֹצֵב עַל־עֵין הַמַּיִם

מִלְדֹתַי וְאֲשֶׁר דִּבַּרְתִּי וְאֲשֶׁר נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי לֵאמֹר לְיֹדְעֶךָ אֶתֵּן אֶת־  
הָאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת הוּא יִשְׁלַח מַלְאָכוֹ לִפְנֶיךָ וְלָקַחְתָּ אִשָּׁה לְבְנִי מִשָּׁם׃  
8 וְאִם־לֹא תֵאבֹה הָאִשָּׁה לָלֶכֶת אַחֲרַי וְנִקִּיתִי מִשְׁבַּעְתִּי וְאֵת רֶגֶל  
אֶת־בְּנִי לֹא תֵשֶׁב שָׁמָּה׃ 9 וְיֵשֶׁם הָעֶבֶד אֶת־יְדוֹ תַּחַת יָרֵךְ אֲבִרְהָם  
אֲדֹנָיו וְיִשְׁבַּע לוֹ עַל־הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה׃ שְׁלִישִׁי 10 וַיִּקַּח הָעֶבֶד עֲשָׂוָה  
גַּמְלִים מִגַּמְלֵי אֲדֹנָיו וְיֵלֶךְ וְכָל־טוֹב אֲדֹנָיו בִּידוֹ וַיָּקֶם וַיֵּלֶךְ אֶל־  
אֲרָם נַהֲרַיִם אֶל־עֵיר נַחֲוֹד׃ 11 וַיְבַרֵךְ הַגַּמְלִים מִחוּץ לָעִיר אֶל־  
בְּאֵר הַמַּיִם לַעֵת עָרֵב לַעֵת צֹאת הַשָּׁמֶשׁ׃ 12 וַיֹּאמֶר וַיְהִי  
אֵלֶיךָ אֲדֹנָי אֲבִרְהָם הִקְרַה־נָּא לִפְנֵי הַיּוֹם וְעֲשׂוּ־חֶסֶד עִם אֲדֹנִי  
אֲבִרְהָם׃ 13 הִנֵּה אֲנִכִּי נֹצֵב עַל־עֵין הַמַּיִם וּבְנוֹת אֲנָשֵׁי הָעִיר  
יֵצְאוּ לְשָׂאֵב מַיִם׃ 14 וַהֲיָה הַנְּעֹר אֲשֶׁר אָמַר אֵלַי הַסֵּר־נָא  
כִּדְּךָ וְאֲשַׁתָּה וְאָמַרְתָּ שְׂתָה וְגַם־גַּמְלִיךָ אֲשָׁקָה אִתָּה הִכְתָּ לַעֲבֹדְךָ  
לִיצְחָק וְכֵּה אֲדַע פִּרְעֻשִׁית חֶסֶד עִם־אֲדֹנִי׃ 15 וַיְהִי־הוּא מָרָם  
כִּלְכָּה לְדַבֵּר וְהִנֵּה רַבְקָה יֹצֵאת אֲשֶׁר יֵלְדָה לְבְתוּרָאֵל בֶּן־מִלְכָּה  
אִשְׁתִּי נַחֲוֹד אֲתִי אֲבִרְהָם וּבָדָה עַל־שִׁכְמָה׃ 16 וַהֲנַעַר טַבַּת  
מִרְאָה מְאֹד בְּתוֹלָה וְאִישׁ לֹא יָדָעָה וַתַּרְדּוּ הָעֵינָה וַתִּמְלֹא כְּדָה  
וַתַּעַל׃ 17 וַיֵּרָץ הָעֶבֶד לִקְרֹאתָהּ וַיֹּאמֶר הַגְּמִיאֲנִי נָא מַעַס־מִים  
מִכַּדְּךָ׃ 18 וַתֹּאמֶר שְׂתֵה אֲדֹנִי וַתִּמְחֶר וַתַּרְדּוּ כְּדָה עַל־יְדֶיהָ  
וַתִּשְׁקָהּ׃ 19 וַתִּכְבֵּל לְהַשְׁקֶתָּ וַתֹּאמֶר גַּם לַגַּמְלִיךָ אֲשָׂאֵב עַד  
אִם־כָּלּוּ לְשִׁתּוֹת׃ 20 וַתִּמְחֶר וַתַּעַר כְּדָה אֶל־הַשְּׁקֶת וַתַּרְץ עוֹד  
אֶל־הַבְּאֵר לְשָׂאֵב וַתִּשְׂאֵב לְכָל־גַּמְלָיו׃ 21 וְהָאִישׁ מִשְׁתַּאֲה לָהּ  
מִחֲרִישׁ לְדַעַת הַהֲצִלִּית יְהוָה דִּרְכּוֹ אִם־לֹא׃ 22 וַיְהִי כִּאֲשֶׁר כָּלּוּ  
הַגַּמְלִים לְשִׁתּוֹת וַיִּקַּח הָאִישׁ גִּזְם וְהֵב בֶּקַע מִשְׁקָלוֹ וְשָׁנִי צְמִידִים  
עַל־יְדֶיהָ עֲשָׂרָה וְהֵב מִשְׁקָלָם׃ 23 וַיֹּאמֶר בַּת־מִי אַתָּה הַגִּידִי נָא  
לִי הֵיכָּה בֵּית־אָבִיךָ מָקוֹם לָנוּ לָלֶיךָ׃ 24 וַתֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו בַּת־בְּתוּרָאֵל

לָךְ נִתְּתִידָה לְעֵינַי בְּנִי-עַמִּי נִתְּתִידָה לָךְ קָבֹר מִתָּהּ: 12 וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה אֲבָרָהָם לִפְנֵי עַם-הָאָרֶץ: 13 וַיֹּדֶבֶר אֶל-עַפְרֹן בְּאוֹנֵי עַם-הָאָרֶץ לֵאמֹר אֵךְ אִם-אַתָּה לֹו שְׁמַעְנִי נָתַתִּי כֶסֶף הַשָּׂדֶה קַח מִמֶּנִּי וְאֶקְבְּרָה אֶת-מֵתִי שָׁמָּה: 14 וַעַן עַפְרֹן אֶת-אַבְרָהָם לֵאמֹר לֹו: 15 אֲדִנֶּה שְׁמַעְנִי אֶרֶץ אַרְבַּע מֵאוֹת שֶׁקֶל-כֶּסֶף בִּינֶה וּבִינָה מִדָּה הִוא וְאֶת-מֵתָהּ קָבֹר: 16 וַיִּשְׁמַע אֲבָרָהָם אֶל-עַפְרֹן וַיִּשְׁקַל אֲבָרָהָם לְעַפְרֹן אֶת-הַכֶּסֶף אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר בְּאוֹנֵי בְּנֵי-חֵת אַרְבַּע מֵאוֹת שֶׁקֶל כֶּסֶף עֹבֵר לְסֹחֵר: שֵׁנִי 17 וַיִּקְם יִשְׂרָאֵל עַפְרֹן אֲשֶׁר בִּמְכַפְּלָהּ אֲשֶׁר לִפְנֵי מִמְרָא הַשָּׂדֶה וְהַמַּעְרָה אֲשֶׁר-בּוֹ וְכָל-הָעֵץ אֲשֶׁר בַּשָּׂדֶה אֲשֶׁר בְּכָל-זֶבֶל סָבִיב: 18 לְאַבְרָהָם לְמִקְנָה לְעֵינַי בְּנֵי-חֵת בָּכָל בְּאֵי שְׁעַר-עִיר: 19 וַאֲחֵרֵיכֶן קָבֹר אֲבָרָהָם אֶת-שָׂרָה אִשְׁתּוֹ אֶל-מַעְרַת שְׂדֵה הַמְּכַפְּלָה עַל-פְּנֵי מִמְרָא הִוא חִבְרֹן בְּאֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן: 20 וַיִּקְם הַשָּׂדֶה וְהַמַּעְרָה אֲשֶׁר-בּוֹ לְאַבְרָהָם לְאַחֵז-קָבֹר מֵאֵת בְּנֵי-חֵת: ס

## CHAPTER XXIV.

1 וְאַבְרָהָם זָקֵן בָּא בַּיָּמִים וַיהוָה בֵּרַךְ אֶת-אַבְרָהָם בְּכָל: 2 וַיֹּאמֶר אֲבָרָהָם אֶל-עַבְדּוֹ זָקֵן יִתּוֹ הַמִּשְׁלַל בְּכָל-אֲשֶׁר-לוֹ שֵׁם-נָא יְדָה תַּחַת יְרֵכִי: 3 וַאֲשַׁפְּעָה בַּיהוָה אֱלֹהֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֱלֹהֵי הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר לֹא-תִקַּח אִשָּׁה לִבְנִי מִבְּנוֹת הַכְּנַעֲנִי אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי יֹשֵׁב בְּקִרְבּוֹ: 4 כִּי אֶל-אֶרֶצִי וְאֶל-מוֹלַדְתִּי תֵלֵךְ וְלִקַּחְתָּ אִשָּׁה לִבְנִי לִיצְחָק: 5 וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו הָעֶבֶד אוֹלִי לֹא-תֵאבֶה הָאִשָּׁה לָלֶכֶת אַחֲרִי אֶל-הָאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת הִהְשֵׁב אֲשִׁיב אֶת בְּנִי אֶל-הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר-יֵצֵאת מִשָּׁם: 6 וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו אֲבָרָהָם הִשְׁמַר לָךְ פָּרָשִׁיב אֶת-בְּנִי שָׁמָּה: 7 יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם אֲשֶׁר לָקַחְנִי מִבֵּית אָבִי וּמֵאָרֶץ



אֵלָיו: 18 וְהִתְבָּרְכוּ בִזְרַעָהּ כָּל גִּזְרֵי הָאָרֶץ עַקֵּב אֲשֶׁר שָׁמְעָתָּ  
 בְּקֹלִי: 19 וַיֵּשֶׁב אַבְרָהָם אֶל־נַעֲרָיו וַיִּקְמוּ וַיֵּלְכוּ יַחְדָּו אֶל־בְּאֵר  
 שָׁבַע וַיֵּשֶׁב אַבְרָהָם בְּבֵאֵר שָׁבַע: פ מִפְּסָר 20 וַיְהִי אַחֲרָיִךְ  
 הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה וַיָּנֶה לְאַבְרָהָם לֵאמֹר הִנֵּה יִלְדָּה מִלְּפָנָי גִּם־הוּא  
 בָּנִים לְנַחֲוֹד אַחִיךָ: 21 אֶת־עֹוֹן בְּכֹוֹ וְאֶת־כֹּחַ אַחִיו וְאֶת־קְמוּאַל  
 אָבִי אָדָם: 22 וְאֶת־כֶּשֶׁד וְאֶת־חָוֹן וְאֶת־פִּלְדָּשׁ וְאֶת־דִּלְחָ וְאֶת  
 בְּתוּאֵל: 23 וּבְתוּאֵל יָלַד אֶת־רִבְקָה שְׁמֹנֶה אֵלֶּה יִלְדָּה מִלְּפָנָי  
 לְנַחֲוֹד אַחִי אַבְרָהָם: 24 וּפִילְגֶשׁוּ וּשְׁמָהּ רָאוּמָה וְהָלַד גִּם־הוּא  
 אֶת־מִכָּבֶּת וְאֶת־נָחֶם וְאֶת־תַּחֲשׁ וְאֶת־מַעֲכָה: פ

## CHAPTER XXIII.

1 וַיְהִי חַיִּי שָׁרָה מֵאָה שָׁנָה וְעֶשְׂרִים שָׁנָה וְשֶׁבַע שָׁנִים שְׁנֵי  
 חַיִּי שָׁרָה: 2 וַתָּמָת שָׁרָה בְּקִרְיַת אַרְבַּע הוּא חֲבֵרוֹן בְּאֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן  
 וַיָּבֹא אַבְרָהָם לִסְפֹּד לְשָׁרָה וּלְכַפְתָּהּ: 3 וַיָּקָם אַבְרָהָם מֵעַל פָּנָיו  
 מִתּוֹ וַיְדַבֵּר אֶל־בְּנֵי־חֵת לֵאמֹר: 4 גֵּר־וְחוֹשֵׁב אֲנִכִּי עִמָּכֶם הִנֵּה  
 לִי אֲחֻזַּת־קֶבֶר עִמָּכֶם וְאֶקְבְּרָה מִתִּי מִלִּפְנֵי: 5 וַיַּעֲנוּ בְנֵי־חֵת  
 אֶת־אַבְרָהָם לֵאמֹר לוֹ: 6 שְׁמַעְנוּ יְאֹדָנִי נָשִׂיא אֱלֹהִים אֲתָרָה  
 בְּתוֹכֵנוּ בְּמִבְחָר קִבְּרֵינוּ קֶבֶר אֶת־מֵתָהּ אִישׁ מִפָּנָיו אֶת־קֶבֶרָהּ  
 לֹא־יִכְלָה מִמֶּנּוּ מִקְבֵּר מֵתָהּ: 7 וַיָּקָם אַבְרָהָם וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ לְעַם־הָאָרֶץ  
 לְבְנֵי־חֵת: 8 וַיְדַבֵּר אִתָּם לֵאמֹר אִם־יֵשׁ אֶת־נַפְשְׁכֶם לְקַבֵּר אֶת־  
 מִתִּי מִלִּפְנֵי שְׁמַעְנוּ וּפִגְעוּ־לִי בְּעַפְרוֹן בֶּן־צֹחַר: 9 וַיִּתֵּן־לִי אֶת־  
 מַעֲרַת הַמַּכְפֵּלָה אֲשֶׁר־לוֹ אֲשֶׁר בְּקִצָּה שְׂדֵהוּ בְּכֶסֶף מָלֵא וַיִּתְּנָהּ  
 לִי בְּתוֹכְכֶם לְאֲחֻזַּת־קֶבֶר: 10 וַעֲפְרוֹן יֹשֵׁב בְּתוֹךְ בְּנֵי־חֵת וַיַּעַן  
 עַפְרוֹן הַחִתִּי אֶת־אַבְרָהָם בְּאָזְנוֹ בְּנִיחַת לְכָל בָּאֵי שַׁעַר־עִיר  
 לֵאמֹר: 11 לֹא־אֲדֹנִי שְׁמַעְנִי הַשְׂדֵּה נָתַתִּי לָךְ וְהַמַּעֲרָה אֲשֶׁר־בָּהּ

וַהֲעֵלְהוּ שָׁם לַעֲלֹה עַל אֶחָד הַהָרִים אֲשֶׁר אָמַר אֱלֹהִים: 3 וַיִּשְׁכְּמוּ  
 אַבְרָהָם בַּבֶּקֶר וַיַּחֲבֹשׁ אֶת־חֲמֹדוֹ וַיִּקַּח אֶת־שְׁנֵי נַעֲרָיו אֹתוֹ וְאֶת  
 יִצְחָק בְּנוֹ וַיִּבְקַע עֵצִי עֲלֶיהָ וַיִּקַּם וַיֵּלֶךְ אֶל־הַמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר־אָמַר  
 לֹו הָאֱלֹהִים: 4 בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁלִישִׁי וַיֵּשֶׁא אַבְרָהָם אֶת־עֵינָיו וַיֵּרָא אֶת־  
 הַמָּקוֹם מֵרֶחֶק: 5 וַיֹּאמֶר אַבְרָהָם אֶל־נַעֲרָיו שְׁבַרְלָכֶם פֹּה עִם־  
 הַחֲמֹד וְאַנִּי וְהַנֶּעֱר נֹלְכִים עַד־כָּה וְנִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה וְנִשְׁכַּחַר אֲלֵיכֶם:  
 6 וַיִּקַּח אַבְרָהָם אֶת־עֵצִי הָעֲלֹה וַיֵּשֶׁם עַל־יִצְחָק בְּנוֹ וַיִּקַּח בְּיָדוֹ  
 אֶת־הָאֵשׁ וְאֶת־הַמֶּאֱכָלֶת וַיֵּלְכוּ שְׁנֵיהֶם יחדוֹ: 7 וַיֹּאמֶר יִצְחָק אֶל־  
 אַבְרָהָם אָבִיו וַיֹּאמֶר אָבִי וַיֹּאמֶר הֲנִי בְנִי וַיֹּאמֶר הִנֵּה הָאֵשׁ  
 וְהָעֵצִים וְאַיֵּה הַשָּׂה לַעֲלֹה: 8 וַיֹּאמֶר אַבְרָהָם אֱלֹהִים יִדְּאוּ־לָנוּ  
 הַשָּׂה לַעֲלֹה בְנִי וַיֵּלְכוּ שְׁנֵיהֶם יחדוֹ: 9 וַיָּבֹאוּ אֶל־הַמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר  
 אָמַר־לֹו הָאֱלֹהִים וַיְבִן שָׁם אַבְרָהָם אֶת־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ וַיַּעֲרֹף אֶת־  
 הָעֵצִים וַיַּעֲקֹד אֶת־יִצְחָק בְּנוֹ וַיֵּשֶׁם אֹתוֹ עַל־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ מִמָּעַל  
 לָעֵצִים: 10 וַיִּשְׁלַח אַבְרָהָם אֶת־יָדוֹ וַיִּקַּח אֶת־הַמֶּאֱכָלֶת לְשֹׂחַט  
 אֶת־בְּנוֹ: 11 וַיִּקְרָא אֵלָיו מִלֵּאךְ יְהוָה מִן־הַשָּׁמַיִם וַיֹּאמֶר אַבְרָהָם  
 אַבְרָהָם וַיֹּאמֶר הֲנִי: 12 וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל־תִּשְׁלַח יָדְךָ אֶל־הַנֶּעֱר וְאֶל־  
 תַּעֲשֵׂה לֹו מְאוּמָה כִּי־עַתָּה דַּעֲתִי כִּי־יָדָא אֱלֹהִים אָמֵן וְלֹא חֲשַׁכְתָּ  
 אֶת־בְּנֶךָ אֶת־יְחִידְךָ מִפְּנֵי: 13 וַיֵּשֶׁא אַבְרָהָם אֶת־עֵינָיו וַיֵּרָא  
 וַהֲנִה־אֵיל אַחֵר נֹאחַו בְּכַבֵּד בְּקֶרְנוֹ וַיֵּלֶךְ אַבְרָהָם וַיִּקַּח אֶת־  
 הָאֵיל וַיַּעֲלֵהוּ לַעֲלֹה תַחַת בְּנוֹ: 14 וַיִּקְרָא אַבְרָהָם שֵׁם־הַמָּקוֹם  
 הַהוּא יְהוָה־יִדְּאָה אֲשֶׁר יֹאמַר הַיּוֹם בְּתֹר יְהוָה יִרְאָה: 15 וַיִּקְרָא  
 מִלֵּאךְ יְהוָה אֶל־אַבְרָהָם שְׁנֵית מִן־הַשָּׁמַיִם: 16 וַיֹּאמֶר כִּי נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי  
 נָא־יְהוָה כִּי יַעַן אֲשֶׁר עָשִׂיתָ אֶת־הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה וְלֹא חֲשַׁכְתָּ אֶת־  
 בְּנֶךָ אֶת־יְחִידְךָ: 17 כִּי־כִבְדְּךָ אֲבָרְכְּךָ וְהִרְבָּה אַרְבֶּה אֶת־יִרְעֶךָ  
 כְּכֹכְבֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם וְכָחוּל אֲשֶׁר עַל־שַׁפַּת הַיָּם וַיֵּרָשׁ יִרְעֶךָ אֶת־שָׁעַר

אֱלֹהִים אֶת־עֵינֶיהָ וַתֵּרָא בְּאֵר מַיִם וַתֵּלֶךְ וַתִּמְלֹא אֶת־הַחֲמֹת׃  
 מִן וַתִּשָּׁק אֶת־הַנָּעַר׃ 20 וַיְהִי אֱלֹהִים אֶת־הַנָּעַר וַיַּגְדֵּל וַיֵּשֶׁב  
 בְּמִדְבַּר יִזְרְעֵל קָשָׁת׃ 21 וַיֵּשֶׁב בְּמִדְבַּר פָּאָרָן וַתִּקְחֶהּלוּ אִמּוֹ  
 אִשָּׁה מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם׃ פ ששׁ 22 וַיְהִי בָּעֵת הַהִיא וַיֹּאמֶר אַבְרָמָלֶךְ  
 וּפִיכָל שַׂר־צָבָאוֹ אֶל־אַבְרָהָם לֵאמֹר אֱלֹהִים עִמָּךְ בְּכָל אֲשֶׁר־  
 אַתָּה עֹשֶׂה׃ 23 וְעַתָּה הִשָּׁבְעָה לִּי בָאֱלֹהִים הַנָּה אִם־תִּשְׁקָד לִי  
 וְלִנְתִי וְלִנְכִי בַחֲסֵד אֲשֶׁר־עָשִׂיתִי עִמָּךְ תַּעֲשֶׂה עִמָּדִי וְעַם־הָאָרֶץ  
 אֲשֶׁר־נָתַתָּה בָּהּ׃ 24 וַיֹּאמֶר אַבְרָהָם אֲנֹכִי אֲשָׁבֶע׃ 25 וְהוֹכַח  
 אַבְרָהָם אֶת־אַבְרָמָלֶךְ עַל־אֲדֹתָיו בְּאֵר הַמַּיִם אֲשֶׁר גָּזְלוּ עִבְדֵי־  
 אַבְרָמָלֶךְ׃ 26 וַיֹּאמֶר אַבְרָמָלֶךְ לֹא יָדַעְתִּי מִי עָשָׂה אֶת־הַדָּבָר  
 הַזֶּה וְגַם־אַתָּה לֹא־הִנֵּיתָ לִּי וְגַם אֲנֹכִי לֹא שָׁמַעְתִּי בְלִתִּי הַיּוֹם׃  
 27 וַיִּקַּח אַבְרָהָם צֶאֱן וּבָקָר וַיִּתֵּן לְאַבְרָמָלֶךְ וַיִּכְרְתוּ שְׁנֵיהֶם בְּרִית׃  
 28 וַיָּצַב אַבְרָהָם אֶת־שֶׁבַע כְּבָשׂוֹת הַצֶּאֱן לְבְרָהּ׃ 29 וַיֹּאמֶר  
 אַבְרָמָלֶךְ אֶל־אַבְרָהָם מַה הֵנָּה שֶׁבַע כְּבָשׂוֹת הָאֵלֶּה אֲשֶׁר הִצַּבְתָּ  
 לְבְרָתְךָ׃ 30 וַיֹּאמֶר כִּי אֶת־שֶׁבַע כְּבָשׂוֹת תִּקַּח מִדִּי בַעֲבֹד תַּחֲיֶיהָ  
 לִי לְעֵדָה כִּי חִפְרָתִי אֶת־הַבְּאֵר הַזֹּאת׃ 31 עַל־כֵּן קָרָא לַמָּקוֹם  
 הַהוּא בְּאֵר שֶׁבַע כִּי שָׁם נִשְׁבָּעוּ שְׁנֵיהֶם׃ 32 וַיִּכְרְתוּ בְרִית בֵּין  
 שֶׁבַע וַיִּקַּם אַבְרָמָלֶךְ וּפִיכָל שַׂר־צָבָאוֹ וַיָּשֻׁבוּ אֶל־אֶרֶץ פְּלִשְׁתִּים׃  
 33 וַיַּעַן אִשָּׁל בְּבֶאֱר שֶׁבַע וַיִּקְרָא־שָׁם בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה אֵל עֹלָם׃  
 34 וַיֵּגֶר אַבְרָהָם בָּאָרֶץ פְּלִשְׁתִּים יָמִים רַבִּים׃ פ שבע

## CHAPTER XXII.

1 וַיְהִי אַחֲרֵי הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה וְהָאֱלֹהִים נִסָּה אֶת־אַבְרָהָם  
 וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו אַבְרָהָם וַיֹּאמֶר הִנְנִי׃ 2 וַיֹּאמֶר קַח־נָא אֶת־בְּנֶךְךָ  
 אֶת־יִחִידְךָ אֲשֶׁר־אַתָּה־בָּתָּא אֶת־יִצְחָק וְלֶךְ־לְךָ אֶל־אֶרֶץ הַמִּצְרַיִם

## CHAPTER XXI.

1 וַיְהִי בַּקֵּץ אֶת־שָׂרָה כְּאִשֶּׁר אָמַר יְעֵשׁ וַהֲרָה לְשָׂרָה  
 כְּאִשֶּׁר דִּבֶּר: 2 וַתֵּחֶר וַתֵּלֶד שָׂרָה: לְאַבְרָהָם בֶּן לִזְקֻנָּה לְמוֹעֵד  
 אֲשֶׁר־דִּבֶּר אֵתוֹ אֱלֹהִים: 3 וַיִּקְרָא אַבְרָהָם אֶת־שֵׁם־בְּנוֹ הַנִּלְדָּה  
 לוֹ אֲשֶׁר־יָלְדָהּ לוֹ שָׂרָה יִצְחָק: 4 וַיִּמַּל אַבְרָהָם אֶת־יִצְחָק בְּנוֹ  
 בְּשִׁמְנַת יָמִים כְּאִשֶּׁר צִוָּה אֵתוֹ אֱלֹהִים: חֲמִישִׁי 5 וְאַבְרָהָם בֶּן־  
 מֵאָה שָׁנָה בַּחֲלָל לוֹ אֶת יִצְחָק בְּנוֹ: 6 וַתֹּאמֶר שָׂרָה צָחֵק עָשָׂה  
 לִי אֱלֹהִים כִּלְהִשְׁמֹעַ יִצְחָק־לִי: 7 וַתֹּאמֶר מִי מִלֵּל לְאַבְרָהָם  
 הַנִּיקָה בָנִים שָׂרָה כִּי־יָלְדָתִי בֶּן לִזְקֻנָּה: 8 וַיַּגֵּל הָיֵל וַיִּצְמַל  
 וַיַּעַשׂ אַבְרָהָם מִשְׁתָּה גָדוֹל בְּיוֹם הַצִּמָּה אֶת־יִצְחָק: 9 וַתֵּרָא  
 שָׂרָה אֶת־בֶּרְהָתָהּ הַכַּצִּירִית אֲשֶׁר־יָלְדָה לְאַבְרָהָם מִצְחָק: 10 וַתֹּאמֶר  
 לְאַבְרָהָם גֵּרָשׁ הָאֵמָה הַזֹּאת וְאֶת־בָּנָה כִּי לֹא יִידֵשׁ בֶּרֶהָאֵמָה  
 הַזֹּאת עִם־בְּנֵי עַם־יִצְחָק: 11 וַיֵּרַע הַדָּבָר מְאֹד בְּעֵינֵי אַבְרָהָם  
 עַל אֹדֶת בְּנוֹ: 12 וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים אֶל־אַבְרָהָם אֲל־יֵדַע בְּעֵינֶיךָ  
 עַל־הַנֶּעַר וְעַל־אִמָּתְךָ כֹּל אֲשֶׁר תֹּאמַר אֵלָיךְ שָׂרָה שְׁמַע בְּקוֹלָהּ  
 כִּי בִיצְחָק יִקְרָא לָהּ זָרַע: 13 וְגַם אֶת־בֶּרֶהָאֵמָה לָגוֹי אֲשִׁימֶנּוּ  
 כִּי זָרַעָהּ הוּא: 14 וַיִּשְׁכַּם אַבְרָהָם וַיִּבְרָךְ וַיִּקַּח־לֶחֶם וַחֲמֹת מִים  
 וַיִּתֵּן אֶל־הָגֵר שֵׁם עַל־שִׁכְמָהּ וְאֶת־הַיֵּל וַיִּשְׁלַחָהּ וַתֵּלֶךְ וַתִּתַּע  
 בַּמִּדְבָּר בְּאֵר שָׁבַע: 15 וַיְכַלּוּ הַמַּיִם מִן־הַחֲמֹת וַתִּשְׁלַךְ אֶת־הָיֵל  
 תַּחַת אֶת־הַשִּׁיחִים: 16 וַתֵּלֶךְ וַתֵּשֶׁב לָהּ מִנְּעַר הַדָּחֵק כַּמִּסְתָּה  
 קֶשֶׁת כִּי אָמְרָה אֶל־אַרְאָה בְּמוֹת הַיֵּל וַתֵּשֶׁב מִנְּעַר וַתִּשָּׂא אֶת־  
 קֶלֶה וַתִּבְדֵּךְ: 17 וַיִּשְׁמַע אֱלֹהִים אֶת־קוֹל הַנֶּעַר וַיִּקְרָא מִלֵּאָה  
 אֱלֹהִים וְאֶל־הָגֵר מִן־הַשָּׁמַיִם וַיֹּאמֶר לָהּ מִדֹּחֲלֶךְ הָגֵר אֶל־תֵּרָא  
 כִּי־שָׁמַע אֱלֹהִים אֶל־קוֹל הַנֶּעַר כְּאִשֶּׁר הוּא־שָׁם: 18 קוּמִי שֵׂא  
 אֶת־הַנֶּעַר וְהַחֲוִיקִי אֶת־יָדָךְ בּוֹ כִּי־לָגוֹי גָּדוֹל אֲשִׁימֶנּוּ: 19 וַיִּפְקֹחַ

אֲבִימֶלֶךְ בַּחֲלוֹם הִלִּיחַ וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ הִנֵּה מֵת עַל־הָאִשָּׁה אֲשֶׁר־  
לָקַחְתָּ וְהוּא בָּעֵלְתָּ בָּעַרְלִי: 4 וַאֲבִימֶלֶךְ לֹא קָרַב אֵלֶיהָ וַיֹּאמֶר  
אֲדֹנָי הַנִּי גַם־צָדִיק תִּהְיֶה: 5 הֲלֹא הוּא אָמַר־לִי אַחֲתִי הִוא  
וְהָיָא־גַם־הִוא אִמְרָה אֲתִי הוּא בְּתֵם־לִבִּי וּבִגְנֹן כִּפִּי עָשִׂיתִי  
זֹאת: 6 וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו הָאֱלֹהִים בַּחֲלֹם גַּם אֲנִי יָדַעְתִּי כִּי בְּתֵם־  
לִבְכָּךְ עָשִׂיתָ וְזֹאת וְאֲחֻשָּׁךְ גַּם־אֲנִי אוֹתָךְ מִחֲמַדְלִי עַל־כֵּן לֹא־  
נִתְּתִיךָ לִגְנֹעַ אֵלֶיהָ: 7 וְעַתָּה הִשָּׁב אִשְׁת־הָאִישׁ כִּי־נִבְיָא הוּא  
וְהִתְפַּלֵּל בַּעֲדֶךָ וְחַיָּה וְאִם־אֵתָּךְ מִשִּׁיב רֹעַ כִּי־מוֹת תָּמוּת אִתָּךְ  
וְכָל־אֲשֶׁר־לָךְ: 8 וַיִּשָּׁבֵם אֲבִימֶלֶךְ בִּבְקָר וַיִּקְרָא לְכָל־עַבְדָּיו וַיְדַבֵּר  
אֶת־כָּל־הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה בְּאָזְנֵיהֶם וַיֵּדְאוּ הָאֲנָשִׁים מְאֹד: 9 וַיִּקְרָא  
אֲבִימֶלֶךְ לְאַבְרָהָם וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ מַה־עָשִׂיתָ לָּנוּ וְמַה־חָסַמְתָּ לָּךְ  
כִּי־הִבָּאתָ עָלִי וְעַל־מַמְלַכְתִּי חֲסָמָה גְּדֹלָה מֵעַשִׂים אֲשֶׁר לֹא־  
יַעֲשׂוּ עֲשִׂיתָ עִמָּדִי: 10 וַיֹּאמֶר אֲבִימֶלֶךְ אֵל־אַבְרָהָם מַה רָאִיתָ  
כִּי עָשִׂיתָ אֶת־הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה: 11 וַיֹּאמֶר אַבְרָהָם כִּי אָמַרְתִּי רָק  
אֶיִדְּאָת אֱלֹהִים בַּמָּקוֹם הַזֶּה וַחֲרָגְתִּי עַל־דְּבַר אִשְׁתִּי: 12 וְגַם־  
אִמְנָה אַחֲתִי בַת אָבִי הִוא אֵךְ לֹא בַת־אִמִּי וְהִתְדַלִּי לְאִשְׁרָה:  
13 וַיְהִי כִּאֲשֶׁר חָתְעוּ אוֹתִי אֱלֹהִים מִבֵּית אָבִי וַיֹּאמֶר לִּי יְיָ חֲסִדָּךְ  
אֲשֶׁר תַּעֲשִׂי עִמָּדִי אֵל כָּל־הַמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר נִבְּוא שָׁפָה אֲמַרְדָּלִי  
אֲתִי הוּא: 14 וַיָּקֻחַ אֲבִימֶלֶךְ צֹאן וּבָקָר וַעֲבָדִים וְשִׁפְחוֹת וַיָּתֵן  
לְאַבְרָהָם וַיֵּשֶׁב לוֹ אֶת שְׂרָרָה אִשְׁתּוֹ: 15 וַיֹּאמֶר אֲבִימֶלֶךְ הִנֵּה  
אַרְצִי לִפְנֶיךָ בְּפֹטוֹ בְּעֵינֶיךָ שָׁב: 16 וְלִשְׂרָה אָמַר הִנֵּה נָתַתִּי אֵלֶיךָ  
כֶּסֶף לְאֹחֶיךָ הִנֵּה הוּא־לָךְ כְּסוּם עֵינִים לְכָל אֲשֶׁר אִתָּךְ וְאֶת־כָּל־  
תְּכֵחֶת: 17 וַיִּתְפַּלֵּל אַבְרָהָם אֶל־הָאֱלֹהִים וַיִּדְּפֵא אֱלֹהִים אֶת־  
אֲבִימֶלֶךְ וְאֶת־אִשְׁתּוֹ וְאֶת־חֲזִיוֹ וַיָּלֶדוּ: 18 כִּי־עָצָר עָצָר יְחֹה בְּעַר  
כָּל־דָּחָם לְבֵית אֲבִימֶלֶךְ עַל־דְּבַר שְׂרָה אִשְׁת־אַבְרָהָם: ׀

25 וַיִּהְיוּ אֶת־הָעָרִים הָאֵל וְאֵת כָּל־הַכֶּכֶּר וְאֵת כָּל־יֹשְׁבֵי הָעָרִים  
 וְצִמְחַת הָאֲדָמָה: 26 וַתֵּבֶט אִשְׁתּוֹ מֵאַחֲרָיו וַתִּהְיֶה נֹצֵיב מְלַח:  
 27 וַיִּשְׁפֹּם אֲבָרָהָם בְּבֶקֶר אֶל־הַכִּמְקוֹם אֲשֶׁר־עַמֵּד שֵׁם אֶת־פְּנֵי  
 יְהוָה: 28 וַיִּשְׁקָף עַל־פְּנֵי סֹדֶם וְעֵמֶקָהּ וְעַל כָּל־פְּנֵי אֶרֶץ הַכֶּכֶּר  
 וַיֵּרָא וַהֲנֵה עָלֶיהָ קִימֵר הָאָרֶץ כְּקִימֵר הַכְּבֹשָׁן: 29 וַיְהִי בַשָּׁתַיִת  
 אֱלֹהִים אֶת־עָרֵי הַכֶּכֶּר וַיִּזְכֹּר אֱלֹהִים אֶת־אֲבָרָהָם וַיִּשְׁלַח אֶת־  
 לֹוט מִתּוֹךְ הַחִפְכָּה בְּהַסֵּף אֶת־הָעָרִים אֲשֶׁר־יָשָׁב בָּהֶן לְלוֹט:  
 30 וַיַּעַל לְלוֹט מִצֹּעֵר וַיֵּשֶׁב בְּחָר וַשְׁתִּי בְּנֹתָיו עִמּוֹ כִּי יָדָא לְשִׁבְתָּ  
 בְּצֹעֵר וַיֵּשֶׁב בְּמַעֲרָה הוּא וַשְׁתִּי בְּנֹתָיו: 31 וַתֹּאמֶר הַבְּכִירָה אֶל־  
 הַצְעִידָה אֲבִינוּ זָקֵן וְאִישׁ אֵין בָּאָרֶץ לָבוֹא עָלֵינוּ בְּדֶרֶךְ כָּל־הָאָרֶץ:  
 32 לָכֵן נִשְׁקָה אֶת־אֲבִינוּ יֵין וַתִּשְׁכְּבָה עִמּוֹ וַתַּחֲיֶה מֵאֲבִינוּ זָרַע:  
 33 וַתִּשְׁקֶן אֶת־אֲבִיהֶן יֵין בְּלֵילָה הוּא וַתֵּבֶא הַבְּכִירָה וַתִּשְׁכַּב  
 אֶת־אֲבִיהָ וְלֹא־יָדַע בְּשִׁכְבָּהּ וּבְקֻמָּהּ: 34 וַיְהִי מִמָּחֳרַת וַתֹּאמֶר  
 הַבְּכִירָה אֶל־הַצְעִידָה הֵן־שָׁכַבְתִּי אִמָּשׁ אֶת־אָבִי נִשְׁקָנוּ יֵין גַּם־  
 הַלַּיְלָה וְכֹאִי שָׁכַבְתִּי עִמּוֹ וַתַּחֲיֶה מֵאֲבִינוּ זָרַע: 35 וַתִּשְׁקֶן גַּם  
 בְּלֵילָה הַהוּא אֶת־אֲבִיהֶן יֵין וַתִּקֶּם הַצְעִידָה וַתִּשְׁכַּב עִמּוֹ וְלֹא־  
 יָדַע בְּשִׁכְבָּהּ וּבְקֻמָּהּ: 36 וַתַּהֲרִין שְׁתֵּי בָנוֹת־לֹוט מֵאֲבִיהֶן:  
 37 וַתֵּלֶד הַבְּכִירָה בֵּן וַתִּקְרָא שְׁמוֹ מוֹאָב הוּא אֲבִי־מוֹאָב עַד־  
 הַיּוֹם: 38 וַהַצְעִידָה גַם־הִיא יָלְדָה בֵּן וַתִּקְרָא שְׁמוֹ בֶן־עַמִּי הוּא  
 אָבִי בְנֵי־עַמּוֹן עַד־הַיּוֹם: ׀

## CHAPTER XX.

1 וַיִּסַּע מֹשֶׁם אֲבָרָהָם אֶרְצָה הַנִּגְבַּ וַיֵּשֶׁב בִּירְקָדֶשׁ וּבֵין שָׁד  
 וַיָּגֵר בְּנֶגֶד: 2 וַיֹּאמֶר אֲבָרָהָם אֶל־שָׂרָה אִשְׁתּוֹ אֲחֹתִי הִיא  
 וַיִּשְׁלַח אֲבִימֶלֶךְ מֶלֶךְ גֹּרַר וַיִּקַּח אֶת־שָׂרָה: 3 וַיָּבֵא אֱלֹהִים אֶל־

הָלָאָה וַיֹּאמְרוּ הָאֵחָד בְּאֶלְגֹּדֹר וַיִּשְׁפֹּט שְׁפוֹט עִתָּה גִרְעָה לָךְ מֵהֶם  
וַיַּפְצִרוּ בְּאִישׁ בְּלוֹט מֵאֹד וַיִּגְשׁוּ לְשֹׁכֵר הַדֹּלָת׃ 10 וַיִּשְׁלַחוּ  
הָאֲנָשִׁים אֶת־יָדֵיהֶם וַיָּבִיאוּ אֶת־לוֹט אֲלֵיהֶם הַבֵּיתָה וְאֶת־הַדֹּלָת  
סָגְרוּ׃ 11 וְאֶת־הָאֲנָשִׁים אֲשֶׁר־פָּתַח הַבַּיִת הָיוּ בִּסְגֻדִים מִקְטָן  
וְעַד־גָּדוֹל וַלֹּאֹם לְמִצָּא הַפֶּתַח׃ 12 וַיֹּאמְרוּ הָאֲנָשִׁים אֶל־לוֹט עַד  
מִי־לָךְ פֹּה חָתָן וּבִנָּהּ וּבִנְתָּהּ וְכָל־אֲשֶׁר־לָךְ בְּעִיר הוֹצֵא מִן־  
הַמָּקוֹם׃ 13 כִּי־מִשְׁחָתִים אֲנַחְנוּ אֶת־הַמָּקוֹם הַזֶּה כִּי־גִדְלָהּ  
צִעֲקָתָם אֶת־פְּנֵי יְהוָה וַיִּשְׁלַחְנוּ יְהוָה לְשַׁחְתָּהּ׃ 14 וַיֵּצֵא לוֹט  
וַיִּדְבֹּר אֶל־חֲתָנָיו לֵקְחֵי בָנָתָיו וַיֹּאמֶר קוּמוּ צֵאוּ מִן־הַמָּקוֹם הַזֶּה  
כִּי־מִשְׁחָתִית יְהוָה אֶת־הָעִיר וַיְהִי כַּמִּצְחָק בְּעֵינֵי חֲתָנָיו׃ 15 וְכַמֹּל  
הַחֲטָר עָלָה וַיֵּאֲצֻוּ הַמַּלְאָכִים בָּלוֹט לֵאמֹר קוּם קַח אֶת־אִשְׁתְּךָ  
וְאֶת־שְׁתֵּי בָנֶיךָ הַנִּמְצָאִים פָּרֹת־סָפָה בַּעֲוֹן הָעִיר׃ 16 וַיִּתְמַהֲמְהוּ  
וַיְחַיִּיקוּ הָאֲנָשִׁים בִּידָו וּבִיד־אִשְׁתּוֹ וּבִיד־שְׁתֵּי בָנָתָיו בַּחֲמֹלֶת יְהוָה  
עָלָיו וַיֵּצְאוּ וַיִּנְחֲתוּ מִחוּץ לָעִיר׃ 17 וַיְהִי כַּהוֹצִיאֵם אֹתָם הַחוּצָה  
וַיֹּאמֶר הַמַּלְטָה עַל־נַפְשְׁךָ אֶל־תִּבִּיט אַחֲרֶיךָ וְאֶל־תַּעֲמֹד בְּכַל־  
הַכְּפָר הַחֲרָה הַמַּלְטָה פָּרֹת־סָפָה׃ 18 וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹט אֲלֵיהֶם אֶל־נָא  
אֲדֹנָי׃ 19 הִנֵּה־נָא מִצָּא עֲבָדְךָ חֵן בְּעֵינֶיךָ וַתִּגְדַּל חַסְדְּךָ אֲשֶׁר  
עָשִׂיתָ עִמָּדִי לְהַחְיֹת אֶת־נַפְשִׁי וְאֲנֹכִי לֹא אוֹכֵל לְהַמְלֹט הַחֲרָה  
פָּרֹת־פָּקֵנִי הֲרַעָה וּמָתִי׃ 20 הִנֵּה־נָא הָעִיר הַזֹּאת קָרַבָה לָנוּס שָׁמָּה  
וְהוּא מִצְעָר אִמְלֹטָה נָא שָׁמָּה הָלֹא מִצְעָר הוּא וְחָתִי נַפְשִׁי׃ וַיַּעַן  
21 וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵיו הִנֵּה נִשְׁאַתִּי פָנֶיךָ גַּם לְדַבֵּר הַזֶּה לְבִלְתִּי הַפְּכִי  
אֶת־הָעִיר אֲשֶׁר דִּבַּרְתָּ׃ 22 מִחֹר הַמַּלְטָה שָׁמָּה כִּי לֹא אוֹכֵל  
לַעֲשׂוֹת דָּבָר עַד־בֹּאֶךָ שָׁמָּה עַל־כֵּן קָרָא שֵׁם־הָעִיר צוּעֵר׃  
23 הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ יָצָא עַל־הָאָרֶץ וְלוֹט בָּא צֹעֵר׃ 24 וַיְהִי־הָיָה הַמָּסִיר  
עַל־סֹדֶם וְעַל־עַמּוֹרָה גִּפְרִית וְאֵשׁ מֵאֵת יְהוָה מִן־הַשָּׁמַיִם׃

הַנְּדָנָה הוֹאֵלְתִּי לְדַבֵּר אֶל־אֲדֹנִי וְאֲנִי עֹפֵר וְאֶסֶר: 28 אֲוִלִּי  
 יִחְסְרוּן חֲמִשִּׁים הֲצִדִיקָם חֲמִשָּׁה הַתְּשִׁיחִת בַּחֲמִשָּׁה אֶת־כָּל־הָעִיר  
 וַיֹּאמֶר לֹא אֲשִׁיחִת אִם־אֶמְצָא שָׁם אַרְבָּעִים וַחֲמִשָּׁה: 29 וַיֵּסֶף  
 עוֹד לְדַבֵּר אֵלָיו וַיֹּאמֶר אֲוִלִּי יִמְצְאוּן שָׁם אַרְבָּעִים וַיֹּאמֶר לֹא  
 אֶעֱשֶׂה בְּעֶבֶד הָאֲרָבָעִים: 30 וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל־נָא יָחַד לֵאדֹנִי וְאֶרְבֶּרָה  
 אֲוִלִּי יִמְצְאוּן שָׁם שְׁלֹשִׁים וַיֹּאמֶר לֹא אֶעֱשֶׂה אִם־אֶמְצָא שָׁם  
 שְׁלֹשִׁים: 31 וַיֹּאמֶר הַנְּדָנָה הוֹאֵלְתִּי לְדַבֵּר אֶל־אֲדֹנִי אֲוִלִּי יִמְצְאוּן  
 שָׁם עֶשְׂרִים וַיֹּאמֶר לֹא אֲשִׁיחִת בְּעֶבֶד הָעֶשְׂרִים: 32 וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל־  
 נָא יָחַד לֵאדֹנִי וְאֶרְבֶּרָה אֶת־הַפֶּעַם אֲוִלִּי יִמְצְאוּן שָׁם עֶשְׂרָה  
 וַיֹּאמֶר לֹא אֲשִׁיחִת בְּעֶבֶד הָעֶשְׂרָה: 33 וַיֵּלֶךְ יְחִזְקִיָּה בֶן־אִשָּׁר כָּל־הַ  
 לְדַבֵּר אֶל־אַבְרָהָם וְאַבְרָהָם שָׁב לְמִקְמוֹ: <sup>שליש</sup>

## CHAPTER XIX.

1 וַיָּבֹאוּ שְׁנֵי הַמַּלְאָכִים סָלְמָה בְּעֶרְבַּ וְלוֹם יֹשֵׁב בְּשַׁעַר־סֹדֹם  
 וַיֹּאֲלוּם וַיֵּקֶם לִקְרֹאתָם וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ אִפָּיִם אֲרָצָה: 2 וַיֹּאמֶר הִנֵּה  
 נָא־אֲדֹנִי סוֹדוֹ נָא אֶל־בֵּית עֲבָדְכֶם וְלִינוּ וְרַחֲצוּ רַגְלֵיכֶם וְהִשְׁכַּמְתֶּם  
 וְהִלַּכְתֶּם לְדַרְכְּכֶם וַיֹּאמְרוּ לֹא כִי בָרוּחַ גָּלִין: 3 וַיַּפְצֵרֵם מֵאֹד  
 וַיִּסְרוּ אֵלָיו וַיָּבֹאוּ אֶל־בֵּיתוֹ וַיַּעַשׂ לָהֶם מִשְׁתָּה וּמִצּוֹת אֶפְרָה  
 וַיֹּאכְלוּ: 4 טָרֶם יִשְׁכְּבוּ וְאִנְשֵׁי הָעִיר אִנְשֵׁי סֹדֹם נִסְפוּ עַל־הַבַּיִת  
 מִבְּעֵד וְעִדְזוֹן כָּל־הָעָם מִקְצָה: 5 וַיִּקְרָאוּ אֶל־לוֹם וַיֹּאמְרוּ לוֹ  
 אֵיךְ הָאִנְשִׁים אֲשֶׁר־בָּאוּ אֵלֶיךָ הַלֵּילָה הוֹצִיָאם אֵלֵינוּ וְנִרְעָה אִתָּם:  
 6 וַיֵּצֵא אֱלֹהִים לוֹם הַפֶּתַח וְהִדִּילַת סָגֵר אַחֲרָיו: 7 וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל־  
 נָא אַחֵי תִרְעוּ: 8 הַנְּדָנָה לִי שְׁתֵּי בָנוֹת אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יָדְעוּ אִישׁ  
 אוֹצִיאָהֶנָּה אִתָּהוּן אֲלֵיכֶם וַעֲשׂוּ לָהֶן כַּטּוֹב בְּעֵינֵיכֶם רַק לֹא־נָשִׁים  
 הָיִל אֶל־תַּעֲשׂוּ דָבָר כִּי־עַל־כֵּן בָּאוּ בָצֵל קִרְיָתִי: 9 וַיֹּאמְרוּ גִשְׁ-



וַתִּבְקֹר אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה וַתֵּן לִפְנֵיהֶם וְהוּא עֹמֵד עֲלֵיהֶם תַּחַת הָעֵץ  
 וַיֹּאבְלוּ: 9 וַיֹּאמְרוּ אִלָּיִךְ אֵיךְ שָׂרָה אִשְׁתְּךָ וַיֹּאמֶר הִנֵּה בְּאוֹהֶל:  
 10 וַיֹּאמֶר שׁוּב אֲשׁוּב אֵלֶיךָ כָּעֵת הַזֶּה וְהִנֵּה בֵן לְשָׂרָה אִשְׁתְּךָ  
 וְשָׂרָה שֹׁמַעַת פֶּתַח הָאוֹהֶל הוּא אַחֲרֶיךָ: 11 וְאַבְרָהָם וְשָׂרָה  
 זָקְנִים בָּאִים בַּיָּמִים הַדֵּל לַחַיִּיתָ לְשָׂרָה אִרְחָ בְּנָשִׁים: 12 וַתִּצְחַק  
 שָׂרָה בְּקִרְפָּה לֵאמֹר אַחֲרֵי בְלֹתִי וְהִתְחַלֵּי עֲרֹנָה וְאֵרֶנִּי זָקֵן:  
 13 וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־אַבְרָהָם לָמָּה זֶה צִחַקְךָ שָׂרָה לֵאמֹר הֲאֵף  
 אֲמַנָּם אֵלֶּךְ וְאֲנִי זָקְנָתִי: 14 וַיִּפְלֹא מִיְּהוָה דְּבַר לְמוֹעֵד אֲשׁוּב אֵלֶיךָ  
 כָּעֵת הַזֶּה וְלִשְׂרָה בֵן: 15 וַתַּכְתֵּשׁ שָׂרָה לֵאמֹר לֹא צִחַקְתִּי  
 בִּי וַיִּדְרֹא וַיֹּאמֶר לֹא כִּי צִחַקְתָּ: 16 וַיִּקְמוּ מִשֵּׁם הָאֲנָשִׁים וַיִּשְׁקֹפוּ  
 עַל־פָּנָי סֹדֶם וְאַבְרָהָם הֵלֵךְ עִמָּם לְשִׁלְחָם: 17 וְיְהוָה אָמַר  
 הַמְכַסֶּה אֲנִי מֵאַבְרָהָם אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי עֹשֶׂה: 18 וְאַבְרָהָם הָיוּ יְהוָה  
 לְגֹי גָדֹל וְעַצוֹם וַנְּבָרְכֵהוּ כָּל גִּיּוֹי הָאָרֶץ: 19 כִּי יִדְעֻתִּיו לְמַעַן  
 אֲשֶׁר יֵצֵא אֶת־בְּנָיו וְאֶת־בֵּיתוֹ אַחֲרָיו וְשִׁמְרוּ דְרֹךְ יְהוָה לַעֲשׂוֹת  
 צְדָקָה וּמִשְׁפָּט לְמַעַן הָבִיא יְהוָה עַל־אַבְרָהָם אֶת־אֲשֶׁר־דִּבֶּר  
 עֲלָיו: 20 וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה וְעַקַּת סֹדֶם וְעַמּוֹרָה פִּרְיָהּ וְחִטָּאתָם כִּי  
 כָבְדָה מֵאֹד: 21 אֲרִידֶה־נָּא וְאַרְאֶה הַכְּצַעֲקָתָהּ הַבָּאָה אֵלַי עֲשׂוּ  
 כָלָה וְאִם־לֹא אֲדַעֶרָה: 22 וַיִּפְּנוּ מִשֵּׁם הָאֲנָשִׁים וַיֵּלְכוּ סֹדֶמָה  
 וְאַבְרָהָם עֹדְנֹו עֹמֵד לִפְנֵי יְהוָה: 23 וַיֵּזֶשׁ אַבְרָהָם וַיֹּאמֶר הֲאֵף  
 תִּסְפֶּה צָדִיק עִם־רָשָׁע: 24 אוֹלֵי יֵשׁ חֲמִשִּׁים צְדִיקִים בְּתוֹךְ הָעִיר  
 הֲאֵף תִּסְפֶּה וְלֹא־תִשָּׂא לְמָקוֹם לְמַעַן חֲמִשִּׁים הַצְדִּיקִים אֲשֶׁר  
 בְּקִרְפָּה: 25 חֲלִלָה לָךְ מַעֲשֵׂתִי כִּדְבַר הַזֶּה לְהַמִּית צְדִיק עִם־  
 רָשָׁע וְהִנֵּה כַּצְדִּיק כִּרְשָׁע חֲלִלָה לָךְ הִשְׁפֵּט כָּל־הָאָרֶץ לֹא יַעֲשֶׂה  
 מִשְׁפָּט: 26 וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אִם־אֶמְצָא בְּסֹדֶם חֲמִשִּׁים צְדִיקִים בְּתוֹךְ  
 הָעִיר וְנִשְׁאֵתִי לְכָל־הַמָּקוֹם בְּעִבְרָתִי: 27 וַיַּעַן אַבְרָהָם וַיֹּאמֶר

שָׂרָה אִשְׁתֶּךָ יֵלֶדְתְּ לָךְ בֶּן וְקָרָאתָ אֶת־שְׁמוֹ יִצְחָק וְהִקְמַתִי אֶת־  
 בְּרִיתִי אִתּוֹ לְבְרִית עוֹלָם לִזְרְעוֹ אַחֲרָיו: 20 וְלִשְׁמֵעָאֵל שְׁמַעְתִּיךָ  
 הִנֵּה בִּרְכֹתִי אֹתוֹ וְהִסְרִיתִי אֹתוֹ וְהִדְבִּיתִי אֹתוֹ בְּמֵאֵד מְאֹד שְׁנַיִם־  
 עָשָׂר נְשִׂאִים יוֹלֵד וְגִתְתִּיו לְגִי פָדוּל: 21 וְאֶת־בְּרִיתִי אָקִים אֶת־  
 יִצְחָק אֲשֶׁר תֵּלֵד לָךְ שָׂרָה לְמוֹעֵד הַזֶּה בַּשָּׁנָה הָאַחֲרִית: 22 וְיָכֹל  
 לְדַבֵּר אֹתוֹ יַעֲלֶה אֱלֹהִים מֵעַל אֲבִרְהָם: 23 וַיִּקַּח אֲבִרְהָם אֶת־  
 יִשְׁמָעֵאל בְּנוֹ וְאֶת כָּל־יְלֵדֵי בֵיתוֹ וְאֶת כָּל־מִקְנֵת כֶּסֶףוֹ כָּל־זָכָר  
 בְּאִנְשֵׁי בֵית אֲבִרְהָם וַיָּמָל אֶת־בָּשָׂר עַרְלָתָם בְּעֶצֶם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה  
 כַּאֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר אֲתוֹ אֱלֹהִים: כסדר 24 וְאֲבִרְהָם בֶּן־תְּשָׁעִים וְחָשֶׁעַ שָׁנָה  
 בְּהַמְלֹךְ בָּשָׂר עַרְלָתוֹ: 25 וִישְׁמָעֵאל בְּנוֹ בֶּן־שְׁלֹשׁ עָשָׂר שָׁנָה  
 בְּהַמְלֹךְ אֶת בָּשָׂר עַרְלָתוֹ: 26 בְּעֶצֶם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה נִמְּוֹל אֲבִרְהָם  
 וִישְׁמָעֵאל בָּנוּ: 27 וְכָל־אֲנָשֵׁי בֵיתוֹ יָלִיד בָּיִת וּמִקְנֵת־כֶּסֶף מֵאֵת  
 בֶּן־נֶכֶד נִמְּלוּ אֹתוֹ: פ

## CHAPTER XVIII.

1 וַיָּדָא אֱלֹהִי הַדָּוָה בְּאַלְנֵי מִמְרָא וְהוּא יֵשֵׁב פֶּתַח־הָאֵהֱלִ  
 כְּחָם הַיּוֹם: 2 וַיֵּשֶׁא עֵינָיו וַיָּדָא הִנֵּה שְׁלֹשָׁה אַנְשִׁים נֹצְבִים עָלָיו  
 וַיָּדָא וַיֵּדֶן לְקִרְאָתָם מִפֶּתַח הָאֵהֱלִ וַיִּשְׁתָּחוּ אַרְצָה: 3 וַיֹּאמֶר  
 אֲדֹנָי אִם־נָא מִצָּאתִי חַן בְּעֵינֶיךָ אֶל־נָא תַעֲבֹד מֵעַל עַבְדְּךָ:  
 4 וַיִּקַּח־נָא מֵעֶסְמִים וְדַחְצוֹ רְגֵלֵיכֶם וַהֲשִׁעֵנוּ תַחַת הָעֵץ: 5 וְאִקְרָה  
 סַתְּרָלָחֶם וְסַעְרֵי לִבְכֶם אַחֵר תַּעֲבֹדוּ כִּי־עַל־כֵּן עַבְדְּכֶם עַל־  
 עַבְדְּכֶם וַיֹּאמְרוּ כֵּן תַעֲשֶׂה כַּאֲשֶׁר דִּבַּרְתָּ: 6 וַיִּמְחַד אֲבִרְהָם  
 חֲאֵהֱלָה אֶל־שָׂרָה וַיֹּאמֶר מַה־רֵּי שְׁלֹשׁ סָאִים קָמַח סִלַּת לֹאֲשִׁ  
 וַעֲשֵׂי עָנּוֹת: 7 וְאֶל־הַבָּקָר רֵץ אֲבִרְהָם וַיִּקַּח בֶּן־בָּקָר רֶדֶד וְסוּבָה  
 וַיִּתֵּן אֶל־הַנֶּעֱר וַיִּמְחַד לַעֲשׂוֹת אֹתוֹ: 8 וַיִּקַּח חֲמָאָה וְחֹלֵב וּבָרֶד

## CHAPTER XVII.

1 וַיְהִי אֲבֹרָם בֶּן־תְּשֻׁעִים שָׁנָה וַתֵּשַׁע שָׁנִים הָיָה יְהוָה אֶל־  
 אֲבֹרָם וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו אֲבִירְאֵל שֵׁרִי הִתְהַלֵּךְ לִפְנֵי יְהוָה תָּמִיד׃  
 2 וַתֵּלֶךְ בְּרִיתוֹ בֵּינִי וּבֵינָהּ וְאֵרְפָּה אוֹתָהּ בְּמָאֹד מְאֹד׃ 3 וַיִּפֹּל  
 אֲבֹרָם עַל־פָּנָיו וַיִּדְבֹּר אִתּוֹ אֱלֹהִים לֵאמֹר׃ 4 אֲנִי הִנֵּה בְרִיתִי  
 אִתְּךָ וְהָיִיתָ לְאָב הַמּוֹן גּוֹיִם׃ 5 וְלֹא־יִקְרָא עוֹד אֶת־שְׁמֹךָ אֲבֹרָם  
 וְהָיָה שְׁמֹךָ אֲבֹרָהֶם כִּי אֲבִרְמוֹן גּוֹיִם נִתְּתִיךָ׃ 6 וְהִפְרַתִּי אוֹתָהּ  
 בְּמָאֹד מְאֹד וְנִתְּתִיךָ לְגוֹיִם וּמְלָכִים מִמֶּנּוּ יֵצְאוּ׃ שְׁבִיעִי 7 וְהִקְמֹתִי  
 אֶת־בְּרִיתִי בֵּינִי וּבֵינָהּ וּבֵין יוֹדְעָה אַחֲרֶיךָ לְדֹרָתָם לְבְרִית עוֹלָם  
 לְדֹרוֹת לָךְ לְאֱלֹהִים וְלִירְעָה אַחֲרֶיךָ׃ 8 וְנָתַתִּי לָךְ וְלִירְעָה אַחֲרֶיךָ  
 אֶת־יֶאֱרֹץ מִדְּבָרָה אֶת כָּל־יֶאֱרֹץ כְּנָעַן לְאַחֲזֹת עוֹלָם וְהָיִיתִי לָהֶם  
 לְאֱלֹהִים׃ 9 וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים אֶל־אֲבֹרָהֶם וְאַתָּה אֶת־בְּרִיתִי תִשְׁמֹר  
 אִתָּהּ וְיִרְעָה אַחֲרֶיךָ לְדֹרָתָם׃ 10 וְזֹאת בְּרִיתִי אֲשֶׁר תִּשְׁמְרוּ בֵּינִי  
 וּבֵינֵיכֶם וּבֵין יוֹדְעָה אַחֲרֶיךָ הַפּוֹל לָכֶם כָּל־זָכָר׃ 11 וְנִמְלַתֶּם אֶת  
 בָּשָׂר עַרְלַתְכֶם וְהָיָה לְאוֹת בְּרִית בֵּינִי וּבֵינֵיכֶם׃ 12 וּבָר־שְׁמֹנֶת  
 יָמִים יִפּוֹל לָכֶם כָּל־זָכָר לְדֹרֹתֵיכֶם יֶלֶד בֵּית וּמִקְנֵת־כֶּסֶף מִכָּל  
 בָּרִנְכָר אֲשֶׁר לֹא מִדְּבָרָה הוּא׃ 13 הַפּוֹל וְיִפּוֹל יֶלֶד בֵּיתָהּ וּמִקְנֵת  
 פֶּסֶף וְהָיָה בְרִיתִי בִּבְשָׂרְכֶם לְבְרִית עוֹלָם׃ 14 וְעַרְלֹי זָכָר אֲשֶׁר  
 לֹא־יִפּוֹל אֶת־בָּשָׂר עַרְלָתוֹ וְנִכְרְתָה הַנֶּפֶשׁ הַהִוא מֵעַמּוּהָ אֶת־  
 בְּרִיתִי הַפֶּר׃ ס 15 וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים אֶל־אֲבֹרָהֶם שְׁרִי אֲשַׁתֶּךָ  
 לֹא־תִקְרָא אֶת־שְׁמָהּ שְׁרִי כִּי שָׂרָה שְׁמָהּ׃ 16 וּבִרְכֵיתִי אִתָּהּ וְגַם  
 נָתַתִּי מִסָּנֶה לָּךְ בֶּן וּבִרְכֵיתִיהּ וְהָיָה לְגוֹי מְלָכִי עַמִּים מִמֶּנּוּ  
 יִהְיוּ׃ 17 וַיִּפֹּל אֲבֹרָהֶם עַל־פָּנָיו וַיִּצְחַק וַיֹּאמֶר בָּלְבֹו הֲלִבָּן מֵאֹד  
 שָׁנָה יֶלֶד וְאִם־שָׂרָה תִּבְתַּלֵּשׁעִים שָׁנָה תֵּלֵד׃ 18 וַיֹּאמֶר אֲבֹרָהֶם  
 אֶל־הָאֱלֹהִים לוֹ יִשְׁמְעָאל וְהָיָה לְפָנֶיךָ׃ 19 וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים אֲבָל

הַחַיִּי וְאֶת־הַפְּרִי וְאֶת־הַרְפָּאִים: 21 וְאֶת־הָאֹמֶר וְאֶת־הַכֶּנֶּעַנִי  
וְאֶת־הַנִּרְנָשִׁי וְאֶת־הַיְבוּסִי: ט

## CHAPTER XVI.

1 וְשָׂרִי אִשָּׁת אַבְרָם לֹא יָלְדָה לוֹ וְלֶה שָׂפְחָה מִצֻּרִית וְשָׁמָּה  
הָגָר: 2 וְהָאָמֶר שָׂרִי אֶל־אַבְרָם הֵנָּה נָא עֲצֹרְנִי יְהוָה מִלְּדֹת בָּאֶ־  
נָא אֶל־שָׂפְחָתִי אוּלַי אֲבִנָּה מִמֶּנָּה וְיִשְׁמַע אַבְרָם לְקוֹל שָׂרִי:  
3 וַתִּקַּח שָׂרִי אִשָּׁת אַבְרָם אֶת־הָגָר הַמִּצְרִית שָׂפְחָתָהּ מִקֶּץ עֶשְׂרֵי  
שָׁנִים לְשִׁבְתָּ אַבְרָם בְּאֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן וַתֵּלֶךְ אִתּוֹ לְאַבְרָם אִשָּׁה לוֹ  
לְאִשָּׁה: 4 וַיָּבֹא אֶל־הָגָר וַתַּחַד וַתֵּרָאֵל כִּי הָרְתָהּ וַתִּקַּל גְּבֻרָתָהּ  
בְּעֵינֶיהָ: 5 וְהָאָמֶר שָׂרִי אֶל־אַבְרָם חֲמִסִּי עָלֶיךָ אֲנֹכִי נָתַתִּי  
שָׂפְחָתִי בְּחִיקְךָ וַתֵּרָאֵל כִּי הָרְתָהּ וַאֲקַל בְּעֵינֶיהָ יִשְׁפֹּט יְהוָה בֵּינִי  
וּבֵינֶיךָ: 6 וַיֹּאמֶר אַבְרָם אֶל־שָׂרִי הִנֵּה שָׂפְחָתְךָ בְּיָדְךָ עֲשִׂי־לָהּ  
חֲסוֹב בְּעֵינֶיךָ וַתַּעֲנֶה שָׂרִי וַתְּבָרַח מִפְּנֶיהָ: 7 וַיִּמְצְאָהּ מֶלֶאכָד יְהוָה  
עַל־עֵין חַמְסִים בַּמִּדְבָּר עַל־הָעֵין בְּיָדְךָ שׂוֹד: 8 וַיֹּאמֶר הָגָר שְׂפֹתַת  
שָׂרִי אֶרְמוֹה בָּאת וְאָנֹכִי תֹלְכִי וְהָאָמֶר מִפְּנֵי שָׂרִי גְבַרְתִּי אֲנֹכִי  
בְּרַחַת: 9 וַיֹּאמֶר לָהּ מֶלֶאכָד יְהוָה שׁוּבִי אֶל־גְּבֻרָתְךָ וַתִּתְּעַנֵּי תַחַת  
יְדֶיהָ: 10 וַיֹּאמֶר לָהּ מֶלֶאכָד יְהוָה הִרְבָּה אֶרְבָּה אֶת־זֶרְעֶךָ וְלֹא  
יִסָּפֵר מִדָּב: 11 וַיֹּאמֶר לָהּ מֶלֶאכָד יְהוָה הִנֵּךְ הָרָה וְיִלְדֹת בֶּן  
וְקִרְאֹת שְׁמוֹ יִשְׁמַעְעָל כִּי־שָׁמַע יְהוָה אֶל־עֲנִיָּךְ: 12 וְהוּא יְדֹהּ  
פָּרָא אֹרֶם יְדוֹ בְּכָל יוֹם כָּל בּוֹ וְעַל־פְּנֵי כָל־אָחִיו יִשְׁכֹּן: 13 וַתִּקְרָא  
שֵׁם־יְהוָה וַחֲבֵר אֵלֶיהָ אֵתָּה אֵל רֹאִי כִּי אִמְרָה הִנֵּה הָלָם רֵאִיתִי  
אֲחֵרִי רֹאִי: 14 עַל־כֵּן קָרָא לְבָאָר בָּאָר לְחֵי רֹאִי הִנֵּה בֵּין־קֶדֶשׁ  
וּבֵין בְּרֵד: 15 וַתֵּלֶךְ הָגָר לְאַבְרָם בֶּן־יִקְרָא אַבְרָם שֵׁם־בְּנֵי אִשְׁרֵ־  
יָלְדָה הָגָר יִשְׁמַעְעָל: 16 וְאַבְרָם בֶּן־שְׁמֹנִים שָׁנָה וָשֵׁשׁ שָׁנִים  
לָלַח־הָגָר אֶת־יִשְׁמַעְעָל לְאַבְרָם: ט

## CHAPTER XV.

1 אֲתֵּר־חֲדָבְרִים הָאֵלֶּה הָיָה רִבְר־יְהוָה אֶל־אַבְרָם בְּמַחְזֹר  
 לֵאמֹר אֶל־תִּירָא אַבְרָם אֲנִי מִגֵּן לָךְ שְׂכָרְךָ הִרְבֵּה מְאֹד׃ 2 וַיֹּאמֶר  
 אַבְרָם אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה מַה־תַּתֶּן־לִי וְאֲנִי הוֹלֵךְ עִרְיָי וּבָר־מֶשֶׁק בֵּיתִי  
 הוּא דִּמְשָׁק אֲלֵיעֹזֶר׃ 3 וַיֹּאמֶר אַבְרָם הֵן לִי לֹא נִתְּנָה זָרַע וְהִנֵּה  
 כָּר בֵּיתִי יִדְּשָׁנִי׃ 4 וְהִנֵּה רִבְר־יְהוָה אֵלָיו לֵאמֹר לֹא יִדְּשֶׁנָּה  
 זֶה כִּרְאִם אֲשֶׁר יֵצֵא מִמֶּעֶיךָ הוּא יִדְּשֶׁנָּה׃ 5 וַיֹּצֵא אֹתוֹ הַחוּצָה  
 וַיֹּאמֶר הֲבִט־נָא הַשָּׁמַיְמָה וּסְפֹר חֲכֻכִּים אִם־תִּוָּכַל לִסְפֹּר אֹתָם  
 וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ כֹּה יִהְיֶה זֶרַעְךָ׃ 6 וְהָאֵמֶן בִּיהוָה וַיַּחֲשֹׁבֶה לּוֹ צִדְקָה׃ שִׁי  
 7 וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו אֲנִי יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר הוֹצֵאתִיךָ מֵאוּר כַּשְׂדִּים לָתֵת לָךְ  
 אֶת־הָאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת לְרִשְׁתָּהּ׃ 8 וַיֹּאמֶר אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה בִּפְנֵי אֲדָמָה כִּי  
 אִידְשָׁנָה׃ 9 וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו קָחָה לִּי עֹגְלָה מְשֻׁלָּשֶׁת וְעֹז מְשֻׁלָּשֶׁת  
 וְאַיִל מְשֻׁלָּשׁ וְחֹר וְגֹחַל׃ 10 וַיִּקַּח־לוֹ אֶת־כָּל־אֵלֶּה וַיִּבְתֵּר אֹתָם  
 בַּתָּוֶךְ וַיִּתֵּן אִישׁ־בְּתָרוֹ לִקְרֹאת רַעְיוֹ וְאֶת־הַצֶּפֶר לֹא בָתָר׃  
 11 וַיֵּרֶד הָעַיִט עַל־הַפְּנִיָּים וַיֵּשֶׁב אֹתָם אַבְרָם׃ 12 וַיְהִי הַשָּׁמַשׁ  
 לָבוֹא וַתִּרְדָּמָה גַּפְלָה עַל־אַבְרָם וְהִנֵּה אֵימָה חֲשֹׁכָה גְדֹלָה נִפְלֹת  
 עָלָיו׃ 13 וַיֹּאמֶר לְאַבְרָם דָּע תִּדַּע פִּרְיִי־יִהְיֶה זֶרַעְךָ בָּאָרֶץ לֹא  
 לָהֶם וַעֲבָדוּם וְעֲנִי אֹתָם אַרְבַּע מֵאוֹת שָׁנָה׃ 14 וְגַם אֶת־הַגּוֹי  
 אֲשֶׁר יַעֲבֹדוּ בָּן אֲנִי וְאַחֲרֵיכֶן יֵצְאוּ בְּרֶכֶשׁ גָּדוֹל׃ 15 וְאַתָּה  
 תָּבוֹא אֶל־אַבְתָּיִךְ בְּשָׁלוֹם תִּקְבֹּר בְּשִׁיבָה טוֹבָה׃ 16 וְרוּחַ רִבְיָעִי  
 יִשְׁכַּב וְהִנֵּה כִּי לֹא־שָׁלֹם עִין הָאִמְרִי עַד־הִנֵּה׃ 17 וַיְהִי הַשָּׁמַשׁ  
 בָּאָה וַעֲלָסָה הָיָה וְהִנֵּה חֲנֹךְ עֵשֶׂן וְלֶפֶד אִשׁ אֲשֶׁר עָבַר בֵּין  
 הַגְּזֵרִים הָאֵלֶּה׃ 18 בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא כָּרַת יְהוָה אֶת־אַבְרָם בְּרִית לֵאמֹר  
 לְזֶרַעְךָ נָתַתִּי אֶת־הָאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת מִנְּהַר מִצְרַיִם עַד־הַנָּהָר הַגָּדֹל  
 נַחֲרַפְרָת׃ 19 אֶת־הַקֵּיִל וְאֶת־הַקֵּנִי וְאֶת־הַקֵּנִי וְאֶת־הַקֵּרְמָנִי׃ 20 וְאֶת־

הַיֹּשֵׁב בְּחֻצָּיו תָּמַד׃ 8 וַיָּצֵא מֶלֶךְ־סֹדֶם וּמֶלֶךְ עַמֹּרָה וּמֶלֶךְ אֲדָמָה  
 וּמֶלֶךְ צִבְיִים וּמֶלֶךְ בִּלְע וְהָאֲצַעַר וַיַּעֲרֹכוּ אֹתָם מִלְחָמָה בְּעֵמֶק  
 הַשָּׁדִימִים׃ 9 אֵת כְּדָרְלֶעָמֹר מֶלֶךְ עֵילָם וְתֹרַעַל מֶלֶךְ גִּזִּים וְאַמְרֹפֶלִי  
 וּמֶלֶךְ שִׁנְעָר וְאַרְרֹךְ מֶלֶךְ אֶלְסַר אַרְבַּעַת מְלָכִים אֶת־הַחֲמִשָּׁה׃  
 10 וַעֲמַק הַשָּׁדִימִים בְּאַרְתַּ בְּאַרְתַּ חֲמֹר וַיִּנָּסוּ מֶלֶךְ־סֹדֶם וַעֲמֹרָה  
 וַיִּפְלְשׁוּמָה וַחֲנֻשָּׁאִים הָרָה גִּסְוִי׃ 11 וַיִּקְחוּ אֶת־כָּל־דָּכָשׁ סֹדֶם  
 וַעֲמֹרָה וְאֶת־כָּל־אֲכָלָם וַיִּלְכוּ׃ 12 וַיִּקְחוּ אֶת־לוֹט וְאֶת־דָּכָשׁוֹ  
 בְּנֵי־אֲחִי אַבְרָם וַיֵּלְכוּ וְהוּא יֹשֵׁב בְּסֹדֶם׃ 13 וַיָּבֹא הַפְּלִיט וַיֵּרָא  
 לְאַבְרָם הָעֶבְרִי וְהוּא שָׁכֵן בְּאַלְנֵי מִמְרָא הָאֹמְרִי אֲחִי אֲשַׁכֵּל  
 וְאֲחִי עֵנֶר וְהֵם בְּעַלֵי בְרִית־אַבְרָם׃ 14 וַיִּשְׁמַע אַבְרָם כִּי נִשְׁפָּה  
 אֲחִיו וַיֵּדַק אֶת־חֲנִיכָיו וַיֵּלֶךְ בֵּיתוֹ שְׂמֹנֶה עָשָׂר וּשְׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת וַיִּדְרֹךְ  
 עֶרְדָּן׃ 15 וַיַּחֲלֶק עֲלֵיהֶם וַיִּלָּחֶם וְהוּא וַעֲבָדָיו וַיִּכּוּ וַיִּדְּפֻם עַד־  
 חֹזֶה אֲשֶׁר מִשְׁמָאל לְדִמְשֶׁק׃ 16 וַיָּשֶׁב אֵת כָּל־דָּכָשׁ וְגַם אֶת־  
 לוֹט אֲחִיו וְדָכָשׁוֹ הָשִׁיב וְגַם אֶת־הַנָּשִׁים וְאֶת־הָעַם׃ 17 וַיָּצֵא  
 מֶלֶךְ־סֹדֶם לִקְרָאתוֹ אַחֲרֵי שׁוּבוֹ מִמִּכּוֹת אֶת־כְּדָרְלֶעָמֹר וְאֶת־  
 הַמְּלָכִים אֲשֶׁר אִתּוֹ אֲלֵעֵמֶק שִׁיחַ הוּא עֵמֶק הַפְּלֹךְ׃ 18 וּמִלְכִּי  
 צָדֵק מֶלֶךְ שְׁלֹם הוֹצִיא לָחֶם וַיִּינֶן וְהוּא כֹהֵן לְאֵל עֵלְיוֹן׃ 19 וַיִּבְרַכְהוּ  
 וַיֹּאמֶר בְּרוּךְ אַבְרָם לְאֵל עֵלְיוֹן קִנְיָ שָׁמַיִם וָאָרֶץ׃ 20 וּבְרוּךְ  
 אֵל עֵלְיוֹן אֲשֶׁר־מִגֵּן צָרָה בְּיָדָהּ וַתִּתֵּן־לוֹ מַעֲשֵׂה מִכָּל־חַיִּים׃  
 21 וַיֹּאמֶר מֶלֶךְ־סֹדֶם אֶל־אַבְרָם תִּן־לִי הַנֶּפֶשׁ וְהָרֶקֶשׁ קַח־לָךְ׃  
 22 וַיֹּאמֶר אַבְרָם אֶל־מֶלֶךְ סֹדֶם הֲרִמֹּתִי יָדִי אֶל־יְהוָה אֵל עֵלְיוֹן  
 קִנְיָ שָׁמַיִם וָאָרֶץ׃ 23 אִם־מַחוּט וְעַר שְׂרוּף־נֶזֶל וְאִם־אֶקַח  
 מִכָּל־אֲשֶׁר־לָךְ וְלֹא תֹאמַר אֲנִי הָעֲשֵׂרְתִּי אֶת־אַבְרָם׃ 24 בְּלֹעֲרִי  
 רֶקֶשׁ אֲשֶׁר אֲכָלוּ הַנְּעָרִים וְהַחֶלֶק הַנָּשִׁים אֲשֶׁר הָלְכוּ אִתִּי עֲנֵה  
 אֲשַׁכֵּל וּמִמְרָא הֵם יִקְחוּ חֶלְקָם׃ ס

וַיִּמְצָא וַאֲשַׁמְאֵלָהּ: 10 וַיִּשְׁאֲכֹתוּם אֶת־עֵינָיו וַיֵּדָא אֶת־כָּל־כַּפְּדֵי  
 הַחֲדָדִין כִּי כָלָה מִשְׁקָהּ לִפְנֵי־שַׁחַת יְהוָה אֶת־סֹדֶם וְאֶת־עַמּוּרָה  
 בְּנֵי־יְהוָה בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרִים בְּאֶמְתָּה צָעַר: 11 וַיִּבְחַר־לָו לֹוֹם אֶת כָּל־  
 כַּפְּדֵי הַחֲדָדִין וַיִּסַּע לֹוֹם מִקֶּדֶם וַיִּפְרְדּוּ אִישׁ מֵעַל אָחִיו: 12 אַבְרָם  
 יָשָׁב בְּאֶרֶץ־כְּנָעַן וְלֹוֹם יָשָׁב בְּעָרֵי הַכְּפָר וַיֵּאֱהָל עַד־סֹדֶם: 13 וְאַנְשֵׁי  
 סֹדֶם רָעִים וְחַטָּאִים לַיהוָה מְאֹד: 14 וַיְהוָה אָמַר אֶל־אַבְרָם  
 אַחֲרֵי הַפֶּרֶד־לֹוֹם מִקְּדָמוֹ שֶׁאֵינָא עֵינֶיךָ וַיֵּדָא מִן־הַמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר־  
 אֵתָה שָׁם צָפְנָה וְנִגְנְפָה וְקִדְמָה וַיִּמָּה: 15 כִּי אֶת־כָּל־הָאֶרֶץ אֲשֶׁר־  
 אֵתָה רָאָה לָךְ אֶתְנַגְּנָה וְלִדְרַעָה עַד־עוֹלָם: 16 וְשִׁמְתִּי אֶת־דְּרַעָה  
 בְּעַפְרֵי הָאֶרֶץ אֲשֶׁר־יֵאֱמָרוּ כָּל־אִישׁ לִמְנוּת אֶת־עַפְרֵי הָאֶרֶץ גַּם־  
 דְּרַעָה יִפְנֶנָּה: 17 קוֹם הַתְּהַלֵּךְ בְּאֶרֶץ לְאַרְבָּה וּלְדַחְבָּה כִּי לָךְ  
 אֶתְנַגְּנָה: 18 וַיֵּאֱהָל אַבְרָם וַיָּבֹא וַיֵּשֶׁב בְּאֵלְנֵי מִמְרָא אֲשֶׁר בְּחִבְרוֹן  
 וַיִּבְרָשֶׁם מִזֶּבֶחַ לַיהוָה: פ רביעי

## CHAPTER XIV.

1 וַיְהִי בִימֵי אֲמֶרְפֶּל מֶלֶךְ־שִׁנְעַר אֲרִיִּיךְ מֶלֶךְ אֶלְסַר כְּדִלְעֶמֶר  
 מֶלֶךְ עֵילָם וְחִדְרֶעַל מֶלֶךְ גּוֹיִם: 2 עָשׂוּ מִלְחָמָה אֶת־כְּרַעַ מֶלֶךְ  
 סֹדֶם וְאֶת־כְּרַשַׁע מֶלֶךְ עַמּוּרָה שְׁנֵאבֵי־מֶלֶךְ אֲרָמָה וְשִׁמְאֵבֶר מֶלֶךְ  
 צִבְיִים וּמֶלֶךְ בִּלְע הָאֵצֶר: 3 כָּל־אֱלֹהֵי חִבְרוֹן אֶל־עֵמֶק הַשְּׂדֵיִם  
 הוּא יָם הַמֶּלַח: 4 שְׁתֵּי־עָשָׂר שָׁנָה עָבְדוּ אֶת־כְּדִלְעֶמֶר  
 וְשִׁלֹּשׁ־עָשָׂר שָׁנָה מָרְדּוּ: 5 וּבִאֲרַבַּע עָשָׂר שָׁנָה בָּא כְּדִלְעֶמֶר  
 וְהַמֶּלְכִּים אֲשֶׁר אִתּוֹ וַיִּפּוּ אֶת־רַפָּאִים בְּעַשְׁתָּרֶת קִרְנִים וְאֶת־  
 הַחֲזִים בָּהֶם וְאֶת הָאִימִים בְּשִׁוּה קִרְיָתִים: 6 וְאֶת־הַחֲרִי בַּהֲרָם  
 שֶׁעִיד עַד אֵיל פֶּאֶרֶן אֲשֶׁר עַל־הַמִּדְבָּר: 7 וַיָּשֻׁבוּ וַיָּבֹאוּ אֶל־עֵין  
 מִשְׁפָּט הוּא קָדֵשׁ וַיִּכּוּ אֶת־כָּל־שׂוֹרֵה הָעַמְּלָקִי וְגַם אֶת־הָאֱמֹרִי

12 וְהָיָה כִּי־יֵרָאֵו אֹתָךְ הַמִּצְרִיִּים וְאָמְרוּ אֲשֶׁנּוּ זֶאת וַחֲדָנוּ אִתָּךְ  
וְאָתָּךְ יַחַד׃ 13 אָמַרְנָה אֲתָתִי אַתָּ לְמַעַן יִסְבְּלֵי בַעֲבֹדְךָ  
וַחֲדָתָה נַפְשִׁי בְנִלְכָּד׃ שׁוּ 14 וְהָיָה כִּבְּוֹא אֲבָרָם מִצְרַיִם וַיֵּרָא  
הַמִּצְרִיִּים אֶת־הָאִשָּׁה כִּי־רַפָּחָה הִוא מֵאֵד׃ 15 וַיֵּרָא אֹתָהּ שְׂרֵי  
פְרַעֲוֹ וַיְהַלְלֵהָ אֹתָהּ אֶל־פְּרַעֲוֹ וַתִּקַּח הָאִשָּׁה בֵּית פְּרַעֲוֹ׃  
16 וְלֹא־אֲבָרָם חִטִּיב בַּעֲבֹדָהּ וַיְהַלְלֵהָ צֹאן־וּבָקָר וַחֲמֹלִים וַעֲבָדִים  
וְשִׁפְחֹת וְנָאִתָּה וְנִמְלִים׃ 17 וַיִּנָּע וַיְהִי־אֶת־פְּרַעֲוֹ נְגָעִים וְנִלְיָם  
וְאֶת־בֵּיתוֹ עַל־דְּבַר שְׂרֵי אִשָּׁת אֲבָרָם׃ 18 וַיִּקְרָא פְּרַעֲוֹ לֹא־אֲבָרָם  
וַיֹּאמֶר מַה־זֹּאת עָשִׂיתָ לִּי לָמָּה לֹא־הִנֵּחְתָּ לִּי כִּי אֲשַׁתְּךָ הִוא׃  
19 לָמָּה אֲמַרְתָּ אֲתָתִי הִוא וְאִקַּח אֹתָהּ לִי לְאִשָּׁה וְעַתָּה הִנֵּה  
אֲשַׁתְּךָ קָח וְלָךְ׃ 20 וַיֵּצֵא עֲלָיו פְּרַעֲוֹ אֲנָשִׁים וַיִּשְׁלְחוּ אוֹתוֹ וְאֶת־  
אִשְׁתּוֹ וְאֶת־כָּל־אֲשֶׁר־לוֹ׃

## CHAPTER XIII.

1 וַיַּעַל אֲבָרָם מִמִּצְרַיִם הִוא וְאִשְׁתּוֹ וְכָל־אֲשֶׁר־לוֹ וְלֹוֹם עֶפְרוֹ  
הַנֶּגְבִּיר׃ 2 וְאֲבָרָם כָּבֵד מֵאֵד בְּכִקְנָה בְּכֶסֶף וּבְזָהָב׃ 3 וַיֵּלֶךְ  
לְמִסְעָיו מִנֶּגֶב וְעַד־בֵּית־אֵל עַד־הַמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר־הָיָה שָׁם אֱהֱלָה  
בִּתְּחִלָּה בֵּין בֵּית־אֵל וּבֵין הָעֵי׃ 4 אֶל־מָקוֹם הַמְּזוֹכָר אֲשֶׁר־עָשָׂה שָׁם  
בְּרֵאשִׁיתָה וַיִּקְרָא שָׁם אֲבָרָם בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה׃ שְׁלֹשׁ 5 וְגַם־לָלוֹם הִהְלִיךְ  
אֶת־אֲבָרָם וַיְהִי צֹאן־וּבָקָר וְאֱהֱלִים׃ 6 וְלֹא־נִשְׂא אֹתָם הָאָרֶץ  
לְשִׁבְתָּ יַחַדוֹ כִּי־הָיָה רְכוּשָׁם רָב וְלֹא יָכֹלוּ לְשַׁבֵּת יַחַד׃ 7 וַיְהִי  
רֹב בֵּין רְעֵי מִקְנֵה־אֲבָרָם וּבֵין רְעֵי מִקְנֵה־לוֹם וְהַכְּנַעֲנִי וְהַפְּרָזִי  
אֲזִי יֹשֵׁב בָּאָרֶץ׃ 8 וַיֹּאמֶר אֲבָרָם אֶל־לוֹם אֶל־נָא תְּהִי מְרִיבָה  
בֵּינִי וּבֵינְךָ וּבֵין רְעֵי וּבֵין רְעֵיךָ כִּי־אֲנָשִׁים אֲחִים אֲנַחְנוּ׃ 9 הֲלֹא  
כָּל־הָאָרֶץ לִפְנֵיךָ הִפְתָּ נָא מַעַלְלָ אִם־הִשְׁמָאֵל וְאִימָנָה וְאִם־



בְּאֵר כְּשָׂדִים : 29 יִקַּח אַבְרָם וְנָחוֹר לָהֶם נָשִׁים שֵׁם אִשְׁתֹּ־  
 אַבְרָם שָׂרִי וְשֵׁם אִשְׁתֹּ־נָחוֹר מִלְכָּה בַת־הָרָן אֲבִי־מִלְכָּה וְאָבִי  
 יִסְכָּה : 30 וְהָיָה שָׂרִי עֲקָרָה אֵין לָהּ וָלֵד : 31 יִקַּח הָרָן אֶת־  
 אַבְרָם בְּנוֹ וְאֶת־לוֹט בֶּן־הָרָן בֶּן־בְּנוֹ וְאֶת שָׂרִי כְּלָתוֹ אִשְׁתֹּ־  
 אַבְרָם בְּנוֹ וַיֵּצְאוּ אֹתָם מֵאֵד כְּשָׂדִים לָלֶכֶת אֶרֶצָה כְּנָעַן וַיָּבֹאוּ  
 עַד־הָרָן וַיֵּשְׁבוּ שָׁם : 32 וַיְהִי יְמֵי־תֵרַח חֲמִשָּׁ שָׁנִים וּמֵאֵתִים  
 שָׁנָה וַיָּמָת הָרָן בְּחָרָן : פ

## CHAPTER XII.

1 וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־אַבְרָם לֵךְ־לָךְ מֵאֶרֶצְךָ וּמִמּוֹלַדְתְּךָ וּמִבֵּית  
 אָבִיךָ אֶל־הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר אֶרְאֶה : 2 וַאֲעֻשֶׁה לְּךָ גְּדוּלָּה וַאֲבָרְכְּךָ  
 וְאֶגְדָּלְךָ שְׁמִי וְהָיָה בְרָכָה : 3 וַאֲבָרְכָה מִבְּרַכְּךָ וּמִקְלָלְךָ אָדָם  
 וְנִבְרָכוּ בְּךָ כָּל־מִשְׁפַּחַת הָאָדָמָה : 4 וַיֵּלֶךְ אַבְרָם כַּאֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר  
 אֵלָיו יְהוָה וַיֵּלֶךְ אִתּוֹ לוֹט וְאַבְרָם בֶּן־חֲמִשָּׁ שָׁנִים וְשִׁבְעִים שָׁנָה  
 בְּצֵאתוֹ מִחָרָן : 5 יִקַּח אַבְרָם אֶת־שָׂרִי אִשְׁתּוֹ וְאֶת־לוֹט בֶּן־  
 אָחִיו וְאֶת־כָּל־דְּבָרֵשָׁם אֲשֶׁר רָכְשׁוּ וְאֶת־הַנֶּפֶשׁ אֲשֶׁר־עָשׂוּ בְּחָרָן  
 וַיֵּצְאוּ לָלֶכֶת אֶרֶצָה כְּנָעַן וַיָּבֹאוּ אֶרֶצָה כְּנָעַן : 6 וַיַּעֲבֹד אַבְרָם  
 בָּאָרֶץ עַד מָקוֹם שְׂכֵם עַד אֵלּוֹן מוֹדֵר וַהֲבַעַנִי אֹן בָּאָרֶץ :  
 7 וַיֵּרָא יְהוָה אֶל־אַבְרָם וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹרְעָה אֵתָן אֶת־הָאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת  
 וְבֶן שָׁם מוֹצֵב לַיהוָה הִנְרָאָה אֵלָיו : 8 וַיַּעֲתֵק מִשָּׁם הַחֲדָרָה  
 מִקְדָּם לְבֵית־אֵל וַיֵּם אֶחָלָה בֵּית־אֵל מִיָּם וַהֲעִי מִקְדָּם וַיִּבְרָשֵׁם  
 מוֹצֵב לַיהוָה וַיִּקְרָא בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה : 9 וַיִּסַּע אַבְרָם הָלוֹךְ וְנִסְוֶה  
 הַחֲנָבָה : פ 10 וַיְהִי רָעַב בָּאָרֶץ וַיֵּד אַבְרָם מִצְרִימָה לָגוֹד שָׁם  
 כִּי־רָבַד הָרָעַב בָּאָרֶץ : 11 וַיְהִי כַּאֲשֶׁר הִקְרִיב לָבֹא מִצְרִימָה  
 וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל־שָׂרִי אִשְׁתּוֹ הִנֵּה־נָא יִדְעֵתִי כִּי אִשָּׁה יִפְת־מְרָאָה אֵת :

7 חֲבֵה נִדְחָה וְנִבְלָה שָׁם שְׂפָתָם אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִשְׁמְעוּ אִישׁ שִׁפְרָה  
 רַעְיוֹ: 8 יִפֹּץ יְהוָה אֹתָם מִשָּׁם עַל־פְּנֵי כָל־הָאָרֶץ וַיְחַלְדּוּ לִבְנוֹת  
 הָעִיר: 9 עַל־כֵּן קָרָא שְׁמָהּ בָּבֶל כִּי־שָׁם בָּלַל יְהוָה שִׁפְתָּהּ כָּל־  
 הָאָרֶץ וּמִשָּׁם הִפִּצָם יְהוָה עַל־פְּנֵי כָל־הָאָרֶץ: ס 10 אֲלֹהֵי  
 הַתּוֹלְדֹת שָׁם שָׁם בְּרִמְתָּה שָׁנָה וַיּוֹלֵד אֶת־אַרְפַּכְשָׁד שְׁנָתִים אַחֵר  
 הַמִּבּוֹל: 11 וַיְחִי־שָׁם אַחֲרֵי הַיּוֹלֵדוֹ אֶת־אַרְפַּכְשָׁד חֲמִשׁ מֵאוֹת  
 שָׁנָה וַיּוֹלֵד בָּנִים וּבָנוֹת: ס 12 וַאֲרַפְכְּשָׁד חָיָה חֲמִשׁ וּשְׁלֹשִׁים  
 שָׁנָה וַיּוֹלֵד אֶת־שֵׁלַח: 13 וַיְחִי אַרְפַּכְשָׁד אַחֲרֵי הַיּוֹלֵדוֹ אֶת־שֵׁלַח  
 שְׁלֹשׁ שָׁנִים וָאַרְבַּע מֵאוֹת שָׁנָה וַיּוֹלֵד בָּנִים וּבָנוֹת: ס 14 וַשֵּׁלַח  
 חָיָה שְׁלֹשִׁים שָׁנָה וַיּוֹלֵד אֶת־עֵבֶר: 15 וַיְחִי־שֵׁלַח אַחֲרֵי הַיּוֹלֵדוֹ  
 אֶת־עֵבֶר שְׁלֹשׁ שָׁנִים וָאַרְבַּע מֵאוֹת שָׁנָה וַיּוֹלֵד בָּנִים וּבָנוֹת: ס  
 16 וַיְחִי־עֵבֶר אַרְבַּע וּשְׁלֹשִׁים שָׁנָה וַיּוֹלֵד אֶת־פֶּלֶג: 17 וַיְחִי־עֵבֶר  
 אַחֲרֵי הַיּוֹלֵדוֹ אֶת־פֶּלֶג שְׁלֹשִׁים שָׁנָה וָאַרְבַּע מֵאוֹת שָׁנָה וַיּוֹלֵד  
 בָּנִים וּבָנוֹת: ס 18 וַיְחִי־פֶלֶג שְׁלֹשִׁים שָׁנָה וַיּוֹלֵד אֶת־רַעְוִי:  
 19 וַיְחִי־פֶלֶג אַחֲרֵי הַיּוֹלֵדוֹ אֶת־רַעְוִי תִשַׁע שָׁנִים וּמֵאֵתִים שָׁנָה  
 וַיּוֹלֵד בָּנִים וּבָנוֹת: ס 20 וַיְחִי רַעְוִי שְׁתֵּים וּשְׁלֹשִׁים שָׁנָה וַיּוֹלֵד  
 אֶת־שֹׂרוֹג: 21 וַיְחִי רַעְוִי אַחֲרֵי הַיּוֹלֵדוֹ אֶת־שֹׂרוֹג שִׁבְעַת שָׁנִים  
 וּמֵאֵתִים שָׁנָה וַיּוֹלֵד בָּנִים וּבָנוֹת: ס 22 וַיְחִי שֹׂרוֹג שְׁלֹשִׁים  
 שָׁנָה וַיּוֹלֵד אֶת־נַחוֹד: 23 וַיְחִי שֹׂרוֹג אַחֲרֵי הַיּוֹלֵדוֹ אֶת־נַחוֹד  
 מֵאֵתִים שָׁנָה וַיּוֹלֵד בָּנִים וּבָנוֹת: ס 24 וַיְחִי נַחוֹד תִּשַׁע וָעֶשְׂרִים  
 שָׁנָה וַיּוֹלֵד אֶת־תֶּרַח: 25 וַיְחִי נַחוֹד אַחֲרֵי הַיּוֹלֵדוֹ אֶת־תֶּרַח  
 תִּשַׁע־עֶשְׂרִי שָׁנָה וּמֵאֵת שָׁנָה וַיּוֹלֵד בָּנִים וּבָנוֹת: ס 26 וַיְחִי  
 תֶּרַח שִׁבְעִים שָׁנָה וַיּוֹלֵד אֶת־אַבְרָם אֶת־נַחוֹד וְאֶת־הָרָן: 27 וְאַלְהָה  
 הַתּוֹלְדֹת תֶּרַח הוֹלִיד אֶת־אַבְרָם אֶת־נַחוֹד וְאֶת־הָרָן וְהָרָן  
 וּלְדָה אֶת־לֹוֹם: 28 וַיָּמָת הָרָן עַל־פְּנֵי־תֶרַח אָבִיו בָּאָרֶץ מִלְכָּה

17 וְאֶת־הִיזִי וְאֶת־הַעֲרֵקִי וְאֶת־הַפִּינִי: 18 וְאֶת־הָאֲרֻרִי וְאֶת־  
הַצִּמְרִי וְאֶת־הַחֲמָתִי וְאַחֵר נִפְצוּ מִשְׁפָּחוֹת הַכְּנַעֲנִי: 19 וַיְהִי גְבוּל  
הַכְּנַעֲנִי מִצִּדֹן בְּאֶבֶת נִרְחָה עַד־עֵזָה בְּאֶבֶת סִדְמֹת וְעַמְמֹה וְאַדְמֹה  
וְצִבְיִם עַד־לָשֶׁע: 20 אֵלֶּה בְּנֵיהֶם לְמִשְׁפָּחוֹתָם לְלִשְׁנָתָם בְּאַרְצָתָם  
בְּגִיּוֹתָם: ס 21 וְלָשֶׁם יֶלֶד גַּם־הוּא אָבִי כָל־בְּנֵי־עֵבֶר אָחִי יִפֶּת  
הַחֹזֶל: 22 בְּנֵי שֵׁם עֵילָם וְאַשּׁוּר וְאַרְפַּכְשָׁד וְלֹד וְאַדָּם: 23 וְבְנֵי  
אַדָּם עֹוֶץ וְחֹל וְתֹחַל וְקִשׁ: 24 וְאַרְפַּכְשָׁד יֶלֶד אֶת־שֶׁלַח וְשֶׁלַח  
יֶלֶד אֶת־עֵבֶר: 25 וְלִעֵבֶר יֶלֶד שְׁנֵי בָנִים שֵׁם הָאֶחָד פֶּלֶג כִּי  
בִּימֵי נִפְלְגָה הָאָרֶץ וְשֵׁם אֶחָד יֶקְטָן: 26 וַיִּקְטֵן יֶלֶד אֶת־אֱלִמֹּדֶד  
וְאֶת־שֶׁלַח וְאֶת־חֲצֵרְמוֹת וְאֶת־יִדְדָה: 27 וְאֶת־חֲדָדִים וְאֶת־אוּל  
וְאֶת־דִּקְלָה: 28 וְאֶת־עֹבֶל וְאֶת־אַכִּימָאֵל וְאֶת־שֶׁבֶא: 29 וְאֶת־  
אוּפֹר וְאֶת־חִילָה וְאֶת־יֹוֹבֵב כָּל־אֵלֶּה בְּנֵי יֶקְטָן: 30 וַיְהִי מִוְשְׁבָם  
מִמֶּשָׁא בְּאֶרֶץ סֹפֶרֶת הַיַּם הַקָּדָם: 31 אֵלֶּה בְּנֵי־שֵׁם לְמִשְׁפָּחוֹתָם  
לְלִשְׁנָתָם בְּאַרְצָתָם לְגִיּוֹתָם: 32 אֵלֶּה מִשְׁפָּחוֹת בְּנֵי־נֹחַ לְחֹלְדָתָם  
בְּגִיּוֹתָם וּמֵאֵלֶּה נִפְדּוּ הַגּוֹיִם בָּאָרֶץ אַחֵר הַמִּבּוּל: ס שְׁבִיעִי

## CHAPTER XI.

1 וַיְהִי כָל־הָאָרֶץ שָׁמָּה אֶחָת וְדִבְרִים אֶחָדִים: 2 וַיְהִי בְּנִסְעָם  
מִקֵּדָם וַיִּמְצְאוּ בְקִעָה בָּאָרֶץ שְׁנַעַר וַיָּשְׁבוּ שָׁם: 3 וַיֹּאמְרוּ אִישׁ  
אֶל־דֹּעְהוּ הִנֵּה גִלְבָּנָה לְבָנִים וְנִשְׁרָפָה לְשֹׂרָפָה וְהָיוּ לֶחֶם הַלֵּבָנָה  
לְאֹבֹן וְהַחֲמֹר הָיָה לֶחֶם לְחֹמֶר: 4 וַיֹּאמְרוּ הִנֵּה נִבְנֶה־לָּנוּ עִיר  
וּמִגֹּדֶל וְרֹאשׁוֹ בַשָּׁמַיִם וְנַעֲשֶׂה־לָּנוּ שֵׁם פֶּן־נָפוּץ עַל־פְּנֵי כָל־  
הָאָרֶץ: 5 וַיְהִי יְהוָה לִדְאוֹת אֶת־הָעִיר וְאֶת־הַמִּגְדָּל אֲשֶׁר בְּנִי  
בְּנֵי הָאָדָם: 6 וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה הֵן עַם אֶחָד וְשָׁמָּה אֶחָת לְכֻלָּם וְהֵן  
הִחֲלָם לַעֲשׂוֹת וְעַתָּה לֹא־יָבֹצֵר מֵהֶם כָּל־אִשָּׁר יִחְמוּ לַעֲשׂוֹת:

וַיֵּדָע לְשָׂרְאֵהוּ בְּרוּחַ: 23 וַיִּקַּח שָׁם וַיִּפֹּת אֶת־הַשְּׂמֹלָה וַיְשִׁימוּ  
עַל־שִׁכְמָם שְׁנֵיהֶם וַיִּלְכוּ אַחֲרֵי־זֶה וַיַּכְּפוּ אֶת עֲרוֹת אֲבִיהֶם וַיַּנִּיחֵם  
אַחֲרֵי־זֶה וַעֲרוֹת אֲבִיהֶם לֹא רָאוּ: 24 וַיִּקֶּץ נֹחַ מִיָּגוֹ וַיֵּדַע אֶת  
אֲשֶׁר־עָשָׂה לוֹ בְּנוֹ הַקָּטָן: 25 וַיֹּאמֶר אֲרֹר כְּנָעַן עֶבֶד עֲבָדִים  
יִהְיֶה לְאַחֲיוֹ: 26 וַיֹּאמֶר בְּרוּךְ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי שָׁם וַיֵּדַע כְּנָעַן עֶבֶד  
לָמוֹ: 27 יִפֹּת אֱלֹהִים לִפְתַּח יִשְׁכָּן בְּאַחֲרֵי־שָׁם וַיֵּדַע כְּנָעַן עֶבֶד  
לָמוֹ: 28 וַיַּחֲרֹג נֹחַ אַחֲרֵי הַמַּבּוּל שְׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת שָׁנָה וַחֲמִשִּׁים שָׁנָה:  
29 וַיְהִי כִּלְי־מִרְנָה הַשָּׁעָ מֵאוֹת שָׁנָה וַחֲמִשִּׁים שָׁנָה וַיָּמָת: 30

## CHAPTER X.

1 וַאֲלֵה תּוֹלְדֹת בְּנֵי־נֹחַ שֵׁם חָם וַיִּפֹּת וַיִּלְדוּ לָהֶם בָּנִים אַחֲרֵי  
הַמַּבּוּל: 2 בְּנֵי יִפֹּת גָּמָר וּמִגֹּג וּמָדִי וַיּוֹן וְתֹבֶל וּמִשְׁקֵד וַחֲדָדִים:  
3 וּבְנֵי גָמָר אֲשֻׁכַּן וְדִיפַת וַחֲגָרְמָה: 4 וּבְנֵי יוֹן אֱלִישָׁה וַתְּרַשְׁשָׁה  
כְּתִים וְדִדָּנִים: 5 מֵאֵלֶּה נִסְפְּרוּ אֵי הַנְּהוֹם בְּאַרְצֹתָם אִישׁ לְלִשְׁנֹו  
לְמִשְׁפַּחְתָּם בְּגִיּוֹתָם: 6 וּבְנֵי חָם כּוּשׁ וּמִצְרַיִם וְכוּשׁ וְכֶנְעֵן:  
7 וּבְנֵי כּוּשׁ סִבָּא וַחֲוִילָה וְסִכְתָּה וְדַעֲמָה וְסִבְתְּכָא וּבְנֵי רַעַפְרָה  
שָׁבָא וַחֲדָן: 8 וְכוּשׁ יָלַד אֶת־נִמְרֹד הוּא הָיִל לַחַיֹּת גִּבּוֹר בָּאָרֶץ:  
9 הוּא־הָיָה גִבּוֹר־צִיד לִפְנֵי יְהוָה עַל־כֵּן יֹאמַר כְּנִמְרֹד גִּבּוֹר צִיד  
לִפְנֵי יְהוָה: 10 וַתְּהִי רֹאשִׁית מַמְלַכְתּוֹ בָּבֶל וְאַרְדּוֹ וְאַכַּד וְכַלְנֶה  
בָּאָרֶץ שֹׁנַעַר: 11 מִן־הָאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת יָצָא אֲשׁוּר וַיְכַן אֶת־גִּיּוֹתָהּ  
וְאֶת־דַּחְכֵּת עִיר וְאֶת־כַּלְח: 12 וְאֶת־דָּרְסֹן בֵּין גִּיּוֹתָהּ וּבֵין כַּלֵּחַ  
הוּא הָעִיר הַגְּדֹלָה: 13 וּמִצְרַיִם יָלַד אֶת־לֵחִים וְאֶת־עֲנַמִּים וְאֶת־  
לֵחִים וְאֶת־נַפְתָּחִים: 14 וְאֶת־פִּתְרֻסִּים וְאֶת־כַּסְלִיִּים אֲשֶׁר  
יָצְאוּ מִשָּׁם פְּלִשְׁתִּים וְאֶת־כַּפְתָּרִים: 15 וְכֶנְעֵן יָלַד אֶת־צִדּוֹן  
בְּכוֹרֹו וְאֶת־חֵת: 16 וְאֶת־הִיבוּסִי וְאֶת־הָאֱמֹרִי וְאֶת־הַחִרְזִישִׁי:

תָּעַל כָּל־עֹוף הַשָּׁמַיִם בְּכָל־אֲשֶׁר תִּרְמַשׁ הָאֲדָמָה וּבְכָל־דָּגֵי הַיָּם  
 בְּיָדְכֶם נִתְּנוּ: 3 כָּל־רֶמֶשׂ אֲשֶׁר הוּא־חַי לָכֶם יִהְיֶה לְאֹכְלָה בְּיָדְךָ  
 עֹשֶׂב נִתַּתִּי לָכֶם אֶת־כָּל: 4 אֶדְ-בֶּשֶׂר בְּנִפְשׁוֹ דָּמוֹ לֹא תֹאכְלוּ:  
 5 וְאֵד אֶת־דַּמְכֶם לְנִפְשֹׁתֵיכֶם אֲדַרֵּשׁ מִיָּד כָּל־חַיָּה אֲדַרְשְׁנִי וּמִיָּד  
 הָאָדָם מִיָּד אִישׁ אֲחִיו אֲדַרֵּשׁ אֶת־נִפְשׁ הָאָדָם: 6 שִׁפְךָ דָּם  
 הָאָדָם בָּאָדָם דָּמוֹ יִשְׁפָּךְ כִּי בְצַלֵּם אֱלֹהִים עָשָׂה אֶת־הָאָדָם:  
 7 וְאַתֶּם פְּרוּ וּרְבוּ שִׂרְצוּ בָאָרֶץ וּבִרְבִּיהָ: 8 חִמְשִׁי 8 וְאָמַר  
 אֱלֹהִים אֶל־נֹחַ וְאֶל־בָּנָיו אִתּוֹ לֵאמֹר: 9 וְאַנִּי הִנְנִי מִקִּים אֶת־  
 בְּרִיתִי אִתְּכֶם וְאֶת־זֶרְעֲכֶם אַחֲרֵיכֶם: 10 וְאֵת כָּל־נִפְשׁ הַחַיָּה  
 אֲשֶׁר אִתְּכֶם בְּעֹוף בְּבִהֶמָה וּבְכָל־חַיַּת הָאָרֶץ אִתְּכֶם מִכָּל־יֹצֵא  
 הַתֵּבָה לְכָל־חַיַּת הָאָרֶץ: 11 וְהִקְמַתִי אֶת־בְּרִיתִי אִתְּכֶם וְלֹא־  
 יִכָּרֵת כָּל־בֶּשֶׂר עוֹד מִפִּי הַמַּבּוּל וְלֹא־יִהְיֶה עוֹד מַבּוּל לְשַׁחַת  
 הָאָרֶץ: 12 וְאָמַר אֱלֹהִים זֹאת אוֹת־הַבְּרִית אֲשֶׁר־אַנִּי נֹתֵן בֵּינִי  
 וּבֵינֵיכֶם וּבֵין כָּל־נִפְשׁ חַיָּה אֲשֶׁר אִתְּכֶם לְדוֹת עוֹלָם: 13 אֶת־  
 קִשְׁתִּי נִתַּתִּי בִּעָנִן וְהִיתָח לְאוֹת בְּרִית בֵּינִי וּבֵין הָאָרֶץ: 14 וְהָיָה  
 בִּעָנִנִי עָנָן עַל־הָאָרֶץ וְנִרְאָתָה הַקֶּשֶׁת בִּעָנָן: 15 וְחִכְרָתִי אֶת־  
 בְּרִיתִי אֲשֶׁר בֵּינִי וּבֵינֵיכֶם וּבֵין כָּל־נִפְשׁ חַיָּה בְּכָל־בֶּשֶׂר וְלֹא־  
 יִהְיֶה עוֹד הַפִּיִּם לְמַבּוּל לְשַׁחַת כָּל־בֶּשֶׂר: 16 וְהִיתָה הַקֶּשֶׁת בִּעָנָן  
 וְהָיְתָה לְזִכָּר בְּרִית עוֹלָם בֵּין אֱלֹהִים וּבֵין כָּל־נִפְשׁ חַיָּה בְּכָל־  
 בֶּשֶׂר אֲשֶׁר עַל־הָאָרֶץ: 17 וְאָמַר אֱלֹהִים אֶל־נֹחַ וְאֵת אוֹת־  
 הַבְּרִית אֲשֶׁר הִקְמַתִי בֵּינִי וּבֵין כָּל־בֶּשֶׂר אֲשֶׁר עַל־הָאָרֶץ: 18  
 וְהָיוּ בְּנֵי־נֹחַ הַיּוֹצֵאִים מִן־הַתֵּבָה שֵׁם וְחָם וְיִפֶּת וְחָם הוּא  
 אָבִי כְנַעַן: 19 שְׁלֵשָׁה אֱלֹהִים בְּנֵי־נֹחַ וּמֵאֵלֶּה נִפְצָה כָּל־הָאָרֶץ:  
 20 וַיְהִי נֹחַ אִישׁ הָאֲדָמָה וַיִּפֶּעַ כָּרֶם: 21 וַיִּשֶׁת מִן־דִּין וַיִּשְׁכַּר  
 וַיִּתְּגַל בַּתּוֹךְ אֶהֱלֹה: 22 וַיֵּרָא חָם אָבִי כְנַעַן אֶת עֶרְוַת אָבִיו

8 וַיִּשְׁלַח אֶת־הַיּוֹנָה מֵאֵתוֹ לְדַאוֹת הַמָּיִם מֵעַל פְּנֵי הָאָרֶץ׃  
 9 וְלֹא־מָצְאוּ הַיּוֹנָה מְנוּחַ לְכַף־רַגְלָהּ וַתָּשָׁב אֵלָיו אֶל־הַתֵּבָה  
 בִּרְמִים עַל־פְּנֵי כָל־הָאָרֶץ וַיִּשְׁלַח יְהוָה וַיִּקְחֶהּ וַיָּבֵא אֹתָהּ אֵלָיו  
 אֶל־הַתֵּבָה׃ 10 וַיְחַל עוֹד שְׁבַעַת יָמִים אַחֲרֵי כֵן וַיִּסָּף שַׁלַּח אֶת־  
 הַיּוֹנָה מִן־הַתֵּבָה׃ 11 וַתָּבֵא אֵלָיו הַיּוֹנָה לֵּעַת עֶרֶב וַתִּנָּח עַל־הָ  
 יָדַיִם מִרְחַק בְּפִיָּה וַיֵּדַע נֹחַ בִּרְקִלּוֹ הַמָּיִם מֵעַל הָאָרֶץ׃ 12 וַיְחַל  
 עוֹד שְׁבַעַת יָמִים אַחֲרֵי כֵן וַיִּשְׁלַח אֶת־הַיּוֹנָה וְלֹא־סָפָה שׁוֹב־אֵלָיו  
 עוֹד׃ 13 וַיְהִי בָאֶחָת וָשֵׁשׁ־מֵאוֹת שָׁנָה בְּרֵאשׁוֹן בָּאֶחָד לַחֹדֶשׁ  
 חָרְבוּ הַמָּיִם מֵעַל הָאָרֶץ וַיָּסֶר נֹחַ אֶת־מִכְסֵּה הַתֵּבָה וַיֵּרָא וַתִּנָּח  
 חֲרָבּוֹ פְּנֵי הָאָרֶץ׃ 14 וּבַחֹדֶשׁ חֲשֹׁנִי בְּשַׁבְעָה וָעֶשְׂרִים יוֹם  
 לַחֹדֶשׁ יָבִשָׁה הָאָרֶץ׃ 15 וַיְדַבֵּר אֱלֹהִים אֶל־נֹחַ לֵאמֹר׃  
 16 צֵא מִן־הַתֵּבָה אַתָּה וְאִשְׁתְּךָ וּבְנֶיךָ וּנְשֵׁי־בְנֶיךָ אִתָּךְ׃ 17 כָּל־  
 הַחַיָּה אֲשֶׁר־אִתָּךְ מִכָּל־בֶּשָׂר בְּעוֹף וּבַבְּהֵמָה וּבְכָל־הָרֶמֶשׂ הָרֹמֵשׁ  
 עַל־הָאָרֶץ הֹצֵא אִתָּךְ וְשָׂרְצוֹ בָּאָרֶץ וּפְרוֹ וּרְבוּ עַל־הָאָרֶץ׃  
 18 וַיֵּצֵא נֹחַ וּבְנָיו וְאִשְׁתּוֹ וּנְשֵׁי־בְנֵי־אֹתוֹ׃ 19 כָּל־הַחַיָּה כָּל־הָרֶמֶשׂ  
 וְכָל־הָעוֹף כָּל רוֹמֵשׁ עַל־הָאָרֶץ לְמִשְׁפַּחְתָּיהֶם יֵצְאוּ מִן־הַתֵּבָה׃  
 20 וַיְבִין נֹחַ מִזִּבְחַן יְהוָה וַיִּקַּח מִכָּל־הַבְּהֵמָה הַטְּהוֹרָה וּמִכָּל־הָעוֹף  
 הַטְּהוֹר וַיַּעַל עֹלֹת בַּמִּזְבֵּחַ׃ 21 וַיֵּרַח יְהוָה אֶת־רִיחַ הַנִּיחֹחַ וַיֹּאמֶר  
 יְהוָה אֶל־לִבּוֹ לֹא אֶסָּף לְקַלֵּל עוֹד אֶת־הָאָרֶץ בַּעֲבוּר הָאָדָם  
 כִּי יַעַר לֵב הָאָדָם רָע מִנְעֻרָיו וְלֹא־אֶסָּף עוֹד לַהֲבוֹת אֶת־כָּל־  
 חַי כָּאֲשֶׁר עָשִׂיתִי׃ 22 עַד כָּל־יְמֵי הָאָרֶץ זֶרַע וְקָצִיר וְקֹד וְחֹם  
 וְקֹץ וְחֹרֶף יוֹם וָלַיְלָה לֹא יִשְׁבְּחוּ׃

## CHAPTER IX.

1 וַיְבָרֶךְ אֱלֹהִים אֶת־נֹחַ וְאֶת־בָּנָיו וַיֹּאמֶר לָהֶם פְּרוּ וּרְבוּ  
 וּמְלֵאוּ אֶת־הָאָרֶץ׃ 2 וּמוֹרֵאכֶם וַחֲתָנֵכֶם יִהְיֶה עֲלֵי כָל־חַיַּת הָאָרֶץ

הָעוֹף לְמִינֵהוּ כָּל צֹפֹד כְּל־כָּנָף: 15 וַיָּבֹאוּ אֶל־נֹחַ אֶל־הַתֵּבָה  
שְׁנַיִם שָׁנִים מִכָּל־הַבְּשָׂר אֲשֶׁר־בָּהּ רוּחַ חַיִּים: 16 וַהֲבָיִים זָכָר  
וּנְקֵבָה מִכָּל־בְּשָׂר בָּאוּ בְּאֶשֶׁר צִוָּה אֱלֹהִים וַיִּסְגֹּר יְהוָה  
בַּעֲדָהּ: 17 וַיְהִי הַמָּבּוּל אַרְבָּעִים יוֹם עַל־הָאָרֶץ וַיָּדְבּוּ הַמַּיִם  
וַיִּשְׂאוּ אֶת־הַתֵּבָה וְתָרָם מֵעַל הָאָרֶץ: 18 וַיִּגְבְּדוּ הַמַּיִם וַיָּדְבּוּ  
מֵאֵד עַל־הָאָרֶץ וַתִּלָּךְ הַתֵּבָה עַל־פְּנֵי הַמַּיִם: 19 וַהֲמִים גִּבְרִי  
מֵאֵד מֵאֵד עַל־הָאָרֶץ וַיָּכֹסוּ כָּל־הַחַיִּים הַנִּבְרָאִים אֲשֶׁר־תַּחַת כָּל־  
הַשָּׁמַיִם: 20 חֹמֶשׁ עֶשְׂרֵה אָמָּה מִלְמַעְלָה גִבְרִי הַמַּיִם וַיָּכֹסוּ  
הַחַיִּים: 21 וַיָּגֹעַ כָּל־בְּשָׂר וַחֲרָמָשׁ עַל־הָאָרֶץ בַּעֲוֹן וּבִגְבֻהָמוֹ  
וּבַחַיָּה וּבְכָל־הַשָּׂרָץ הַשָּׂרָץ עַל־הָאָרֶץ וְכָל הָאָדָם: 22 כֹּל אֲשֶׁר  
נִשְׁמַת־רוּחַ חַיִּים בְּאִפּוֹ מִכָּל אֲשֶׁר בָּחַרְבָהּ מָחוּ: 23 וַיָּמָח אֶת־  
כָּל־חַיִּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר־עַל־פְּנֵי הָאָרֶץ מֵאָדָם עַד־בְּהֵמָה עַד־רֶמֶשׁ  
וְעַד־עוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם וַיָּמָחוּ מִן־הָאָרֶץ וַיִּשְׂאָר אֶד־נֹחַ וְאֶשֶׁר אִתּוֹ  
בַּתֵּבָה: 24 וַיִּגְבְּדוּ הַמַּיִם עַל־הָאָרֶץ חֲמִשִּׁים וּמֵאֵת יוֹם:

## CHAPTER VIII.

1 וַיּוֹפֵד אֱלֹהִים אֶת־נֹחַ וְאֶת כָּל־הַחַיָּה וְאֶת־כָּל־הַבְּהֵמָה אֲשֶׁר  
אִתּוֹ בַּתֵּבָה וַיַּעֲבֵר אֱלֹהִים רוּחַ עַל־הָאָרֶץ וַיָּשֹׁכוּ הַמַּיִם: 2 וַיִּסְכְּרוּ  
מַעֲיֵת תְּהוֹם וַאֲרָבַת הַשָּׁמַיִם וַיִּכְלֹא הַנֶּשֶׁם מִן־הַשָּׁמַיִם: 3 וַיָּשֻׁבוּ  
הַמַּיִם מֵעַל הָאָרֶץ חֲלוּף וָשׁוּב וַיַּחֲסְרוּ הַמַּיִם מִקְצֵה חֲמִשִּׁים  
וּמֵאֵת יוֹם: 4 וַתֵּגַח הַתֵּבָה בַּחֹדֶשׁ הַשְּׁבִיעִי בִּשְׁבַע־עֶשְׂרֵי יוֹם  
לַחֹדֶשׁ עַל הַר־אָרָרָם: 5 וַהֲמִים הָיוּ חֲלוּף וַחֲסוּר עַד הַחֹדֶשׁ  
הָעֲשִׂירִי בַּעֲשִׂירִי בְּאַחַד לַחֹדֶשׁ נִרְאוּ רִאשֵׁי הַחַיִּים: 6 וַיְהִי מִקֵּץ  
אַרְבָּעִים יוֹם וַיִּפְתַּח נֹחַ אֶת־חֲלוֹן הַתֵּבָה אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה: 7 וַיִּשְׁלַח  
אֶת־הָעוֹרֵב וַצֹּא וַצֹּא וָשׁוּב עַד־יִבְקֹשׁת הַמַּיִם מֵעַל הָאָרֶץ:

הַתִּבְּתָה לַחֲדוּת אֶתֶּנָּה זָכָר וּנְקֵבָה יְהוּי: 20 מִהֶעֱנֹף לְמִינֵהוּ וּמִן הַחֲדָמָה לְמִינֵהָ מִכָּל רֶמֶשׂ הָאָרֶץ לְמִינֵהוּ שְׁנַיִם מִכָּל יָבֹאוּ אֵלֶיךָ לַחֲדוּת: 21 וְאֶתָּה קַח-לָךְ מִכָּל מֵאֵלֶּךְ אִשָּׁר וְאֵכֶל וְאַסַּמְתָּ אֵלֶיךָ וְהָיָה לָךְ וּלְהֵם לְאֻמָּלָהּ: 22 וַיַּעַשׂ נֹחַ כֹּכֹל אֲשֶׁר צִוָּה אֱלֹהִים בֶּן עֵשָׂה: שֵׁי

## CHAPTER VII.

1 וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה לְנֹחַ בֹּא-אִתָּהּ וְכָל-בֵּיתְךָ אֶל-הַתִּבְּתָה כִּי-אֵתָּה רְאִיתִי צָדִיק לִפְנֵי בְדוּד הָיָה: 2 מִכָּל יִתְחַכְּמָה הַחֲוֹדָה תִּקַּח לָךְ שְׁבַעַת שְׁבַעַת אִישׁ וְאִשְׁתּוֹ וּמִן-הַחֲדָמָה אִשָּׁר לֹא סוּחָה הָיָה שְׁנַיִם אִישׁ וְאִשְׁתּוֹ: 3 גַּם מֵעוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם שְׁבַעַת שְׁבַעַת זָכָר וּנְקֵבָה לַחֲדוּת זָרַע עַל-פְּנֵי כָל-הָאָרֶץ: 4 כִּי לִימִם עוֹד שְׁבַעַת אֲנֹכִי מִסֵּדֵר עַל-הָאָרֶץ אַרְבָּעִים יוֹם וְאַרְבָּעִים לַיְלָה וּמֵחֹדֶי אֶת-כָּל-הַקָּדָם אֲשֶׁר עָשִׂיתִי מֵעַל פְּנֵי הָאָרֶץ: 5 וַיַּעַשׂ נֹחַ כֹּכֹל אֲשֶׁר-צִוָּה יְהוָה: 6 וְנֹחַ בֶּן-שֵׁשׁ מֵאוֹת שָׁנָה וַחֲמִיבֹל הָיָה מִיָּם עַל-הָאָרֶץ: 7 וַיָּבֹא נֹחַ וּבָנָיו וְאִשְׁתּוֹ וּנְשֵׁי-בָנָיו אִתּוֹ אֶל-הַתִּבְּתָה מִפְּנֵי מִי הַמַּבּוּל: 8 מִן-תִּפְחֹמָה הַחֲוֹדָה וּמִן-תִּפְחֹמָה אֲשֶׁר אֵתָּה סוּחָה וּמִן-הֶעֱנֹף וְכָל אֲשֶׁר-רֶמֶשׂ עַל-הָאָרֶץ: 9 שְׁנַיִם שְׁנַיִם בָּאוּ אֵל-נֹחַ אֶל-הַתִּבְּתָה זָכָר וּנְקֵבָה כָּאֲשֶׁר צִוָּה אֱלֹהִים אֶת-נֹחַ: 10 וְהָיָה לְשִׁבְעַת הַיָּמִים וּמִי הַמַּבּוּל הָיָה עַל-הָאָרֶץ: 11 בַּשָּׁנָה שֶׁש־מֵאוֹת שָׁנָה לַחֲיֵי-נֹחַ בְּרוּשׁ הַשָּׁנִי בְּשִׁבְעָה-עָשָׂר יוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ בַּיּוֹם הַזֶּה נִבְקְעוּ כָל-מַעֲיָנוֹת תְּהוֹם רַבָּה וְאַרְבַּת הַשָּׁמַיִם נִפְתְּחוּ: 12 וְהָיָה הַנֶּשֶׁם עַל-הָאָרֶץ אַרְבָּעִים יוֹם וְאַרְבָּעִים לַיְלָה: 13 בַּעֲצֵם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה בָּא נֹחַ וְשֵׁם-יָהוָה וַיִּפֹּת בְּנֵי-נֹחַ וְאִשְׁתּוֹ נֹחַ וְשָׁלֹשֶׁת נְשֵׁי-בָנָיו אִתָּם אֶל-הַתִּבְּתָה: 14 הִמָּה וְכָל-הַחַיָּה לְמִינָהּ וְכָל-תִּפְחֹמָה לְמִינָהּ וְכָל-הָרֶמֶשׂ חָדָם עַל-הָאָרֶץ לְמִינֵהוּ וְכָל-



וַיֵּשׁוּ מִכָּל אֲשֶׁר בָּחֲרוּ: 3 וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה לֹא יִדּוֹן רִחִי בָאָדָם  
 לְעֹלָם בְּשָׁנָם הָיָא בָשָׂר וְהָיוּ יָמֵי מַאֲה וְעֶשְׂרִים שָׁנָה: 4 הַנִּפְלִים  
 הָיוּ בָאָרֶץ בַּיָּמִים הָהֵם וְגַם אַחֲרֵיכֶן אֲשֶׁר יָבֹאוּ בְּנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים  
 אֶל-בָּנוֹת הָאָדָם וַיֵּלְדוּ לָהֶם הַנְּבָרִים אֲשֶׁר מְעֹלָם אִנְשֵׁי  
 הַשָּׁמַיִם: פ 5 וַיֵּרָא יְהוָה כִּי רַבָּה רָעַת הָאָדָם בָּאָרֶץ וְכָל-צֹרַר  
 מִחֲשַׁבְתּוֹ לִבּוֹ רָק רָע כָּל-הַיּוֹם: 6 וַיִּגְחַם יְהוָה בִּרְעֻשָׁה אֶת-  
 הָאָדָם בָּאָרֶץ וַיַּחְעָצֵב אֶל-לִבּוֹ: 7 וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אִמָּחָה אֶת-הָאָדָם  
 אֲשֶׁר-בְּרָאתִי מֵעַל פְּנֵי הָאֲדָמָה מֵאָדָם עַד-בְּהֵמָה עַד-רֶמֶשׂ וְעַד  
 עוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם כִּי נִחְמַתִּי כִּי עָשִׂיתִם: 8 וְנָח מִצָּא חַן בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה: פ

9 אֵלֶּה תּוֹלְדֹת נֹחַ אִישׁ צְדִיק תָּמִים הָיָה בְּדֹרֹתָיו אֶת-הָאֱלֹהִים  
 הִתְהַלֵּךְ-נֹחַ: 10 וַיֵּלֶד נֹחַ שְׁלֹשָׁה בָנִים אֶת-שֵׁם אֶת-חָם וְאֶת-  
 יֶפֶת: 11 וַתִּשְׁחַת הָאָרֶץ לִפְנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים וַתִּפְלֹא הָאָרֶץ חֲמָם:  
 12 וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת-הָאָרֶץ וְהִנֵּה נִשְׁחָתָה בִּיהֻשָּׁחִית כָּל-בָּשָׂר  
 אֶת-דִּרְכּוֹ עַל-הָאָרֶץ: פ 13 וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים לְנֹחַ קָץ כָּל-בָּשָׂר  
 בָּא לִפְנֵי בְּרִמְלָאָה הָאָרֶץ חֲמָם מִפְּנֵיהֶם וְהִנְנִי מַשְׁחִיתָם אֶת-  
 הָאָרֶץ: 14 עֲשֵׂה לָּךְ תֵּבַת עֲצֵי-גִפְרִית קָנִים תַּעֲשֶׂה אֶת-הַתֵּבָה  
 וּכְפַרְתָּ אֹתָהּ מִבֵּית וּמִחוּץ בַּכָּשָׂר: 15 הִזֵּה אֲשֶׁר תַּעֲשֶׂה אֹתָהּ  
 שְׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת אַמָּה אֹרֶךְ הַתֵּבָה חֲמֵשִׁים אַמָּה רָחְבָּהּ וּשְׁלֹשִׁים  
 אַמָּה קוֹמָתָהּ: 16 צֹרֵר תַּעֲשֶׂה לַתֵּבָה וְאֶל-אַמָּה תַּכְלִיפָהּ מִלְמַעְלָה  
 וּפֶתַח הַתֵּבָה בְּצִדָּהּ תִּשֶׂה תַּחְתִּים שְׁנַיִם וּשְׁלִישִׁים תַּעֲשֶׂה: 17 וְאֲנִי  
 הִנְנִי מְבִיא אֶת-הַמָּבּוּל מִיָּם עַל-הָאָרֶץ לְשַׁחַת כָּל-בָּשָׂר אֲשֶׁר-  
 בּוֹ רוּחַ חַיִּים מִתַּחַת הַשָּׁמַיִם כָּל אֲשֶׁר-בָּאָרֶץ יָגָע: 18 וְהִקְמַתִּי  
 אֶת-פִּרְיִתִּי אִתְּךָ וּבָאתִי אֶל-הַתֵּבָה אִתְּךָ וּבִנְיָהּ וְאִשְׁתְּךָ וְנָשְׂרָה  
 בְּנֶיךָ אִתְּךָ: 19 וּמִכָּל-חַיִּי מִכָּל-בָּשָׂר שְׁנַיִם מִכָּל תָּבִיא אֶל-

יָדָהּ: 16 וַיְהִי מִהֲלֵלָאֵל אַחֲרֵי הוֹלִידוֹ אֶת־יָדָהּ שְׁנָה  
 וּשְׁמֶנָה מֵאוֹת שָׁנָה וַיֹּלֶד בָּנִים וּבָנוֹת: 17 וַיְהִי כְּלִימִי מִהֲלֵלָאֵל  
 חֲמֵשׁ וְתִשְׁעִים שָׁנָה וּשְׁמֶנָה מֵאוֹת שָׁנָה וַיָּמָת: ס 18 וַיַּחֲרִיד  
 שְׁתֵּים וְשָׁשִׁים שָׁנָה וּמֵאֶת שָׁנָה וַיֹּלֶד אֶת־חֲנוּךְ: 19 וַיַּחֲרִיד  
 אַחֲרֵי הוֹלִידוֹ אֶת־חֲנוּךְ שְׁמֶנָה מֵאוֹת שָׁנָה וַיֹּלֶד בָּנִים וּבָנוֹת:  
 20 וַיְהִי כְּלִי־מִיָּדָהּ שְׁתֵּים וְשָׁשִׁים שָׁנָה וְתִשְׁעֵי מֵאוֹת שָׁנָה  
 וַיָּמָת: ס 21 וַיְהִי חֲנוּךְ חֲמֵשׁ וְשָׁשִׁים שָׁנָה וַיֹּלֶד אֶת־מֶתוֹשֶׁלַח:  
 22 וַיִּתְּחַלֵּף חֲנוּךְ אֶת־הָאֱלֹהִים אַחֲרֵי הוֹלִידוֹ אֶת־מֶתוֹשֶׁלַח שְׁלֹשׁ  
 מֵאוֹת שָׁנָה וַיֹּלֶד בָּנִים וּבָנוֹת: 23 וַיְהִי כְּלִימִי חֲנוּךְ חֲמֵשׁ  
 וְשָׁשִׁים שָׁנָה וּשְׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת שָׁנָה: 24 וַיִּתְּחַלֵּף חֲנוּךְ אֶת־הָאֱלֹהִים  
 וַיֵּאֱבֹנוּ כִּי־לָקַח אֹתוֹ אֱלֹהִים: ס שְׁבַע 25 וַיְהִי מֶתוֹשֶׁלַח שְׁבַע  
 וּשְׁמֹנִים שָׁנָה וּמֵאֶת שָׁנָה וַיֹּלֶד אֶת־לֶמֶךְ: 26 וַיְהִי מֶתוֹשֶׁלַח  
 אַחֲרֵי הוֹלִידוֹ אֶת־לֶמֶךְ שְׁתֵּים וְשְׁמוֹנִים שָׁנָה וּשְׁבַע מֵאוֹת שָׁנָה  
 וַיֹּלֶד בָּנִים וּבָנוֹת: 27 וַיְהִי כְּלִימִי מֶתוֹשֶׁלַח תִּשְׁעֵי וְשָׁשִׁים שָׁנָה  
 וְתִשְׁעֵי מֵאוֹת שָׁנָה וַיָּמָת: ס 28 וַיַּחֲלֶמֶךְ שְׁתֵּים וְשְׁמֹנִים שָׁנָה  
 וּמֵאֶת שָׁנָה וַיֹּלֶד בֶּן: 29 וַיִּקְרָא אֶת־שְׁמוֹ נֹחַ לֵאמֹר זֶה יִנְחַמְנִי  
 מִכָּעֲשָׁנוֹ וּמִעֲצָבוֹ יֵינִי מִן־הָאֲדָמָה אֲשֶׁר אָרָהָ יְהוָה: 30 וַיַּחֲרִ  
 לֶמֶךְ אַחֲרֵי הוֹלִידוֹ אֶת־נֹחַ חֲמֵשׁ וְתִשְׁעִים שָׁנָה וְחֲמֵשׁ מֵאֹת שָׁנָה  
 וַיֹּלֶד בָּנִים וּבָנוֹת: 31 וַיְהִי כְּלִי־מִלֶּמֶךְ שְׁבַע וְשָׁבַע שָׁנָה  
 וּשְׁבַע מֵאוֹת שָׁנָה וַיָּמָת: ס 32 וַיְהִי נֹחַ בֶּן־חֲמֵשׁ מֵאוֹת שָׁנָה  
 וַיֹּלֶד נֹחַ אֶת־שֵׁם אֶת־חָם וְאֶת־יֶפֶת:

## CHAPTER VI.

1 וַיְהִי כִּי־הִחַל הָאָדָם לָרֹב עַל־פְּנֵי הָאֲדָמָה וּבָנוֹת יָלְדוּ לָהֶם:  
 2 וַיֵּרְאוּ בְנֵי־הָאֱלֹהִים אֶת־בָּנוֹת הָאָדָם כִּי טֹבוֹת הָנָה וַיִּקְחוּ לָהֶם

עַד וַתֵּלֶךְ שָׁמֶעַן קוֹלִי נָשִׁי לְמֶדֶד הָאֲנָה אִמְרָתִי כִּי אִישׁ הָרַגְתִּי  
 לַפְּעֻעִי וַיֵּלֶךְ לְחַפְּרוֹתָי: 24 כִּי שִׁבְעָתַיִם יִקְסְדֶקֶן וְלִמְדָּה שִׁבְעִים  
 וְשִׁבְעָה: 25 וַיַּדַּע אָדָם עוֹד אֶת־אִשְׁתּוֹ וַתֵּלֶד בֶּן וַתִּקְרָא אֹתֹת  
 שְׁמוֹ שֵׁת כִּי שָׁתַלִּי אֱלֹהִים וַיַּדַּע אַחֵר תַּחַת הַבַּל כִּי הָרַגוּ קָן:  
 26 וַלְשֵׁת בִּם־חַוָּיָה וַיֵּלֶד בֶּן וַיִּקְרָא אֹתֹת־שְׁמוֹ אָנֹשׁ אִין חַוָּיָה  
 לִקְרָא בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה: 27

## CHAPTER V.

1 זֶה סֵפֶר תּוֹלְדֹת אָדָם בְּיֹם בָּרָא אֱלֹהִים אָדָם בְּרִמּוֹת  
 אֱלֹהִים עָשָׂה אוֹתוֹ: 2 וְכֵן תִּקְבְּהָ בְרָאם וַיְבָרֶךְ אוֹתָם וַיִּקְרָא  
 אֹת־שֵׁמֶם אָדָם בְּיֹם הַבְּרָאָה: 3 וַיְהִי אָדָם שְׁלֹשִׁים וּמֵאֹת שָׁנָה  
 וַיֵּלֶד בְּרִמּוֹתוֹ כַּצֵּלְמוֹ וַיִּקְרָא אֹת־שְׁמוֹ שֵׁת: 4 וַיְהִי יִמְרָאָדָם  
 אַחֲרֵי הוֹלִידוֹ אֶת־שֵׁת שְׁמִנָּה מֵאֹת שָׁנָה וַיֵּלֶד בָּנִים וּבָנוֹת:  
 5 וַיְהִי כָל־יְמֵי אָדָם אֲשֶׁר־חַי הִשָּׁע מֵאֹת שָׁנָה וּשְׁלֹשִׁים שָׁנָה  
 וַיָּמָת: 6 וַיְהִי־שֵׁת חֲמֵשׁ שָׁנִים וּמֵאֹת שָׁנָה וַיֵּלֶד אֶת־אָנֹשׁ:  
 7 וַיְהִי־שֵׁת אַחֲרֵי הוֹלִידוֹ אֶת־אָנֹשׁ שִׁבְעַ שָׁנִים וּשְׁמִנָּה מֵאֹת  
 שָׁנָה וַיֵּלֶד בָּנִים וּבָנוֹת: 8 וַיְהִי כָל־יְמֵי־שֵׁת שְׁתַּיִם עָשָׂרָה שָׁנָה  
 וַחֲשָׁע מֵאֹת שָׁנָה וַיָּמָת: 9 וַיְהִי אָנֹשׁ חֲשָׁעִים שָׁנָה וַיֵּלֶד  
 אֶת־קֵיֵן: 10 וַיְהִי אָנֹשׁ אַחֲרֵי הוֹלִידוֹ אֶת־קֵיֵן חֲמֵשׁ עָשָׂרָה  
 שָׁנָה וּשְׁמִנָּה מֵאֹת שָׁנָה וַיֵּלֶד בָּנִים וּבָנוֹת: 11 וַיְהִי כָל־יְמֵי  
 אָנֹשׁ חֲמֵשׁ שָׁנִים וַחֲשָׁע מֵאֹת שָׁנָה וַיָּמָת: 12 וַיְהִי קֵיֵן  
 שִׁבְעִים שָׁנָה וַיֵּלֶד אֶת־מַהֲלָאֵל: 13 וַיְהִי קֵיֵן אַחֲרֵי הוֹלִידוֹ  
 אֶת־מַהֲלָאֵל אַרְבָּעִים שָׁנָה וּשְׁמִנָּה מֵאֹת שָׁנָה וַיֵּלֶד בָּנִים  
 וּבָנוֹת: 14 וַיְהִי כָל־יְמֵי קֵיֵן עָשָׂר שָׁנִים וַחֲשָׁע מֵאֹת שָׁנָה  
 וַיָּמָת: 15 וַיְהִי מַהֲלָאֵל חֲמֵשׁ שָׁנִים וּשְׁלֹשִׁים שָׁנָה וַיֵּלֶד אֶת־

וְכָל רָעָה צָאן וְקֹרֶן הָיָה עִבְדֵּי אֲדָמָה: 3 וַיְהִי מִקֵּץ יָמָיו הִבָּא  
 קֵין מִפְּרִי הָאָדָמָה מִנְחָה לַיהוָה: 4 וְהָכֵל הִבָּא גַם־הוּא מִבְּכֹרוֹת  
 צֹאנוֹ וּמִחִלְבָּתוֹ וַיֵּשַׁע יְהוָה אֶל־הָכֵל וְאֶל־קֵין וְאֶל־קֶחֶן  
 וְאֶל־מִנְחָתוֹ לֹא שָׁעָה וַיַּחַר לְקֵין מְאֹד וַיִּפְּלוּ פָנָיו: 6 וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה  
 אֶל־קֵין לָמָּה חָרָה לְךָ וְלָמָּה נָפְלוּ פָנֶיךָ: 7 הֲלוֹא אִם־תֵּיטִיב  
 שְׂאֵת וְאִם לֹא תֵיטִיב לִפְתּוֹחַ חַטָּאת רִבְעָן וְאֵלֶיךָ תִּשְׁקָתוּ וְאַתָּה  
 תִּמְשָׁל־בּוֹ: 8 וַיֹּאמֶר קֵין אֶל־הָכֵל אַחִיו וַיַּחַדְנֵהוּ: 9 וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־קֵין אִי  
 הָכֵל אַחִיךָ וַיֹּאמֶר לֹא יָדַעְתִּי הֲשֹׁמֵר אָחִי אֲנִי: 10 וַיֹּאמֶר מִתְּ  
 עֲשִׂיתָ קוֹל דְּבַר אִחִיךָ צִעֲקִים אֵלַי מִן־הָאָדָמָה: 11 וַעֲתָה אָרֶךְ  
 אַתָּה מִן־הָאָדָמָה אֲשֶׁר פָּצַחְתָּ אֶת־פִּיךָ לְקַחַת אֶת־דְּבַר אִחִיךָ  
 פִּיֶּדְךָ: 12 כִּי תַעֲבֹד אֶת־הָאָדָמָה לֹא־תִתֶּנָּה תִתְּכֶנָּה לָךְ גֵּעַ  
 וְנָרַת תִּהְיֶה בָאָרֶץ: 13 וַיֹּאמֶר קֵין אֶל־יְהוָה גִּדּוֹל עֲוֹנִי מִנְּשׂוֹאִי:  
 14 הֵן גִּרְשִׁית אֹתִי חַיִּים מֵעַל פְּנֵי הָאָדָמָה מִמִּסְגָּרָה אֲפַתֵּר וְהָיִיתִי  
 גֵּעַ וְנָרַת בָּאָרֶץ וְהָיָה כָּל־מִצְאֵי יַחַדְנֵנִי: 15 וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ יְהוָה לָכֵן  
 כָּל־יֹדֵג קֵין שִׁבְעַתִּים יִקָּם וְשֵׁם יְהוָה לְקֵין אוֹת לְבַלְתִּי חַפּוֹת־  
 אֹתוֹ כָּל־מִצְאוֹ: 16 וַיָּצֵא קֵין מִלְּפָנֵי יְהוָה וַיֵּשֶׁב בָּאָרֶץ־נֹד קְדֻמַּת־  
 עֵדֶן: 17 וַיֵּדַע קֵין אֶת־אִשְׁתּוֹ וַתֵּלֶד וַתִּלְדֵּד אֶת־חֲנֹךְ וַיְהִי בְנָת  
 עֵדֶד וַיִּקְרָא שֵׁם הָעֵדֶד כֶּשֶׁם בְּנוֹ חֲנֹךְ: 18 וַיִּלְדֵּד לְחֲנֹךְ אֶת־  
 עֵידֶד וְעֵידֶד יָלַד אֶת־מִחְיָאֵל וּמִחְיָאֵל יָלַד אֶת־מְתוּשָׁאֵל וּמְתוּשָׁאֵל  
 יָלַד אֶת־לָמֹךְ: 19 וַיִּשְׁחָלְלוּ לָמֹךְ שְׁתֵּי נָשִׁים שֵׁם הָאֶחָת עֵדֶד  
 וְשֵׁם הַשֵּׁנִית צִלְחָה: 20 וַתִּלְדֵּד עֵדָה אֶת־יָבֶל הוּא חִדָּה אָבִי יֵשֶׁב  
 אוֹהֶל וּמִקְנָה: 21 וְשֵׁם אַחִיו יָבֶל הוּא חִדָּה אָבִי כָל־תַּפֵּשׂ כְּנֹד  
 וַעֲנָב: 22 וַצִּלְחָה גַם־הִיא יִלְדֶּה אֶת־תּוֹבֶל קֵין לְמֹשׁ כָּל־חֹדֶשׁ  
 נִחֲשֶׁת וּבְרוֹל וְאַחֻזָּת תּוֹבֶל־קֵין גַּעֲמָה: 23 וַיֹּאמֶר לָמֹךְ לְנִשְׁחַ

עֵינָם אֶתֶּה הַמֶּן־הָעֵץ אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתִךָ לִבְלֹתִי אֲכַל־מִמֶּנּוּ אֲכָלָה׃  
 12 וַיֹּאמֶר הָאָדָם הָאִשָּׁה אֲשֶׁר נָתַתָּה עִמָּדִי הִוא נִתְּנָה־לִּי מִן־  
 הָעֵץ וְאָכַל׃ 13 וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים לָאִשָּׁה מַה־זֹּאת עָשִׂית  
 וַתֹּאמֶר הָאִשָּׁה הִנֵּחֵשׁ הִשְׁיֵאֲנִי וְאָכַל׃ 14 וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים׃  
 אֶל־הִנֵּחֵשׁ כִּי עָשִׂית וְאֵת אֲרָרָה אֶתֶּה מִכָּל־הַפְּרִמָּה וּמִכָּל חֵיִת  
 הַשָּׂדֶה עַל־גִּחְלֹנָהּ תֵּלַךְ וְעֹפֶר תֹּאכַל כָּל־יְמֵי חַיֶּיךָ׃ 15 וְאִיְכָה  
 אִשִּׁית בֵּיתְךָ וּבֶן הָאִשָּׁה וּבֶן יִדְעָה וּבֶן יִדְעָה הִוא יִשׁוּפֶנָּה רֹאשׁ  
 וְאַתָּה תִּשְׁוֹפֶנּוּ עֶקֶב׃ ם 16 אֶל־הָאִשָּׁה אָמַר חֲדָבָה אֲרַבְרָה  
 עֲצָבוֹנְךָ וְחֲרָנְךָ בַּעֲצָב תֵּלַדִּי בָנִים וְאֶל־אִישׁ תִּשְׁקָתְךָ וְהִוא  
 יִמְשַׁלְּכֶךָ׃ ם 17 וְלָאָדָם אָמַר כִּי שְׂמַעְתָּ לְקוֹל אִשְׁתְּךָ וַתֹּאכַל  
 מִן־הָעֵץ אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתִךָ לֵאמֹר לֹא תֹאכַל מִמֶּנּוּ אֲרָרָה הָאָדָמָה  
 בַּעֲבֹדְךָ בַּעֲצָבוֹן תֹּאכְלָנָה כָּל יְמֵי חַיֶּיךָ׃ 18 וְקוֹץ וְדִרְבֹּר תַּצְמִיחַ  
 לָךְ וְאֲכָלָתָ אֶת־עֵשֶׂב הַשָּׂדֶה׃ 19 בְּזַעַת אַפֶּיךָ תֹּאכַל לֶחֶם עַד  
 שׁוֹבְךָ אֶל־הָאָדָמָה כִּי מִמֶּנָּה לָקַחְתָּ כִּי־עֹפֶר אֶתָּה וְאֶל־עֹפֶר  
 תָּשׁוּב׃ 20 וַיִּקְרָא הָאָדָם שֵׁם אִשְׁתּוֹ חַוָּה כִּי הִוא הָיְתָה אִם  
 כָּל־חַי׃ 21 וַיַּעַשׂ יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים לָאָדָם וּלְאִשְׁתּוֹ כִּתְנוֹת עוֹר  
 וַלְבָשֵׁם׃ ם הַסֵּף 22 וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים הֵן הָאָדָם חַיָּה כְּאֶחָד  
 מִפְּנֵי לִדְעַת טוֹב וָרָע וְעַתָּה׃ פֶּן־יִשְׁלַח יָדוֹ וְלָקַח גַּם מֵעֵץ  
 הַחַיִּים וְאָכַל וְחַי לְעֹלָם׃ 23 וַיִּשְׁלַחֵהוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים מִן־עֵדֶן  
 לְעַבְדֹּת אֶת־הָאָדָמָה אֲשֶׁר לָקַח מִשָּׁם׃ 24 וַיִּגְדֹּשׁ אֶת־הָאָדָם  
 וַיִּשְׁכֹּן מִקְדָּם לְגַן־עֵדֶן אֶת־הַכְּרִיבִים וְאֵת לֶחֶם הַחֵרֶב הַמַּתְחַפֶּכֶת  
 לְשֹׂמֵד אֶת־דֶּרֶךְ עֵץ הַחַיִּים׃ ם

## CHAPTER IV.

1 וְהָאָדָם יָדַע אֶת־חַוָּה אִשְׁתּוֹ וַתַּחַר וַתֵּלֶד אֶת־קַיִן וַתֹּאמֶר  
 קָנִיתִי אִישׁ אֶת־יְהוָה׃ 2 וַתִּסָּף לָלֶדֶת אֶת־אָחִיו אֶת־הָבֶל וַיְהִי

לְרֹאוֹת מִה־יִקְרֹא-לוֹ וְכָל אֲשֶׁר יִקְרֹא-לוֹ הָאָדָם נִפְשׁ חַיָּה הִוא  
שְׁמוֹ: 20 וַיִּקְרֹא הָאָדָם שְׁמוֹת לְכָל-הַחַיָּה וְלַעֲוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם וּלְכָל  
חַיַּת הַשָּׂדֶה וּלְאָדָם לֹא-מָצָא עֹד כִּנְגֹד: 21 וַיִּפֹּל יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים  
תְּרִדְמָה עַל-הָאָדָם וַיִּשָּׁן וַיִּקַּח אֶחָת מִצִּלְעֹתָיו וַיַּסֵּג בָּשָׂר תַּחְתָּנָה:  
22 וַיְבֹן יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים וְאֶת-הַצֶּלַע אֲשֶׁר-לָקַח מִן-הָאָדָם לְאִשָּׁה  
וַיִּבְאֶה אֶל-הָאָדָם: 23 וַיֹּאמֶר הָאָדָם זֹאת הִפַּעַם עִצָּם מִעֲצָמִי  
וַבָּשָׂר מִבָּשָׂרִי לְזֹאת יִקְרָא אִשָּׁה כִּי מֵאִשִּׁי לָקַחְתִּיזֹאת: 24 עַל-  
כֵּן יַעֲזֹב-אִישׁ אֶת-אָבִיו וְאֶת-אִמּוֹ וְדָבַק בְּאִשְׁתּוֹ וְהָיוּ לְבָשָׂר אֶחָד:  
25 וְהָיוּ שְׁנֵיהֶם עֶרְוָמִים הָאָדָם וְאִשְׁתּוֹ וְלֹא יָתַבְשָׁשׁוּ:

## CHAPTER III.

1 וַהֲנַחֵשׁ יְהוָה עָרֹם מִכָּל חַיַּת הַשָּׂדֶה אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה יְהוָה  
אֱלֹהִים וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל-הָאִשָּׁה אַף כִּי-אָמַר אֱלֹהִים לֹא תֹאכְלוּ מִכָּל  
עֵץ הָעֵץ: 2 וַתֹּאמֶר הָאִשָּׁה אֶל-הַנָּחַשׁ מִפִּי עֵץ-הָעֵץ נֹאכְלִי:  
3 וּמִפִּי הָעֵץ אֲשֶׁר בְּתוֹךְ-הָעֵץ אָמַר אֱלֹהִים לֹא תֹאכְלוּ מִמֶּנּוּ  
וְלֹא תִגְעוּ בּוֹ כִּן תָּמֻתוּ: 4 וַיֹּאמֶר הַנָּחַשׁ אֶל-הָאִשָּׁה לֹא-מוֹת  
תָּמֻתוּ: 5 כִּי יָדַע אֱלֹהִים כִּי בְיוֹם אֲכַלְכֶּם מִמֶּנּוּ תִּפְסְקוּ עֵינֵיכֶם  
וְהָיִיתֶם כַּאֲלֹהִים יָדְעֵי טוֹב וָרָע: 6 וַתֵּרָא הָאִשָּׁה כִּי טוֹב הָעֵץ  
לְמֹאכַל וְכִי תֹאחֲדֶנָּה לְעֵינַיִם תִּתְחַד הָעֵץ לְחַשְׁכִּיל וַתִּקַּח מִפְּרִי  
וַתֹּאכַל וַתֵּתֶן גַּם-לְאִישָׁה עִמָּה וַיֹּאכְל: 7 וַתִּפְסַחְנָה עֵינֵי שְׁנֵיהֶם  
וַיֵּדְעוּ כִּי עֲרֻמִּם הֵם וַתִּסְפְּרוּ עָלֶיהָ תְּאֵנָה וַיַּעֲשׂוּ לָהֶם חֲגֹדֹת:  
8 וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ אֶת-קוֹל יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים מִתְּהִלָּה בְּגֵן לְרוּחַ הַיּוֹם וַתִּחַבֵּא  
הָאָדָם וְאִשְׁתּוֹ מִפְּנֵי יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים בְּתוֹךְ עֵץ הָעֵץ: 9 וַיִּקְרָא יְהוָה  
אֱלֹהִים אֶל-הָאָדָם וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ אֵיכָּה: 10 וַיֹּאמֶר אֶת-קִלְקֶלֶךָ שָׁמַעְתִּי  
בְּגֵן וְאִדָּא כִּי-עִידִם אֲנִי וְאַחֲבֵא: 11 וַיֹּאמֶר מִי תִגִּד לָךְ כִּי

## CHAPTER II.

1 יִכְלֹוּ הַשָּׁמַיִם וְהָאָרֶץ וְכָל-צָבָאָם׃ 2 וַיְכַל אֱלֹהִים בַּיּוֹם  
 הַשְּׁבִיעִי מְלַאכְתּוֹ אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה וַיִּשְׁבֹּת בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי מְכַל-מְלַאכְתּוֹ  
 אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה׃ 3 וַיְבָרֶךְ אֱלֹהִים אֶת-יוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי וַיְקַדֵּשׁ אֹתוֹ כִּי בּוֹ  
 שָׁבַת מְכַל-מְלַאכְתּוֹ אֲשֶׁר-בָּרָא אֱלֹהִים לַעֲשׂוֹת׃ פ רביעי 4 אֵלֶּה  
 תּוֹלְדֹת הַשָּׁמַיִם וְהָאָרֶץ בְּהִבְרָאָם בַּיּוֹם עֲשׂוֹת יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים אֶרֶץ  
 וּשְׁמַיִם׃ 5 וְכָל-יְשִׁית הַשָּׂדֶה טָרֵם יְהוָה בָּאָרֶץ וְכָל-עֵשֶׂב הַשָּׂדֶה  
 טָרֵם יִצְמַח כִּי לֹא הִמְסִיד יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים עַל-הָאָרֶץ וְאָדָם אִין  
 לַעֲבֹד אֶת-הָאֲדָמָה׃ 6 וְאֵד יַעֲלֶה מִן-הָאָרֶץ וְהִשְׁקָה אֶת-כָּל-  
 פְּנֵי הָאֲדָמָה׃ 7 וַיִּצְרֹ יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים אֶת-הָאָדָם עֹפֶר מִן-הָאֲדָמָה  
 וַיִּפֹּחַ בָּאָפִי נִשְׁמַת חַיִּים וַיְהִי הָאָדָם לְנֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה׃ 8 וַיֹּסֶעַ יְהוָה  
 אֱלֹהִים גֵּן בְּעֶרְן מִקְדֵם וַיִּשֶׂם שָׁם אֶת-הָאָדָם אֲשֶׁר יָצָר׃ 9 וַיִּצְמַח  
 יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים מִן-הָאֲדָמָה כָּל-עֵץ נֹחַד לְמִדָּה וטוב לִמְאֹכֵל  
 וְעֵץ הַחַיִּים בְּתוֹךְ הָגֵן וְעֵץ הַדַּעַת טוֹב ורָע׃ 10 וַתֵּהָרֶץ יָצָא מִעֵרֶן  
 לְהִשְׁקוֹת אֶת-הָגֵן וּמִשָּׁם יִפְרֹד יְהוָה לְאַרְבַּעַה רְאשִׁים׃ 11 שָׁם  
 הָאֲדָם פִּישָׁן הוּא הַפֶּכֶב אֶת כָּל-אֶרֶץ הַחַיִּילָה אֲשֶׁר-שָׁם הַחוּב׃  
 12 וַיְהִי הָאָרֶץ הַהוּא טוֹב שָׁם הַכִּילָה וַאֲבָן הַשֹּׁהִם׃ 13 וְשֵׁם-  
 הַנְּהַר הַשֵּׁנִי גִיחוֹן הוּא הַסּוּבִיב אֶת כָּל-אֶרֶץ כּוּשׁ׃ 14 וְשֵׁם הַנְּהַר  
 הַשְּׁלִישִׁי חִדְקֵל הוּא הַחִלְדִּי קְדִמַת אֲשׁוּר וַתֵּהָרֶץ הַרְבִּיעִי הוּא  
 פָּרָת׃ 15 וַיִּקַּח יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים אֶת-הָאָדָם וַיְנַחֲהוּ בְּגֶרְעֵן לַעֲבֹדָה  
 וּלְשִׁמְרָה׃ 16 וַיִּצֹר יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים עַל-הָאָדָם לֵאמֹר מְכַל עֵץ-הָגֵן  
 אֲכָל תֹּאכֵל׃ 17 וּמִעֵץ הַדַּעַת טוֹב ורָע לֹא תֹאכֵל מִמֶּנּוּ כִּי בַיּוֹם  
 אֲכָלְךָ מִמֶּנּוּ מוֹת תָּמוּת׃ 18 וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים לֹא-טוֹב הָיִיתָ  
 הָאָדָם לְבֶדֶד אֶעֱשֶׂה-לּוֹ עֹד כְּנֻגָד׃ 19 וַיִּצֹר יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים מִן-  
 הָאֲדָמָה כָּל-חַיַּת הַשָּׂדֶה וְאֵת כָּל-עוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם וַיָּבֵא אֶל-הָאָדָם

הַגִּילִים אֶת־הַמָּאֹד הַגָּדֹל לְמַמְשַׁלֵּת הַיּוֹם וְאֶת־הַמָּאֹד הַקָּטָן  
לְמַמְשַׁלֵּת הַלַּיְלָה וְאֵת הַכּוֹכָבִים: 17 וַיֵּתֶן אֹתָם אֱלֹהִים בְּרִקְעַ  
הַשָּׁמַיִם לְהָאִיד עַל־הָאָרֶץ: 18 וּלְמַשֵּׁל בַּיּוֹם וּבַלַּיְלָה וּלְהַבְדִּיל  
בֵּין הָאֹרֶךְ וּבֵין הַחֹשֶׁךְ וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים כִּי־טוֹב: 19 וַיַּהֲרֹעַרְב וַיַּהֲ-  
בִקֵּר יוֹם רִבְעִיעִי: פ 20 וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים יִשְׂרָצוּ הַפִּמִּים שָׂרֵץ נֶפֶשׁ  
חַיָּה וְעוֹף יַעֲוֹף עַל־הָאָרֶץ עַל־פְּנֵי רִקְעַ הַשָּׁמַיִם: 21 וַיִּבְרָא  
אֱלֹהִים אֶת־הַתְּנִינִם הַגָּדֹלִים וְאֵת כָּל־נֶפֶשׁ הַחַיָּה הַרֹמֶשֶׁת אֲשֶׁר  
שָׂרָצוּ הַפִּמִּים לְמִינֵהֶם וְאֵת כָּל־עוֹף כָּנָף לְמִינֵהוּ וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים כִּי־  
טוֹב: 22 וַיְבָרֶךְ אֹתָם אֱלֹהִים לֵאמֹר פְּרוּ וּרְבוּ וּמְלֵאוּ אֶת־הַפִּמִּים בַּיּוֹמִים  
וַהֲעוֹף יָרֵב בָּאָרֶץ: 23 וַיַּהֲרֹעַרְב וַיַּהֲבִקֵּר יוֹם חַמִּישִׁי: פ שְׁלִישִׁי  
24 וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים תוֹצֵא הָאָרֶץ נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה לְמִינֶהּ כַּהֵמָּה וְהַמָּה וְהַמָּה  
וְחַיֵּיתוֹ־אָרֶץ לְמִינֶהּ וַיַּהֲכִין: 25 וַיַּעַשׂ אֱלֹהִים אֶת־חַיַּת הָאָרֶץ  
לְמִינֶהּ וְאֶת־הַבְּהֵמָה לְמִינֶהּ וְאֵת כָּל־רֶמֶשׂ הָאֲדָמָה לְמִינֵהוּ וַיֵּרָא  
אֱלֹהִים כִּי־טוֹב: 26 וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים נַעֲשֶׂה אָדָם בְּצַלְמֵנוּ כְּדֹמֹתֵנוּ  
וַיִּדְּוּ בְּדִגַּת הַיָּם וּבְעוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם וּבַבְּהֵמָה וּבְכָל־הָאָרֶץ וּבְכָל־  
הָרֶמֶשׂ הָרֹמֶשׂ עַל־הָאָרֶץ: 27 וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת־הָאָדָם בְּצַלְמֵוֹ  
בְּצֶלֶם אֱלֹהִים בָּרָא אֹתוֹ זָכָר וּנְקֵבָה בָּרָא אֹתָם: 28 וַיְבָרֶךְ אֹתָם  
אֱלֹהִים וַיֹּאמֶר לָהֶם אֱלֹהִים פְּרוּ וּרְבוּ וּמְלֵאוּ אֶת־הָאָרֶץ וּכְבֹּשׁוּ  
וַיִּדְּוּ בְּדִגַּת הַיָּם וּבְעוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם וּבְכָל־חַיַּת הָרֶמֶשׂ עַל־הָאָרֶץ:  
29 וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים הִנֵּה נָתַתִּי לָכֶם אֶת־כָּל־עֵשֶׂב וְיֹדֵעַ וְיֹדֵעַ אֲשֶׁר  
עַל־פְּנֵי כָל־הָאָרֶץ וְאֶת־כָּל־הָעֵץ אֲשֶׁר־בּוֹ פֶּרִיעַץ וְיֹדֵעַ וְיֹדֵעַ  
לָכֶם יִהְיֶה לְאֹכְלָהּ: 30 וְלָכָל־חַיַּת הָאָרֶץ וּלְכָל־עוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם  
וּלְכָל־רֶמֶשׂ עַל־הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר־בּוֹ נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה אֶת־כָּל־יֶרֶק עֵשֶׂב  
לְאֹכְלָהּ וַיַּהֲכִין: 31 וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת־כָּל־אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה וְהִנֵּה־טוֹב  
סָאֵד וַיַּהֲרֹעַרְב וַיַּהֲבִקֵּר יוֹם הַשִּׁשִּׁי: פ



# GENESIS.

## CHAPTER I.

1 בְּרֵאשִׁית בָּרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֶת הָאָרֶץ: 2 וְהָאָרֶץ  
הָיְתָה תוֹהוּ וָבֹהוּ וְחָשֶׁךְ עַל־פְּנֵי תְהוֹם וְרוּחַ אֱלֹהִים מְרַחֶפֶת עַל־  
פְּנֵי הַמַּיִם: 3 וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים יְהִי־אוֹר וַיְהִי־אוֹר: 4 וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים  
אֶת־הָאוֹר כִּי־טוֹב וַיַּבְדֵּל אֱלֹהִים בֵּין הָאוֹר וּבֵין הַחֹשֶׁךְ: 5 וַיִּקְרָא  
אֱלֹהִים לְאוֹר יוֹם וּלַחֹשֶׁךְ קָרָא לַיְלָה וַיַּהֲרֹעַב וַיַּהֲבִקֵר יוֹם  
אֶחָד: 6 וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים יְהִי־רָקִיעַ בְּתוֹךְ הַמַּיִם וַיְהִי־מִבְדִּיל בֵּין  
מַיִם לַמַּיִם: 7 וַיַּעַשׂ אֱלֹהִים אֶת־הַרְקִיעַ וַיַּבְדֵּל בֵּין הַמַּיִם אֲשֶׁר  
מִתַּחַת לַרָקִיעַ וּבֵין הַמַּיִם אֲשֶׁר מֵעַל לַרָקִיעַ וַיַּהֲרֹק: 8 וַיִּקְרָא  
אֱלֹהִים לַרָקִיעַ שָׁמַיִם וַיַּהֲרֹעַב וַיַּהֲבִקֵר יוֹם שֵׁנִי: 9 וַיֹּאמֶר  
אֱלֹהִים יִקָּוּ הַמַּיִם מִתַּחַת הַשָּׁמַיִם אֶל־מָקוֹם אֶחָד וַתֵּרָאָה הַיַּבֶּשֶׁת  
וַיַּהֲרֹק: 10 וַיִּקְרָא אֱלֹהִים לַיַּבֶּשֶׁת אֶרֶץ וּלְמִקְוֵה הַמַּיִם קָרָא  
יַמִּים וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים כִּי־טוֹב: 11 וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים תִּרְשָׁא הָאָרֶץ  
רֶשֶׁת עֵשֶׂב מִזֵּרַע זֶרַע עֵץ פֶּרִי עֹשֶׂה פֶרִי לְמִינֹו אֲשֶׁר זֶרַע  
בּוֹ עַל־הָאָרֶץ וַיַּהֲרֹק: 12 וַתּוֹצֵא הָאָרֶץ רֶשֶׁת עֵשֶׂב מִזֵּרַע זֶרַע  
לְמִינֹו וְעֵץ עֹשֶׂה־פֶרִי אֲשֶׁר זֶרַעֲבוּ לְמִינֹו וַיֵּרָא אֱלֹהִים כִּי  
טוֹב: 13 וַיַּהֲרֹעַב וַיַּהֲבִקֵר יוֹם שְׁלִישִׁי: 14 וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים  
יְהִי־מְאֹרֹת בְּרָקִיעַ הַשָּׁמַיִם לְהַבְדִּיל בֵּין הַיּוֹם וּבֵין הַלַּיְלָה וַיְהִי  
לְאוֹת וּלְמוֹעֲדִים וּלְשָׁנִים וְלַיּוֹם וְלַלַּיְלָה בְּרָקִיעַ הַשָּׁמַיִם  
לְהָאֵד עַל־הָאָרֶץ וַיַּהֲרֹק: 16 וַיַּעַשׂ אֱלֹהִים אֶת־שְׁנֵי הַמְּאֹרֹת

# GENERAL LISTS OF WORKS

PUBLISHED BY

MESSRS. LONGMANS, GREEN & CO.



## HISTORY, POLITICS, HISTORICAL MEMOIRS, &c.

**History of England from the Conclusion of the Great War in 1815 to the year 1841.** By SPENCER WALPOLE. 3 vols. 8vo. £2. 14s.

**History of England in the 18th Century.** By W. E. H. LECKY, M.A. 4 vols. 8vo. 1700-1784, £3. 12s.

**The History of England from the Accession of James II.** By the Right Hon. Lord MACAULAY.  
STUDENT'S EDITION, 2 vols. cr. 8vo. 12s.  
PEOPLE'S EDITION, 4 vols. cr. 8vo. 16s.  
CABINET EDITION, 8 vols. post 8vo. 48s.  
LIBRARY EDITION, 5 vols. 8vo. £4.

**The Complete Works of Lord Macaulay.** Edited by Lady TREVELYAN.

CABINET EDITION, 16 vols. crown 8vo. price £4. 16s.

LIBRARY EDITION, 4 vols. 8vo. Portrait, price £5. 5s.

**Lord Macaulay's Critical and Historical Essays.**

CHEAP EDITION, crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

STUDENT'S EDITION, crown 8vo. 6s.

PEOPLE'S EDITION, 2 vols. crown 8vo. 8s.

CABINET EDITION, 2 vols. 8vo. 24s.

LIBRARY EDITION, 3 vols. 8vo. 36s.

**The History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada.** By J. A. FROUDE, M.A.

POPULAR EDITION, 12 vols. crown, £2. 2s.

CABINET EDITION, 12 vols. crown, £3. 12s.

**The English in Ireland in the Eighteenth Century.** By J. A. FROUDE, M.A. 3 vols. crown 8vo. 18s.

**The English in America;** Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas. By J. A. DOYLE, Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford. 8vo. Map, 18s.

**Journal of the Reigns of King George IV. and King William IV.** By the late C. C. F. GREVILLE, Esq. Edited by H. REEVE, Esq. Fifth Edition. 3 vols. 8vo. price 36s.

**The Life of Napoleon III.** derived from State Records, Unpublished Family Correspondence, and Personal Testimony. By BLANCHARD JERROLD. With numerous Portraits and Facsimiles. 4 vols. 8vo. £3. 18s.

**The Early History of Charles James Fox.** By the Right Hon. G. O. TREVELYAN, M.P. Fourth Edition. 8vo. 6s.

**Selected Speeches of the Earl of Beaconsfield, K.G.** With Introduction and Notes, by T. E. KEBBEL, M.A. 2 vols. 8vo. Portrait, 32s.

**The Constitutional History of England since the Accession of George III. 1760-1870.** By Sir THOMAS ERSKINE MAY, K.C.B. D.C.L. Seventh Edition. 3 vols. cr. 8vo. 18s.

**Democracy in Europe;** a History. By Sir THOMAS ERSKINE MAY, K.C.B. D.C.L. 2 vols. 8vo. 32s.

**Introductory Lectures on**

**Modern History** delivered in 1841 and 1842. By the late THOMAS ARNOLD, D.D. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

**History of Civilisation in**

**England and France, Spain and Scotland.** By HENRY THOMAS BUCKLE. 3 vols. crown 8vo. 24s.

**Lectures on the History**

**of England from the Earliest Times to the Death of King Edward II.** By W. LONGMAN, F.S.A. Maps and Illustrations. 8vo. 15s.

**History of the Life &**

**Times of Edward III.** By W. LONGMAN, F.S.A. With 9 Maps, 8 Plates, and 16 Woodcuts. 2 vols. 8vo. 28s.

**Historic Winchester ;**

**England's First Capital.** By A. R. BRAMSTON and A. C. LEROY. Crown 8vo. 6s.

**The Historical Geogra-**

**phy of Europe.** By E. A. FREEMAN, D.C.L. LL.D. Second Edition, with 65 Maps. 2 vols. 8vo. 31s. 6d.

**History of England under**

**the Duke of Buckingham and Charles I. 1624-1628.** By S. R. GARDINER, LL.D. 2 vols. 8vo. Maps, price 24s.

**The Personal Govern-**

**ment of Charles I. from the Death of Buckingham to the Declaration in favour of Ship Money, 1628-1637.** By S. R. GARDINER, LL.D. 2 vols. 8vo. 24s.

**The Fall of the Monarchy**

**of Charles I. 1637-1649.** By S. R. GARDINER, LL.D. VOLS. I. & II. 1637-1642. 2 vols. 8vo. 28s.

**A Student's Manual of**

**the History of India from the Earliest Period to the Present.** By Col. MEADOWS TAYLOR, M.R.A.S. Third Thousand. Crown 8vo. Maps, 7s. 6d.

**Outline of English His-**

**tory, B.C. 55-A.D. 1880.** By S. R. GARDINER, LL.D. With 96 Woodcuts Fcp. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

**Waterloo Lectures ; a**

**Study of the Campaign of 1815.** By Col. C. C. CHESNEY, R.E. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

**The Oxford Reformers—**

**John Colet, Erasmus, and Thomas More ; a History of their Fellow-Work.** By F. SEEBOHM. 8vo. 14s.

**History of the Romans**

**under the Empire.** By Dean MERIVALE, D.D. 8 vols. post 8vo. 48s.

**General History of Rome**

**from B.C. 753 to A.D. 476.** By Dean MERIVALE, D.D. Crown 8vo. Maps, price 7s. 6d.

**The Fall of the Roman**

**Republic ; a Short History of the Last Century of the Commonwealth.** By Dean MERIVALE, D.D. 12mo. 7s. 6d.

**The History of Rome.**

**By WILHELM IHNE. 5 vols. 8vo. price £3. 17s.**

**Carthage and the Cartha-**

**ginians.** By R. BOSWORTH SMITH, M.A. Second Edition ; Maps, Plans, &c. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.

**History of Ancient Egypt.**

**By G. RAWLINSON, M.A. With Map and Illustrations. 2 vols. 8vo. 63s.**

**The Seventh Great Ori-**

**ental Monarchy ; or, a History of the Sassanians.** By G. RAWLINSON, M.A. With Map and 95 Illustrations. 8vo. 28s.

**The History of European**

**Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne.** By W. E. H. LECKY, M.A. 2 vols. crown 8vo. 16s.

**History of the Rise and**

**Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe.** By W. E. H. LECKY, M.A. 2 vols. crown 8vo. 16s.

**The History of Philo-**

**sophy, from Thales to Comte.** By GEORGE HENRY LEWES. Fifth Edition. 2 vols. 8vo. 32s.

**A History of Classical**

**Latin Literature.** By G. A. SIMCOX, M.A. Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford. 2 vols. 8vo. 32s.

**A History of Classical**

**Greek Literature.** By the Rev. J. P. MAHAFFY, M.A. Crown 8vo. VOL. I. Poets, 7s. 6d. VOL. II. Prose Writers, 7s. 6d.

**Witt's Myths of Hellas,**  
or Greek Tales Told in German.  
Translated into English by F. M.  
YOUNGHUSBAND. With a Preface by  
A. SIDGWICK, M.A. C.C. Coll. Oxon.  
Crown 8vo. [Nearly ready.]

**Zeller's Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics.** Translated by  
the Rev. O. J. REICHEL, M.A. New  
Edition revised. Crown 8vo. 15s.

**Zeller's Socrates & the Socratic Schools.** Translated by the  
Rev. O. J. REICHEL, M.A. Second  
Edition. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.

**Zeller's Plato & the Older Academy.** Translated by S. FRANCES  
ALLEYNE and ALFRED GOODWIN,  
B.A. Crown 8vo. 18s.

**Zeller's Pre-Socratic Schools;** a History of Greek Philosophy  
from the Earliest Period to the  
time of Socrates. Translated by SARAH  
F. ALLEYNE. 2 vols. crown 8vo. 30s.

**Epochs of Modern History.** Edited by C. COLBECK, M.A.

Church's Beginning of the Middle Ages.  
price 2s. 6d.

Cox's Crusades, 2s. 6d.

Creighton's Age of Elizabeth, 2s. 6d.

Gairdner's Lancaster and York, 2s. 6d.

Gairdner's Puritan Revolution, 2s. 6d.

Thirty Years' War, 2s. 6d.

(Mrs.) French Revolution, 2s. 6d.

Hale's Fall of the Stuarts, 2s. 6d.

Johnson's Normans in Europe, 2s. 6d.

Longman's Frederic the Great, 2s. 6d.

Ludlow's War of American Independence,  
price 2s. 6d.

M'Carthy's Epoch of Reform, 1830-1850.  
price 2s. 6d.

Morris's Age of Anne, 2s. 6d.

Seebohm's Protestant Revolution, 2s. 6d.

Stubbs' Early Plantagenets, 2s. 6d.

Warburton's Edward III. 2s. 6d.

**Epochs of Ancient History.** Edited by the Rev. Sir G. W.  
Cox, Bart. M.A. & C. SANKEY, M.A.

Beesly's Gracchi, Marius and Sulla, 2s. 6d.

Capes's Age of the Antonines, 2s. 6d.

Early Roman Empire, 2s. 6d.

Cox's Athenian Empire, 2s. 6d.

Greeks & Persians, 2s. 6d.

Curteis's Macedonian Empire, 2s. 6d.

Ilne's Rome to its Capture by the Gauls,  
price 2s. 6d.

Merivale's Roman Triumvirates, 2s. 6d.

Sankey's Spartan & Theban Supremacies,  
price 2s. 6d.

Smith's Rome and Carthage, 2s. 6d.

**Creighton's Shilling History of England,** introductory to  
'Epochs of English History.' Fcp. 1s.

**Epochs of English History.** Edited by the Rev. MANDELL  
CREIGHTON, M.A. In One Volume.  
Fcp. 8vo. 5s.

Browning's Modern England, 1820-1874, 9d.  
Creighton's (Mrs.) England a Continental  
Power, 1066-1216, 9d.

Creighton's (Rev. M.) Tudors and the Re-  
formation, 1485-1603, 9d.

Gardiner's (Mrs.) Struggle against Absolute  
Monarchy, 1603-1688, 9d.

Rowley's Rise of the People, 1215-1485, 9d.  
Settlement of the Constitution,  
1689-1784, 9d.

Tancock's England during the American and  
European Wars, 1765-1820, 9d.

York-Powell's Early England to the Con-  
quest, 1s.

**The Student's Manual of Ancient History;** the Political History,  
Geography and Social State of the  
Principal Nations of Antiquity. By W.  
COOKE TAYLOR, LL.D. Cr. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

**The Student's Manual of Modern History;** the Rise and Pro-  
gress of the Principal European Nations.  
By W. COOKE TAYLOR, LL.D. Crown  
8vo. 7s. 6d.

## BIOGRAPHICAL WORKS.

**Reminiscences chiefly of Oriol College and the Oxford Movement.** By the Rev. THOMAS MOZLEY,  
M.A. Second Edition, with New  
Preface. 2 vols. crown 8vo. 18s.

**Apologia pro Vita Sua;**  
Being a History of his Religious  
Opinions by Cardinal NEWMAN. Crown  
8vo. 6s.

**Thomas Carlyle, a History** of the first Forty Years of his Life, 1795 to 1835. By J. A. FROUDE, M.A. With 2 Portraits and 4 Illustrations. 2 vols. 8vo. 32s.

**Reminiscences.** By THOMAS CARLYLE. Edited by J. A. FROUDE, M.A. 2 vols. crown 8vo. 18s.

**Life of Sir William Rowan Hamilton, Kt. LL.D. D.C.L. M.R.I.A. &c.** Including Selections from his Poems, Correspondence, and Miscellaneous Writings. By the Rev. R. P. GRAVES, M.A. VOL. I. 8vo. 15s.

**The Marriages of the Bonapartes.** By the Hon. D. A. BINGHAM. 2 vols. crown 8vo. 21s.

**Recollections of the Last Half-Century.** By COUNT ORSI. With a Portrait of Napoleon III. and 4 Woodcuts. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

**Autobiography.** By JOHN STUART MILL. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

**Felix Mendelssohn's Letters,** translated by Lady WALLACE. 2 vols. crown 8vo. 5s. each.

**The Correspondence of Robert Southey with Caroline Bowles.** Edited by EDWARD DOWDEN, LL.D. 8vo. Portrait, 14s.

**The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay.** By the Right Hon. G. O. TREVELYAN, M.P.

LIBRARY EDITION, 2 vols. 8vo. 36s.  
CABINET EDITION, 2 vols. crown 8vo. 12s.  
POPULAR EDITION, 1 vol. crown 8vo. 6s.

**William Law, Nonjuror and Mystic.** By the Rev. J. H. OVERTON, M.A. 8vo. 15s.

**James Mill; a Biography.** By A. BAIN, LL.D. Crown 8vo. 5s.

**John Stuart Mill; a Criticism, with Personal Recollections.** By A. BAIN, LL.D. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d.

**A Dictionary of General Biography.** By W. L. R. CATES. Third Edition. 8vo. 28s.

**Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare.** By J. O. HALLIWELL-PHILLIPPS, F.R.S. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

**Biographical Studies.** By the late WALTER BAGEHOT, M.A. 8vo. 12s.

**Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography.** By the Right Hon. Sir J. STEPHEN, LL.D. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

**Cæsar; a Sketch.** By J. A. FROUDE, M.A. With Portrait and Map. 8vo. 16s.

**Life of the Duke of Wellington.** By the Rev. G. R. GLEIG, M.A. Crown 8vo. Portrait, 6s.

**Memoirs of Sir Henry Havelock, K.C.B.** By JOHN CLARK MARSHMAN. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

**Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland.** By W. E. H. LECKY, M.A. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

**Memoir of Augustus De Morgan,** with Selections from his Letters. By his Wife, SOPHIA ELIZABETH DE MORGAN. 8vo. with Portrait, 14s.

## MENTAL and POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY.

**Comte's System of Positive Polity, or Treatise upon Sociology.** By various Translators. 4 vols. 8vo. £4.

**De Tocqueville's Democracy in America,** translated by H. REEVE. 2 vols. crown 8vo. 16s.

**Analysis of the Phenomena of the Human Mind.** By JAMES MILL. With Notes, Illustrative and Critical. 2 vols. 8vo. 28s.

**On Representative Government.** By JOHN STUART MILL. Crown 8vo. 2s.

**On Liberty.** By JOHN STUART MILL. Crown 8vo. 1s. 4d.

**Principles of Political Economy.** By JOHN STUART MILL. 2 vols. 8vo. 30s. or 1 vol. crown 8vo. 5s.

**Essays on some Unsettled Questions of Political Economy.** By JOHN STUART MILL. 8vo. 6s. 6d.

**Utilitarianism.** By JOHN STUART MILL. 8vo. 5s.

**The Subjection of Women.** By JOHN STUART MILL. Fourth Edition. Crown 8vo. 6s.

**Examination of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy.** By JOHN STUART MILL. 8vo. 16s.

**A System of Logic, Ratiocinative and Inductive.** By JOHN STUART MILL. 2 vols. 8vo. 25s.

**Dissertations and Discussions.** By JOHN STUART MILL. 4 vols. 8vo. £2. 6s. 6d.

**A Systematic View of the Science of Jurisprudence.** By SHELDON AMOS, M.A. 8vo. 18s.

**Path and Goal; a Discussion on the Elements of Civilisation and the Conditions of Happiness.** By M. M. KALISCH, Ph.D. M.A. 8vo. price 12s. 6d.

**Sir Travers Twiss on the Rights and Duties of Nations,** considered as Independent Communities, in Time of War. Second Edition. 8vo. 21s.

**A Primer of the English Constitution and Government.** By S. AMOS, M.A. Crown 8vo. 6s.

**Fifty Years of the English Constitution, 1830-1880.** By SHELDON AMOS, M.A. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.

**Francis Bacon's Promus of Formularies and Elegancies,** illustrated by Passages from SHAKESPEARE. By MRS. H. POTT. With a Preface by the Rev. E. A. ABBOTT, D.D. 8vo. 16s.

**Principles of Economical Philosophy.** By H. D. MACLEOD, M.A. Second Edition, in 2 vols. VOL. I. 8vo. 15s. VOL. II. PART I. 12s.

**Lord Bacon's Works,** collected & edited by R. L. ELLIS, M.A. J. SPEDDING, M.A. and D. D. HEATH. 7 vols. 8vo. £3. 13s. 6d.

**Letters and Life of Francis Bacon,** including all his Occasional Works. Collected and edited, with a Commentary, by J. SPEDDING. 7 vols. 8vo. £4. 4s.

**The Institutes of Justinian;** with English Introduction, Translation, and Notes. By T. C. SANDARS, M.A. 8vo. 18s.

**The Nicomachean Ethics of Aristotle,** translated into English by R. WILLIAMS, B.A. Crown 8vo. price 7s. 6d.

**Aristotle's Politics, Books I. III. IV. (VII.)** Greek Text, with an English Translation by W. E. BOLLAND, M.A. and Short Essays by A. LANG, M.A. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

**The Ethics of Aristotle;** with Essays and Notes. By Sir A. GRANT, Bart. LL.D. 2 vols. 8vo. 32s.

**Bacon's Essays,** with Annotations. By R. WHATELY, D.D. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

**An Introduction to Logic.** By WILLIAM H. STANLEY MONCK, M.A. Prof. of Moral Philos. Univ. of Dublin. Crown 8vo. 5s.

**Picture Logic; an Attempt to Popularise the Science of Reasoning.** By A. J. SWINBURNE, B.A. Post 8vo. 5s.

**Elements of Logic.** By R. WHATELY, D.D. 8vo. 10s. 6d. Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d.

**Elements of Rhetoric.** By R. WHATELY, D.D. 8vo. 10s. 6d. Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d.

**The Senses and the Intellect.** By A. BAIN, LL.D. 8vo. 15s.

**The Emotions and the Will.** By A. BAIN, LL.D. 8vo. 15s.

**Mental and Moral Science**; a Compendium of Psychology and Ethics. By A. BAIN, LL.D. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.

**An Outline of the Necessary Laws of Thought**; a Treatise on Pure and Applied Logic. By W. THOMSON, D.D. Crown 8vo. 6s.

**Essays in Political and Moral Philosophy**. By T. E. CLIFFE LESLIE, Barrister-at-Law. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

**On the Influence of Authority in Matters of Opinion**. By the late Sir G. C. LEWIS, Bart. 8vo. price 14s.

**Hume's Philosophical Works**: Edited, with Notes, &c. by T. H. GREEN, M.A. and the Rev. T. H. GROSE, M.A. 4 vols. 8vo. 56s. Or separately, *Essays*, 2 vols. 28s. *Treatise on Human Nature*, 2 vols. 28s.

## MISCELLANEOUS & CRITICAL WORKS.

**Studies of Modern Mind and Character at Several European Epochs**. By JOHN WILSON. 8vo. 12s.

**Selected Essays**, chiefly from Contributions to the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews. By A. HAYWARD, Q.C. 2 vols. crown 8vo. 12s.

**Short Studies on Great Subjects**. By J. A. FROUDE, M.A. 3 vols. crown 8vo. 18s. **FOURTH SERIES**, 8vo. 12s.

**Literary Studies**. By the late WALTER BAGEHOT, M.A. Second Edition. 2 vols. 8vo. Portrait, 28s.

**Manual of English Literature, Historical and Critical**. By T. ARNOLD, M.A. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

**Poetry and Prose**; Illustrative Passages from English Authors from the Anglo-Saxon Period to the Present Time. Edited by T. ARNOLD, M.A. Crown 8vo. 6s.

**The Wit and Wisdom of Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield**, collected from his Writings and Speeches. Crown 8vo. 6s.

**The Wit and Wisdom of the Rev. Sydney Smith**. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

**Lord Macaulay's Miscellaneous Writings**:—

**LIBRARY EDITION**, 2 vols. 8vo. 21s.

**PEOPLE'S EDITION**, 1 vol. cr. 8vo. 4s. 6d.

**Lord Macaulay's Miscellaneous Writings and Speeches**. Student's Edition. Crown 8vo. 6s. Cabinet Edition, including Indian Penal Code, Lays of Ancient Rome, and other Poems. 4 vols. post 8vo. 24s.

**Speeches of Lord Macaulay**, corrected by Himself. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

**Selections from the Writings of Lord Macaulay**. Edited, with Notes, by the Right Hon. G. O. TREVELYAN, M.P. Crown. 8vo. 6s.

**Miscellaneous Works of Thomas Arnold, D.D.** late Head Master of Rugby School. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

**Realities of Irish Life**. By W. STEUART TRENCH. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d. Sunbeam Edition, 6d.

**Evenings with the Skeptics**; or, Free Discussion on Free Thinkers. By JOHN OWEN, Rector of East Anstey, Devon. 2 vols. 8vo. 32s.

**Outlines of Primitive Belief among the Indo-European Races**. By CHARLES F. KEARY, M.A. 8vo. 18s.

## Language & Languages.

A Revised Edition of Chapters on Language and Families of Speech. By F. W. FARRAR, D.D. F.R.S. Crown 8vo. 6s.

## Grammar of Elocution.

By JOHN MILLARD, Elocution Master in the City of London School. Second Edition. Fcp. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

## Selected Essays on Language, Mythology, and Religion.

By F. MAX MÜLLER, M.A. K.M. 2 vols. crown 8vo. 16s.

## Lectures on the Science of Language.

By F. MAX MÜLLER, M.A. K.M. 2 vols. crown 8vo. 16s.

## Chips from a German

Workshop; Essays on the Science of Religion, and on Mythology, Traditions & Customs. By F. MAX MÜLLER, M.A. K.M. 4 vols. 8vo. £1. 16s.

## India, What Can it Teach

Us? A Course of Lectures delivered before the University of Cambridge. By F. MAX MÜLLER, M.A. K.M. 8vo. *[In the press.]*

## The Essays and Contributions of A. K. H. B.

Uniform Cabinet Editions in crown 8vo.

Autumn Holidays, 3s. 6d.

Changed Aspects of Unchanged Truths, price 3s. 6d.

Commonplace Philosopher, 3s. 6d.

Counsel and Comfort, 3s. 6d.

Critical Essays, 3s. 6d.

Graver Thoughts. Three Series, 3s. 6d. each.

Landscapes, Churches, and Moralities, 3s. 6d.

Leisure Hours in Town, 3s. 6d.

Lessons of Middle Age, 3s. 6d.

Our Little Life, 3s. 6d.

Present Day Thoughts, 3s. 6d.

Recreations of a Country Parson, Three Series, 3s. 6d. each.

Seaside Musings, 3s. 6d.

Sunday Afternoons, 3s. 6d.

## DICTIONARIES and OTHER BOOKS of REFERENCE.

## English Synonymes. By

E. J. WHATELY. Edited by R. WHATELY, D.D. Fcp. 8vo. 3s.

## Roget's Thesaurus of

English Words and Phrases, classified and arranged so as to facilitate the expression of Ideas, and assist in Literary Composition. Re-edited by the Author's Son, J. L. ROGET. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.

## Handbook of the English

Language. By R. G. LATHAM, M.A. M.D. Crown 8vo. 6s.

## Contanseau's Practical

Dictionary of the French and English Languages. Post 8vo. price 7s. 6d.

## Contanseau's Pocket

Dictionary, French and English, abridged from the Practical Dictionary by the Author. Square 18mo. 3s. 6d.

## A Practical Dictionary

of the German and English Languages. By Rev. W. L. BLACKLEY, M.A. & Dr. C. M. FRIEDLÄNDER. Post 8vo. 7s. 6d.

## A New Pocket Dictionary

of the German and English Languages. By F. W. LONGMAN, Ball. Coll. Oxford. Square 18mo. 5s.

## Becker's Gallus; Roman

Scenes of the Time of Augustus. Translated by the Rev. F. METCALFE, M.A. Post 8vo. 7s. 6d.

## Becker's Charicles;

Illustrations of the Private Life of the Ancient Greeks. Translated by the Rev. F. METCALFE, M.A. Post 8vo. 7s. 6d.

## A Dictionary of Roman

and Greek Antiquities. With 2,000 Woodcuts illustrative of the Arts and Life of the Greeks and Romans. By A. RICH, B.A. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.



**A Greek-English Lexicon.** By H. G. LIDDELL, D.D. Dean of Christchurch, and R. SCOTT, D.D. Dean of Rochester. Crown 4to. 36s.

**Liddell & Scott's Lexicon, Greek and English**, abridged for Schools. Square 12mo. 7s. 6d.

**An English-Greek Lexicon**, containing all the Greek Words used by Writers of good authority. By C. D. YONGE, M.A. 4to. 21s. School Abridgment, square 12mo. 8s. 6d.

**A Latin-English Dictionary.** By JOHN T. WHITE, D.D. Oxon. and J. E. RIDDLE, M.A. Oxon. Sixth Edition, revised. Quarto 21s.

**White's Concise Latin-English Dictionary**, for the use of University Students. Royal 8vo. 12s.

**M'Culloch's Dictionary** of Commerce and Commercial Navigation. Re-edited (1882), with a Supplement containing the most recent Information, by A. J. WILSON. With 48 Maps, Charts, and Plans. Medium 8vo. 63s.

**Keith Johnston's General Dictionary of Geography**, Descriptive, Physical, Statistical, and Historical; a complete Gazetteer of the World. Medium 8vo. 42s.

**The Public Schools Atlas of Ancient Geography**, in 28 entirely new Coloured Maps. Edited by the Rev. G. BUTLER, M.A. Imperial 8vo. or imperial 4to. 7s. 6d.

**The Public Schools Atlas of Modern Geography**, in 31 entirely new Coloured Maps. Edited by the Rev. G. BUTLER, M.A. Uniform, 5s.

## ASTRONOMY and METEOROLOGY.

**Outlines of Astronomy.** By Sir J. F. W. HERSCHEL, Bart. M.A. Latest Edition, with Plates and Diagrams. Square crown 8vo. 12s.

**The Moon, and the Condition and Configurations of its Surface.** By E. NEISON, F.R.A.S. With 26 Maps and 5 Plates. Medium 8vo. price 31s. 6d.

**Air and Rain; the Beginnings of a Chemical Climatology.** By R. A. SMITH, F.R.S. 8vo. 24s.

**Celestial Objects for Common Telescopes.** By the Rev. T. W. WEBB, M.A. Fourth Edition, adapted to the Present State of Sideral Science; Map, Plate, Woodcuts. Crown 8vo. 9s.

**The Sun; Ruler, Light, Fire, and Life of the Planetary System.** By R. A. PROCTOR, B.A. With Plates & Woodcuts. Crown 8vo. 14s.

**Proctor's Orbs Around Us; a Series of Essays on the Moon & Planets, Meteors & Comets, the Sun & Coloured Pairs of Suns.** With Chart and Diagrams. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

**Proctor's Other Worlds than Ours; The Plurality of Worlds Studied under the Light of Recent Scientific Researches.** With 14 Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.

**Proctor on the Moon; her Motions, Aspects, Scenery, and Physical Condition.** With Plates, Charts, Woodcuts, and Lunar Photographs. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.

**Proctor's Universe of Stars; Presenting Researches into and New Views respecting the Constitution of the Heavens.** Second Edition, with 22 Charts and 22 Diagrams. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

**Proctor's New Star Atlas**, for the Library, the School, and the Observatory, in 12 Circular Maps (with 2 Index Plates). Crown 8vo. 5s.

**Proctor's Larger Star Atlas**, for the Library, in Twelve Circular Maps, with Introduction and 2 Index Plates. Folio, 15s. or Maps only, 12s. 6d.

**Proctor's Essays on Astronomy.** A Series of Papers on Planets and Meteors, the Sun and Sun-surrounding Space, Stars and Star Cloudlets. With 10 Plates and 24 Woodcuts. 8vo. price 12s.

**Proctor's Transits of Venus**; a Popular Account of Past and Coming Transits from the First Observed by Horrocks in 1639 to the Transit of 2012. Fourth Edition, including Suggestions respecting the approaching Transit in December 1882; with 20 Lithographic Plates (12 Coloured) and 38 Illustrations engraved on Wood. 8vo. 8s. 6d.

**Proctor's Studies of Venus-Transits**; an Investigation of the Circumstances of the Transits of Venus in 1874 and 1882. With 7 Diagrams and 10 Plates. 8vo. 5s.

## NATURAL HISTORY and PHYSICAL SCIENCE.

**Ganot's Elementary Treatise on Physics**, for the use of Colleges and Schools. Translated by E. ATKINSON, Ph.D. F.C.S. Tenth Edition. With 4 Coloured Plates and 844 Woodcuts. Large crown 8vo. 15s.

**Ganot's Natural Philosophy for General Readers and Young Persons.** Translated by E. ATKINSON, Ph.D. F.C.S. Fourth Edition; with 2 Plates and 471 Woodcuts. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

**Professor Helmholtz's Popular Lectures on Scientific Subjects.** Translated and edited by EDMUND ATKINSON, Ph.D. F.C.S. With a Preface by Prof. TYNDALL, F.R.S. and 68 Woodcuts. 2 vols. crown 8vo. 15s. or separately, 7s. 6d. each.

**Arnott's Elements of Physics or Natural Philosophy.** Seventh Edition, edited by A. BAIN, LL.D. and A. S. TAYLOR, M.D. F.R.S. Crown 8vo. Woodcuts, 12s. 6d.

**The Correlation of Physical Forces.** By the Hon. Sir W. R. GROVE, F.R.S. &c. Sixth Edition, revised and augmented. 8vo. 15s.

**A Treatise on Magnetism, General and Terrestrial.** By H. LLOYD, D.D. D.C.L. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

**The Mathematical and other Tracts of the late James M'Cullagh, F.T.C.D.** Prof. of Nat. Philos. in the Univ. of Dublin. Edited by the Rev. J. H. JELLET, B.D. and the Rev. S. HAUGHTON, M.D. 8vo. 15s.

**Elementary Treatise on the Wave-Theory of Light.** By H. LLOYD, D.D. D.C.L. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

**Fragments of Science.** By JOHN TYNDALL, F.R.S. Sixth Edition. 2 vols. crown 8vo. 16s.

**Heat a Mode of Motion.** By JOHN TYNDALL, F.R.S. Sixth Edition. Crown 8vo. 12s.

**Sound.** By JOHN TYNDALL, F.R.S. Fourth Edition, including Recent Researches. [*In the press.*]

**Essays on the Floating-Matter of the Air** in relation to Putrefaction and Infection. By JOHN TYNDALL, F.R.S. With 24 Woodcuts. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

**Professor Tyndall's Lectures on Light**, delivered in America in 1872 and 1873. With Portrait, Plate & Diagrams. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

**Professor Tyndall's Lessons in Electricity at the Royal Institution, 1875-6.** With 58 Woodcuts. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d.

**Professor Tyndall's Notes of a Course of Seven Lectures on Electrical Phenomena and Theories,** delivered at the Royal Institution. Crown 8vo. 1s. sewed, 1s. 6d. cloth.

**Professor Tyndall's Notes of a Course of Nine Lectures on Light,** delivered at the Royal Institution. Crown 8vo. 1s. swd., 1s. 6d. cloth.

**Six Lectures on Physical Geography,** delivered in 1876, with some Additions. By the Rev. SAMUEL HAUGHTON, F.R.S. M.D. D.C.L. With 23 Diagrams. 8vo. 15s.

**An Introduction to the Systematic Zoology and Morphology of Vertebrate Animals.** By A. MACALISTER, M.D. With 28 Diagrams. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

**Text-Books of Science,** Mechanical and Physical, adapted for the use of Artisans and of Students in Public and Science Schools. Small 8vo. with Woodcuts, &c.

Abney's Photography, 3s. 6d.

Anderson's (Sir John) Strength of Materials, price 3s. 6d.

Armstrong's Organic Chemistry, 3s. 6d.

Ball's Elements of Astronomy, 6s.

Barry's Railway Appliances, 3s. 6d.

Bauerman's Systematic Mineralogy, 6s.

Bloxam & Huntington's Metals, 5s.

Glazebrook's Physical Optics, 6s.

Goodeve's Mechanics, 3s. 6d.

Gore's Electro-Metallurgy, 6s.

Griffin's Algebra and Trigonometry, 3s. 6d.

Jenkin's Electricity and Magnetism, 3s. 6d.

Maxwell's Theory of Heat, 3s. 6d.

Merrifield's Technical Arithmetic, 3s. 6d.

Miller's Inorganic Chemistry, 3s. 6d.

Preece & Sivewright's Telegraphy, 3s. 6d.

Rutley's Study of Rocks, 4s. 6d.

Shelley's Workshop Appliances, 3s. 6d.

Thomé's Structural and Physical Botany, 6s.

Thorpe's Quantitative Analysis, 4s. 6d.

Thorpe & Muir's Qualitative Analysis, 3s. 6d.

Tilden's Chemical Philosophy, 3s. 6d.

Unwin's Machine Design, 6s.

Watson's Plane and Solid Geometry, 3s. 6d.

**Experimental Physiology, its Benefits to Mankind;** with an Address on Unveiling the Statue of William Harvey at Folkestone August 1881. By RICHARD OWEN, F.R.S. &c. Crown 8vo. 5s.

**The Comparative Anatomy and Physiology of the Vertebrate Animals.** By RICHARD OWEN, F.R.S. With 1,472 Woodcuts. 3 vols. 8vo. £3. 13s. 6d.

**Homes without Hands;** a Description of the Habitations of Animals, classed according to their Principle of Construction. By the Rev. J. G. WOOD, M.A. With about 140 Vignettes on Wood. 8vo. 14s.

**Wood's Strange Dwellings;** a Description of the Habitations of Animals, abridged from 'Homes without Hands.' With Frontispiece and 60 Woodcuts. Crown 8vo. 5s. Sunbeam Edition, 4to. 6d.

**Wood's Insects at Home;** a Popular Account of British Insects, their Structure, Habits, and Transformations. 8vo. Woodcuts, 14s.

**Common British Insects,** abridged from *Insects at Home.* By the Rev. J. G. WOOD, M.A. F.L.S. Crown 8vo. with numerous Illustrations.

**Wood's Insects Abroad;** a Popular Account of Foreign Insects, their Structure, Habits, and Transformations. 8vo. Woodcuts, 14s.

**Wood's Out of Doors;** a Selection of Original Articles on Practical Natural History. With 6 Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 5s.

**Wood's Bible Animals;** a description of every Living Creature mentioned in the Scriptures. With 112 Vignettes. 8vo. 14s.

**The Sea and its Living Wonders.** By Dr. G. HARTWIG. 8vo. with many Illustrations, 10s. 6d.

**Hartwig's Tropical World.** With about 200 Illustrations. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

**Hartwig's Polar World ;**

a Description of Man and Nature in the Arctic, and Antarctic Regions of the Globe. Maps, Plates & Woodcuts. 8vo. 10s. 6d. Sunbeam Edition, 6d.

**Hartwig's Subterranean**

World. With Maps and Woodcuts. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

**Hartwig's Aerial World ;**

a Popular Account of the Phenomena and Life of the Atmosphere. Map, Plates, Woodcuts. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

**A Familiar History of**

Birds. By E. STANLEY, D.D. Revised and enlarged, with 160 Woodcuts. Crown 8vo. 6s.

**Rural Bird Life ; Essays**

on Ornithology, with Instructions for Preserving Objects relating to that Science. By CHARLES DIXON. With Coloured Frontispiece and 44 Woodcuts by G. Pearson. Crown 8vo. 5s.

**Country Pleasures ; the**

Chronicle of a Year, chiefly in a Garden. By GEORGE MILNER. Second Edition, with Vignette. Crown 8vo. 6s.

**Rocks Classified and De-**

scribed. By BERNHARD VON COTTA. An English Translation, by P. H. LAWRENCE, with English, German, and French Synonymes. Post 8vo. 14s.

**The Geology of England**

and Wales ; a Concise Account of the Lithological Characters, Leading Fossils, and Economic Products of the Rocks. By H. B. WOODWARD, F.G.S. Crown 8vo. Map & Woodcuts, 14s.

**Keller's Lake Dwellings**

of Switzerland, and other Parts of Europe. Translated by JOHN E. LEE, F.S.A. F.G.S. With 206 Illustrations. 2 vols. royal 8vo. 42s.

**Heer's Primæval World**

of Switzerland. Edited by JAMES HEYWOOD, M.A. F.R.S. With Map, Plates & Woodcuts. 2 vols. 8vo. 12s.

**The Puzzle of Life ; a**

Short History of Præhistoric Vegetable and Animal Life on the Earth. By A. NICOLS, F.R.G.S. With 12 Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

**The Bronze Implements,**

Arms, and Ornaments of Great Britain and Ireland. By JOHN EVANS, D.C.L. LL.D. F.R.S. With 540 Illustrations. 8vo. 25s.

**The Origin of Civilisa-**

tion, and the Primitive Condition of Man. By Sir J. LUBBOCK, Bart. M.P. F.R.S. Fourth Edition, enlarged. 8vo. Woodcuts, 18s.

**Proctor's Light Science**

for Leisure-Hours ; Familiar Essays on Scientific Subjects, Natural Phenomena, &c. 2 vols. cr. 8vo. 7s. 6d. ea.

**Brande's Dictionary of**

Science, Literature, and Art. Re-edited by the Rev. Sir G. W. Cox, Bart. M.A. 3 vols. medium 8vo. 63s.

**Hullah's Course of Lec-**

tures on the History of Modern Music. 8vo. 8s. 6d.

**Hullah's Second Course**

of Lectures on the Transition Period of Musical History. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

**Loudon's Encyclopædia**

of Plants ; the Specific Character, Description, Culture, History, &c. of all Plants found in Great Britain. With 12,000 Woodcuts. 8vo. 42s.

**Loudon's Encyclopædia**

of Gardening ; the Theory and Practice of Horticulture, Floriculture, Arboriculture & Landscape Gardening. With 1,000 Woodcuts. 8vo. 21s.

**De Caisne & Le Maout's**

Descriptive and Analytical Botany. Translated by Mrs. HOOKER ; edited and arranged by J. D. HOOKER, M.D. With 5,500 Woodcuts. Imperial 8vo. price 31s. 6d.

**Rivers's Orchard-House ;**

or, the Cultivation of Fruit Trees under Glass. Sixteenth Edition. Crown 8vo. with 25 Woodcuts, 5s.

**The Rose Amateur's**

Guide. By THOMAS RIVERS. Latest Edition. Fcp. 8vo. 4s. 6d.

**Elementary Botany,**

Theoretical and Practical ; a Text-Book for Students. By H. EDMONDS B.Sc. With 312 Woodcuts. Fcp. 8vo. 2s.

## CHEMISTRY and PHYSIOLOGY.

**Experimental Chemistry**  
for Junior Students. By J. E. REYNOLDS, M.D. F.R.S. Prof. of Chemistry, Univ. of Dublin. Fcp. 8vo. PART I. 1s. 6d. PART II. 2s. 6d.

**Practical Chemistry; the Principles of Qualitative Analysis.**  
By W. A. TILDEN, F.C.S. Fcp. 8vo. 1s. 6d.

**Miller's Elements of Chemistry,** Theoretical and Practical. Re-edited, with Additions, by H. MACLEOD, F.C.S. 3 vols. 8vo.

PART I. CHEMICAL PHYSICS. 16s.

PART II. INORGANIC CHEMISTRY, 24s.

PART III. ORGANIC CHEMISTRY, 31s. 6d.

**An Introduction to the Study of Inorganic Chemistry.** By W. ALLEN MILLER, M.D. LL.D. late Professor of Chemistry, King's College, London. With 71 Woodcuts. Fcp. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

**Annals of Chemical Medicine;** including the Application of Chemistry to Physiology, Pathology, Therapeutics, Pharmacy, Toxicology & Hygiene. Edited by J. L. W. THUDICHUM, M.D. 2 vols. 8vo. 14s. each.

**A Dictionary of Chemistry and the Allied Branches of other Sciences.** Edited by HENRY WATTS, F.R.S. 9 vols. medium 8vo. £15. 2s. 6d.

**Inorganic Chemistry,** Theoretical and Practical; an Elementary Text-Book. By W. JAGO, F.C.S. Third Edition, revised, with 37 Woodcuts. Fcp. 8vo. 2s.

**Health in the House;** Lectures on Elementary Physiology in its Application to the Daily Wants of Man and Animals. By Mrs. BUCKTON. Crown 8vo. Woodcuts, 2s.

## The FINE ARTS and ILLUSTRATED EDITIONS.

**The New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ,** Illustrated with Engravings on Wood after Paintings by the Early Masters chiefly of the Italian School. New Edition in course of publication in 18 Monthly Parts, 1s. each. 4to.

**A Popular Introduction to the History of Greek and Roman Sculpture,** designed to Promote the Knowledge and Appreciation of the Remains of Ancient Art. By WALTER C. PERRY. With 268 Illustrations. Square crown 8vo. 31s. 6d.

**Japan; its Architecture, Art, and Art-Manufactures.** By CHRISTOPHER DRESSER, Ph.D. F.L.S. &c. With 202 Graphic Illustrations engraved on Wood for the most part by Native Artists in Japan, the rest by G. Pearson, after Photographs and Drawings made on the spot. Square crown 8vo. 31s. 6d.

**Lord Macaulay's Lays of Ancient Rome.** With Ninety Illustrations engraved on Wood from Drawings by G. Scharf. Fcp. 4to. 21s.

**Lord Macaulay's Lays of Ancient Rome, with Ivory and the Armada.** With 41 Wood Engravings by G. Pearson from Original Drawings by J. R. Weguelin. Crown 8vo. 6s.

**The Three Cathedrals** dedicated to St. Paul in London. By W. LONGMAN, F.S.A. With Illustrations. Square crown 8vo. 21s.

**Moore's Lalla Rookh,** TENNIEL's Edition, with 68 Woodcut Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.

**Moore's Irish Melodies,** MACLISE's Edition, with 161 Steel Plates. Super-royal 8vo. 21s.

**Lectures on Harmony,**  
delivered at the Royal Institution. By  
G. A. MACFARREN. 8vo. 12s.

**Jameson's Legends of the  
Saints and Martyrs.** With 19 Etch-  
ings and 187 Woodcuts. 2 vols. 31s. 6d.

**Jameson's Legends of the  
Madonna,** the Virgin Mary as repre-  
sented in Sacred and Legendary Art.  
With 27 Etchings and 165 Woodcuts.  
1 vol. 21s.

**Jameson's Legends of the  
Monastic Orders.** With 11 Etchings  
and 88 Woodcuts. 1 vol. 21s.

**Jameson's History of the  
Saviour, His Types and Precursors.**  
Completed by Lady EASTLAKE. With  
13 Etchings and 281 Woodcuts.  
2 vols. 42s.

**Art-Instruction in Eng-  
land.** By F. E. HULME, F.L.S.  
F.S.A. Fcp. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

## The USEFUL ARTS, MANUFACTURES, &c.

**The Elements of Me-  
chanism.** By T. M. GOODEVE, M.A.  
Barrister-at-Law. New Edition, re-  
written and enlarged, with 342 Wood-  
cuts. Crown 8vo. 6s.

**Railways and Locomo-  
tives;** a Series of Lectures delivered  
at the School of Military Engineering,  
Chatham. *Railways*, by J. W. BARRY,  
M. Inst. C.E. *Locomotives*, by Sir F.  
J. BRAMWELL, F.R.S. M. Inst. C.E.  
With 228 Woodcuts. 8vo. 21s.

**Gwilt's Encyclopædia of  
Architecture,** with above 1,600 Wood-  
cuts. Revised and extended by W.  
PAPWORTH. 8vo. 52s. 6d.

**Lathes and Turning, Sim-  
ple, Mechanical, and Ornamental.** By  
W. H. NORTHOTT. Second Edition,  
with 338 Illustrations. 8vo. 18s.

**Industrial Chemistry;** a  
Manual for Manufacturers and for Col-  
leges or Technical Schools; a Transla-  
tion of PAYEN's *Précis de Chimie  
Industrielle*. Edited by B. H. PAUL.  
With 698 Woodcuts. Medium 8vo. 42s.

**The British Navy: its  
Strength, Resources, and Adminis-  
tration.** By Sir T. BRASSEY, K.C.B.  
M.P. M.A. In 6 vols. 8vo. with nu-  
merous Illustrations. VOL. I. 10s. 6d.  
VOLS. II. & III. 3s. 6d. each.

**A Treatise on Mills and  
Millwork.** By the late Sir W. FAIR-  
BAIRN, Bart. C.E. Fourth Edition,  
with 18 Plates and 333 Woodcuts.  
1 vol. 8vo. 25s.

**Useful Information for  
Engineers.** By the late Sir W.  
FAIRBAIRN, Bart. C.F. With many  
Plates and Woodcuts. 3 vols. crown  
8vo. 31s. 6d.

**Hints on Household  
Taste in Furniture, Upholstery,  
and other Details.** By C. L. EAST-  
LAKE. Fourth Edition, with 100 Illus-  
trations. Square crown 8vo. 14s.

**Handbook of Practical  
Telegraphy.** By R. S. CULLEV,  
Memb. Inst. C.E. Seventh Edition.  
Plates & Woodcuts. 8vo. 16s.

**The Marine Steam En-  
gine.** A Treatise for the use of  
Engineering Students and Officers of  
the Royal Navy. By RICHARD  
SENNETT, Chief Engineer, Royal  
Navy. With numerous Illustrations  
and Diagrams. 8vo. 21s.

**A Treatise on the Steam  
Engine,** in its various applications to  
Mines, Mills, Steam Navigation, Rail-  
ways and Agriculture. By J. BOURNE,  
C.E. With Portrait, 37 Plates, and  
546 Woodcuts. 4to. 42s.

**Bourne's Catechism of the Steam Engine**, in its various Applications. Fcp. 8vo. Woodcuts, 6s.

**Bourne's Recent Improvements in the Steam Engine.** Fcp. 8vo. Woodcuts, 6s.

**Bourne's Handbook of the Steam Engine**, a Key to the Author's Catechism of the Steam Engine. Fcp. 8vo. Woodcuts, 9s.

**Bourne's Examples of Steam and Gas Engines** of the most recent Approved Types as employed in Mines, Factories, Steam Navigation, Railways and Agriculture. With 54 Plates & 356 Woodcuts. 4to. 70s.

**Ure's Dictionary of Arts, Manufactures, and Mines.** Seventh Edition, re-written and enlarged by R. HUNT, F.R.S. With 2,604 Woodcuts. 4 vols. medium 8vo. £7. 7s.

**Kerl's Practical Treatise on Metallurgy.** Adapted from the last German Edition by W. CROOKES, F.R.S. &c. and E. RÖHRIG, Ph.D. 3 vols. 8vo. with 625 Woodcuts, £4. 19s.

**Cresy's Encyclopædia of Civil Engineering**, Historical, Theoretical, and Practical. With above 3,000 Woodcuts, 8vo. 25s.

**Ville on Artificial Manures**, their Chemical Selection and Scientific Application to Agriculture. Translated and edited by W. CROOKES, F.R.S. With 31 Plates. 8vo. 21s.

**Mitchell's Manual of Practical Assaying.** Fifth Edition, revised, with the Recent Discoveries incorporated, by W. CROOKES, F.R.S. Crown 8vo. Woodcuts, 31s. 6d.

**The Art of Perfumery**, and the Methods of Obtaining the Odours of Plants; with Instructions for the Manufacture of Perfumes &c. By G. W. S. PISSÉ, Ph.D. F.C.S. Fourth Edition, with 96 Woodcuts. Square crown 8vo. 21s.

**Loudon's Encyclopædia of Gardening**; the Theory and Practice of Horticulture, Floriculture, Arboriculture & Landscape Gardening. With 1,000 Woodcuts. 8vo. 21s.

**Loudon's Encyclopædia of Agriculture**; the Laying-out, Improvement, and Management of Landed Property; the Cultivation and Economy of the Productions of Agriculture. With 1,100 Woodcuts. 8vo. 21s.

## RELIGIOUS and MORAL WORKS.

**An Introduction to the Study of the New Testament**, Critical, Exegetical, and Theological. By the Rev. S. DAVIDSON, D.D. LL.D. Revised Edition. 2 vols. 8vo. 30s.

**History of the Papacy During the Reformation.** By M. CREIGHTON, M.A. VOL. I. the Great Schism—the Council of Constance, 1378–1418. VOL. II. the Council of Basel—the Papal Restoration, 1418–1464. 2 vols. 8vo. 32s.

**A History of the Church of England**; Pre-Reformation Period. By the Rev. T. P. BOULTBEE, LL.D. 8vo. 15s.

**Sketch of the History of the Church of England to the Revolution of 1688.** By T. V. SHORT, D.D. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

**The English Church in the Eighteenth Century.** By the Rev. C. J. ABBEY, and the Rev. J. H. OVERTON. 2 vols. 8vo. 36s.

**An Exposition of the 39 Articles**, Historical and Doctrinal. By E. H. BROWNE, D.D. Bishop of Winchester. Twelfth Edition. 8vo. 16s.

**A Commentary on the 39 Articles**, forming an Introduction to the Theology of the Church of England. By the Rev. T. P. BOULTBEE, LL.D. New Edition. Crown 8vo. 6s.

**Sermons preached most-ly** in the Chapel of Rugby School by the late T. ARNOLD, D.D. 6 vols. crown 8vo. 30s. or separately, 5s. each.

**Historical Lectures on the Life of Our Lord Jesus Christ.** By C. J. ELLICOTT, D.D. 8vo. 12s.

**The Eclipse of Faith ; or a Visit to a Religious Sceptic.** By HENRY ROGERS. Fcp. 8vo. 5s.

**Defence of the Eclipse of Faith.** By H. ROGERS. Fcp. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

**Nature, the Utility of Religion, and Theism.** Three Essays by JOHN STUART MILL. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

**A Critical and Gram-matical Commentary on St. Paul's Epistles.** By C. J. ELLICOTT, D.D. 8vo. Galatians, 8s. 6d. Ephesians, 8s. 6d. Pastoral Epistles, 10s. 6d. Philippians, Colossians, & Philemon, 10s. 6d. Thessalonians, 7s. 6d.

**The Life and Letters of St. Paul.** By ALFRED DEWES, M.A. LL.D. D.D. Vicar of St. Augustine's Pendlebury. With 4 Maps. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

**Conybeare & Howson's Life and Epistles of St. Paul.** Three Editions, copiously illustrated.

**Library Edition**, with all the Original Illustrations, Maps, Landscapes on Steel, Woodcuts, &c. 2 vols. 4to. 42s.

**Intermediate Edition**, with a Selection of Maps, Plates, and Woodcuts. 2 vols. square crown 8vo. 21s.

**Student's Edition**, revised and condensed, with 46 Illustrations and Maps. 1 vol. crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

**Smith's Voyage & Ship-wreck of St. Paul ;** with Dissertations on the Life and Writings of St. Luke, and the Ships and Navigation of the Ancients. Fourth Edition, with numerous Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

**A Handbook to the Bible,** or, Guide to the Study of the Holy Scriptures derived from Ancient Monuments and Modern Exploration. By F. R. CONDER, and Lieut. C. R. CONDER, R.E. Third Edition, Maps. Post 8vo. 7s. 6d.

**Bible Studies.** By M. M. KALISCH, Ph.D. PART I. *The Prophecies of Balaam.* 8vo. 10s. 6d. PART II. *The Book of Jonah.* 8vo. price 10s. 6d.

**Historical and Critical Commentary on the Old Testament ;** with a New Translation. By M. M. KALISCH, Ph.D. Vol. I. Genesis, 8vo. 18s. or adapted for the General Reader, 12s. Vol. II. Exodus, 15s. or adapted for the General Reader, 12s. Vol. III. Leviticus, Part I. 15s. or adapted for the General Reader, 8s. Vol. IV. Leviticus, Part II. 15s. or adapted for the General Reader, 8s.

**The Four Gospels in Greek,** with Greek-English Lexicon. By JOHN T. WHITE, D.D. Oxon. Square 32mo. 5s.

**Ewald's History of Israel.** Translated from the German by J. E. CARPENTER, M.A. with Preface by R. MARTINEAU, M.A. 5 vols. 8vo. 63s.

**Ewald's History of Christ and His Time.** Translated from the German by J. F. SMITH. 8vo. [Nearly ready.]

**Ewald's Antiquities of Israel.** Translated from the German by H. S. SOLLY, M.A. 8vo. 12s. 6d.

**The New Man and the Eternal Life ;** Notes on the Reiterated Amens of the Son of God. By A. JUKES. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.

**The Types of Genesis,** briefly considered as revealing the Development of Human Nature. By A. JUKES. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

**The Second Death and the Restitution of all Things ;** with some Preliminary Remarks on the Nature and Inspiration of Holy Scripture. By A. JUKES. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

**Supernatural Religion ;** an Inquiry into the Reality of Divine Revelation. Complete Edition, thoroughly revised. 3 vols. 8vo. 36s.



**Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion**, as illustrated by the Religions of India. By F. MAX MÜLLER, M.A. Crown 8vo. price 7s. 6d.

**Introduction to the Science of Religion**, Four Lectures delivered at the Royal Institution; with Notes and Illustrations on Vedic Literature, Polynesian Mythology, the Sacred Books of the East, &c. By F. MAX MÜLLER, M.A. Cr. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

**The Gospel for the Nineteenth Century.** Fourth Edition. 8vo. price 10s. 6d.

**Christ our Ideal**, an Argument from Analogy. By the same Author. 8vo. 8s. 6d.

**The Temporal Mission of the Holy Ghost**; or, Reason and Revelation. By H. E. MANNING, D.D. Cardinal-Archbishop. Third Edition. Crown 8vo. 8s. 6d.

**Passing Thoughts on Religion.** By Miss SEWELL. Fcp. 8vo. price 3s. 6d.

**Preparation for the Holy Communion**; the Devotions chiefly from the works of Jeremy Taylor. By Miss SEWELL. 32mo. 3s.

**Private Devotions for Young Persons.** Compiled by Miss SEWELL. 18mo. 2s.

**Bishop Jeremy Taylor's Entire Works**; with Life by Bishop Heber. Revised and corrected by the Rev. C. P. EDEN. 10 vols. £5. 5s.

**The Psalms of David**; a new Metrical English Translation of the Hebrew Psalter or Book of Praises. By WILLIAM DIGBY SEYMOUR, Q.C. LL.D. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

**The Wife's Manual**; or Prayers, Thoughts, and Songs on Several Occasions of a Matron's Life. By the late W. CALVERT, Minor Canon of St. Paul's. Printed and ornamented in the style of *Queen Elizabeth's Prayer Book*. Crown 8vo. 6s.

**Hymns of Praise and Prayer.** Corrected and edited by Rev. JOHN MARTINEAU, LL.D. Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d. 32mo. 1s. 6d.

**Spiritual Songs for the Sundays and Holidays throughout the Year.** By J. S. B. MONSELL, LL.D. Fcp. 8vo. 5s. 18mo. 2s.

**Christ the Consoler**; a Book of Comfort for the Sick. By ELLICE HOPKINS. Second Edition. Fcp. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

**Lyra Germanica**; Hymns translated from the German by Miss C. WINKWORTH. Fcp. 8vo. 5s.

**Hours of Thought on Sacred Things**; Two Volumes of Sermons. By JAMES MARTINEAU, D.D. LL.D. 2 vols. crown 8vo. 7s. 6d. each.

**Endeavours after the Christian Life**; Discourses. By JAMES MARTINEAU, D.D. LL.D. Fifth Edition. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

**The Pentateuch & Book of Joshua Critically Examined.** By J. W. COLENSO, D.D. Bishop of Natal. Crown 8vo. 6s.

**Elements of Morality**, In Easy Lessons for Home and School Teaching. By Mrs. CHARLES BRAY. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d.

## TRAVELS, VOYAGES, &c.

**Three in Norway.** By TWO of THEM. With a Map and 59 Illustrations on Wood from Sketches by the Authors. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.

**Roumania, Past and Present.** By JAMES SAMUELSON. With 2 Maps, 3 Autotype Plates & 31 Illustrations on Wood. 8vo. 16s.

**Sunshine and Storm in the East**, or Cruises to Cyprus and Constantinople. By Lady BRASSEY. Cheaper Edition, with 2 Maps and 114 Illustrations engraved on Wood. Cr. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

**A Voyage in the 'Sunbeam,' our Home on the Ocean for Eleven Months.** By Lady BRASSEY. Cheaper Edition, with Map and 65 Wood Engravings. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d. School Edition, fcp. 2s. Popular Edition, 4to. 6d.

**Eight Years in Ceylon.** By Sir SAMUEL W. BAKER, M.A. Crown 8vo. Woodcuts, 7s. 6d.

**The Rifle and the Hound in Ceylon.** By Sir SAMUEL W. BAKER, M.A. Crown 8vo. Woodcuts, 7s. 6d.

**Sacred Palmlands; or, the Journal of a Spring Tour in Egypt and the Holy Land.** By A. G. WELD. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

**Wintering in the Riviera; with Notes of Travel in Italy and France, and Practical Hints to Travellers.** By W. MILLER. With 12 Illustrations. Post 8vo. 7s. 6d.

**San Remo and the Western Riviera**, climatically and medically considered. By A. HILL HASSALL, M.D. Map and Woodcuts. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.

**Himalayan and Sub-Himalayan Districts of British India**, their Climate, Medical Topography, and Disease Distribution. By F. N. MACNAMARA, M.D. With Map and Fever Chart. 8vo. 21s.

**The Alpine Club Map of Switzerland**, with parts of the Neighbouring Countries, on the scale of Four Miles to an Inch. Edited by R. C. NICHOLS, F.R.G.S. 4 Sheets in Portfolio, 42s. coloured, or 34s. uncoloured.

**Enlarged Alpine Club Map of the Swiss and Italian Alps**, on the Scale of 3 English Statute Miles to 1 Inch, in 8 Sheets, price 1s. 6d. each.

**The Alpine Guide.** By JOHN BALL, M.R.I.A. Post 8vo. with Maps and other Illustrations:—

**The Eastern Alps**, 10s. 6d.

**Central Alps**, including all the Oberland District, 7s. 6d.

**Western Alps**, including Mont Blanc, Monte Rosa, Zermatt, &c. Price 6s. 6d.

**On Alpine Travelling and the Geology of the Alps.** Price 1s. Either of the Three Volumes or Parts of the 'Alpine Guide' may be had with this Introduction prefixed, 1s. extra.

## WORKS of FICTION.

**In Trust; the Story of a Lady and her Lover.** By Mrs. OLIPHANT. Cabinet Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.

**The Hughenden Edition of the Novels and Tales of the Earl of Beaconsfield, K.G.** from Vivian Grey to Endymion. With Maclise's Portrait of the Author, a later Portrait on Steel from a recent Photograph, and a Vignette to each volume. Eleven Volumes, cr. 8vo. 42s.

**Novels and Tales.** By the Right Hon. the EARL OF BEACONSFIELD, K.G. The Cabinet Edition. Eleven Volumes, crown 8vo. 6s. each.

**The Novels and Tales of the Right Hon. the Earl of Beaconsfield, K.G.** Modern Novelist's Library Edition, complete in Eleven Volumes, crown 8vo. price 22s. boards, or 27s. 6d. cloth.

**Novels and Tales by the Earl of Beaconsfield, K.G.** Modern Novelist's Library Edition, complete in Eleven Volumes, crown 8vo. cloth extra, with gilt edges, price 33s.

**Whispers from Fairy-land.** By Lord BRABOURNE. With 9 Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

**Higgledy-Piggledy.** By Lord BRABOURNE. With 9 Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.

**Stories and Tales.** By ELIZABETH M. SEWELL. Cabinet Edition, in Ten Volumes, crown 8vo. price 3s. 6d. each, in cloth extra, with gilt edges:—

Amy Herbert. Gertrude.  
The Earl's Daughter.  
The Experience of Life.  
Cleve Hall. Ivors.  
Katharine Ashton.  
Margaret Percival.  
Laneton Parsonage. Ursula.

**The Modern Novelist's Library.** Each work complete in itself, price 2s. boards, or 2s. 6d. cloth:—

By the Earl of BEACONSFIELD, K.G.

Lothair.	Endymion.
Coningsby.	Henrietta Temple.
Sybil.	Contarini Fleming, &c.
Tancred.	Alroy, Ixion, &c.
Venetia.	The Young Duke, &c.
	Vivian Grey, &c.

By ANTHONY TROLLOPE.

Barchester Towers.  
The Warden.

By Major WHYTE-MELVILLE.

Digby Grand.	Good for Nothing.
General Bounce.	Holmby House.
Kate Coventry.	The Interpreter.
The Gladiators.	Queen's Manes.

By the Author of 'The Rose Garden,'  
Unawares.

By the Author of 'Mlle. Mori.'

The Atelier du I.ys.  
Mademoiselle Mori.

By Various Writers.

Atherston Priory.  
The Burgomaster's Family.  
Elsa and her Vulture.  
The Six Sisters of the Valleys.

## POETRY and THE DRAMA.

**Poetical Works of Jean Ingelow.** New Edition, reprinted, with Additional Matter, from the 23rd and 6th Editions of the two volumes respectively; with 2 Vignettes. 2 vols. fcp. 8vo. 12s.

**Faust.** From the German of GOETHE. By T. E. WEBB, LL.D. Reg. Prof. of Laws & Public Orator in the Univ. of Dublin. 8vo. 12s. 6d.

**Goethe's Faust.** A New Translation, chiefly in Blank Verse; with a complete Introduction and copious Notes. By JAMES ADEY BIRDS, B.A. F.G.S. Large crown 8vo. 12s. 6d.

**Goethe's Faust.** The German Text, with an English Introduction and Notes for Students. By ALBERT M. SELSS, M.A. Ph.D. Crown 8vo. 5s.

**Lays of Ancient Rome;** with Ivory and the Armada. By LORD MACAULAY.

CABINET EDITION, post 8vo. 3s. 6d.  
CHEAP EDITION, fcp. 8vo. 1s. sewed;  
1s. 6d. cloth; 2s. 6d. cloth extra  
with gilt edges.

**Lord Macaulay's Lays of Ancient Rome,** with Ivory and the Armada. With 41 Wood Engravings by G. Pearson from Original Drawings by J. R. Weguelin. Crown 8vo. 6s.

**Festus, a Poem.** By PHILIP JAMES BAILEY. 10th Edition, enlarged & revised. Crown 8vo. 12s. 6d.

**The Poems of Virgil** translated into English Prose. By JOHN CONINGTON, M.A. Crown 8vo. 9s.

**The Iliad of Homer,** Homometrically translated by C. B. CAYLEY. 8vo. 12s. 6d.

**Bowdler's Family Shakespeare.** Genuine Edition, in 1 vol. medium 8vo. large type, with 36 Woodcuts, 14s. or in 6 vols. 8vo. 21s.

**The Æneid of Virgil.** Translated into English Verse. By J. CONINGTON, M.A. Crown 8vo. 9s.

**Southey's Poetical Works,** with the Author's last Corrections and Additions. Medium 8vo. with Portrait, 14s.

## RURAL SPORTS, HORSE and CATTLE MANAGEMENT, &c,

**William Howitt's Visits to Remarkable Places,** Old Halls, Battle-Fields, Scenes illustrative of Striking Passages in English History and Poetry. New Edition, with 80 Illustrations engraved on Wood. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

**Dixon's Rural Bird Life;** Essays on Ornithology, with Instructions for Preserving Objects relating to that Science. With 44 Woodcuts. Crown 8vo. 5s.

**A Book on Angling; or,** Treatise on the Art of Fishing in every branch; including full Illustrated Lists of Salmon Flies. By FRANCIS FRANCIS. Post 8vo. Portrait and Plates, 15s.

**Wilcocks's Sea-Fisherman:** comprising the Chief Methods of Hook and Line Fishing, a glance at Nets, and remarks on Boats and Boating. Post 8vo. Woodcuts, 12s. 6d.

**The Fly-Fisher's Entomology.** By ALFRED RONALDS. With 20 Coloured Plates. 8vo. 14s.

**The Dead Shot, or Sportsman's Complete Guide;** a Treatise on the Use of the Gun, with Lessons in the Art of Shooting Game of All Kinds, and Wild-Fowl, also Pigeon-Shooting, and Dog-Breaking. By MARKSMAN. Fifth Edition, with 13 Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.

**Horses and Roads; or,** How to Keep a Horse Sound on his Legs. By FREE-LANCE. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. 6s.

**Horses and Riding.** By GEORGE NEVILLE, M.A. With 31 Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 6s.

**Horses and Stables.** By Major-General Sir F. FITZWYGRAM, Bart. Second Edition, revised and enlarged; with 39 pages of Illustrations containing very numerous Figures. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

**Youatt on the Horse.** Revised and enlarged by W. WATSON, M.R.C.V.S. 8vo. Woodcuts, 7s. 6d.

**Youatt's Work on the Dog.** Revised and enlarged. 8vo. Woodcuts, 6s.

**The Dog in Health and Disease.** By STONEHENGE. Third Edition, with 78 Wood Engravings. Square crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

**The Greyhound.** By STONEHENGE. Revised Edition, with 25 Portraits of Greyhounds, &c. Square crown 8vo. 15s.

**A Treatise on the Diseases of the Ox;** being a Manual of Bovine Pathology specially adapted for the use of Veterinary Practitioners and Students. By J. H. STEEL, M.R.C.V.S. F.Z.S. With 2 Plates and 116 Woodcuts. 8vo. 15s.

**Stables and Stable Fittings.** By W. MILES. Imp. 8vo. with 13 Plates, 15s.

**The Horse's Foot, and How to keep it Sound.** By W. MILES. Imp. 8vo. Woodcuts, 12s. 6d.

**A Plain Treatise on Horse-shoeing.** By W. MILES. Post 8vo. Woodcuts, 2s. 6d.

**Remarks on Horses' Teeth,** addressed to Purchasers. By W. MILES. Post 8vo. 1s. 6d.

## WORKS of UTILITY and GENERAL INFORMATION.

**Maunder's Biographical Treasury.** Reconstructed with 1,700 additional Memoirs, by W. L. R. CATES. Fcp. 8vo. 6s.

**Maunder's Treasury of Natural History;** or, Popular Dictionary of Zoology. Fcp. 8vo. with 900 Woodcuts, 6s.

**Maunder's Treasury of Geography,** Physical, Historical, Descriptive, and Political. With 7 Maps and 16 Plates. Fcp. 8vo. 6s.

**Maunder's Historical Treasury;** Outlines of Universal History, Separate Histories of all Nations. Revised by the Rev. Sir G. W. COX, Bart. M.A. Fcp. 8vo. 6s.

**Maunder's Treasury of Knowledge and Library of Reference;** comprising an English Dictionary and Grammar, Universal Gazetteer, Classical Dictionary, Chronology, Law Dictionary, &c. Fcp. 8vo. 6s.

**Maunder's Scientific and Literary Treasury;** a Popular Encyclopedia of Science, Literature, and Art. Fcp. 8vo. 6s.

**The Treasury of Botany,** or Popular Dictionary of the Vegetable Kingdom. Edited by J. LINDLEY, F.R.S. and T. MOORE, F.L.S. With 274 Woodcuts and 20 Steel Plates. Two Parts, fcp. 8vo. 12s.

**The Treasury of Bible Knowledge;** a Dictionary of the Books, Persons, Places, and Events, of which mention is made in Holy Scripture. By the Rev. J. AYRE, M.A. Maps, Plates and Woodcuts. Fcp. 8vo. 6s.

**Black's Practical Treatise on Brewing;** with Formulæ for Public Brewers and Instructions for Private Families. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

**The Theory of the Modern Scientific Game of Whist.** By W. POLE, F.R.S. Thirteenth Edition. Fcp. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

**The Correct Card;** or, How to Play at Whist; a Whist Catechism. By Major A. CAMPBELL-WALKER, F.R.G.S. Fourth Edition. Fcp. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

**The Cabinet Lawyer;** a Popular Digest of the Laws of England, Civil, Criminal, and Constitutional. Twenty-Fifth Edition. Fcp. 8vo. 9s.

**Chess Openings.** By F.W. LONGMAN, Balliol College, Oxford. New Edition. Fcp. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

**Pewtner's Comprehensive Specifier;** a Guide to the Practical Specification of every kind of Building-Artificer's Work. Edited by W. YOUNG. Crown 8vo. 6s.

**Cookery and Housekeeping;** a Manual of Domestic Economy for Large and Small Families. By Mrs. HENRY REEVE. Third Edition, with 8 Coloured Plates and 37 Woodcuts. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

**Modern Cookery for Private Families,** reduced to a System of Easy Practice in a Series of carefully-tested Receipts. By ELIZA ACTON. With upwards of 150 Woodcuts. Fcp. 8vo. 4s. 6d.

**Food and Home Cookery.**

A Course of Instruction in Practical Cookery and Cleaning, for Children in Elementary Schools. By Mrs. BUCKTON. Crown 8vo. Woodcuts, 2s.

**A Dictionary of Medicine.**

Including General Pathology, General Therapeutics, Hygiene, and the Diseases peculiar to Women and Children. By Various Writers. Edited by R. QUAIN, M.D. F.R.S. &c. With 138 Woodcuts. Medium 8vo. 31s. 6d. cloth, or 40s. half-russia.

**Bull's Hints to Mothers**

on the Management of their Health during the Period of Pregnancy and in the Lying-in Room. Fcp. 8vo. 1s. 6d.

**Bull on the Maternal**

Management of Children in Health and Disease. Fcp. 8vo. 1s. 6d.

**American Farming and**

Food. By FINLAY DUN. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.

**The Farm Valuer.** By

JOHN SCOTT. Crown 8vo. 5s.

**Rents and Purchases; or,**

the Valuation of Landed Property, Woods, Minerals, Buildings, &c. By JOHN SCOTT. Crown 8vo. 6s.

**Economic Studies.** By

the late WALTER BAGEHOT, M.A. Edited by R. H. HUTTON. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

**Health in the House;**

Lectures on Elementary Physiology in its Application to the Daily Wants of Man and Animals. By Mrs. BUCKTON. Crown 8vo. Woodcuts, 2s.

**Economics for Beginners**

By H. D. MACLEOD, M.A. Small crown 8vo. 2s. 6d.

**The Elements of Econo-**

mics. By H. D. MACLEOD, M.A. In 2 vols. VOL. I. crown 8vo. 7s. 6d.

**The Elements of Bank-**

ing. By H. D. MACLEOD, M.A. Fourth Edition. Crown 8vo. 5s.

**The Theory and Practice**

of Banking. By H. D. MACLEOD, M.A. 2 vols. 8vo. 26s.

**The Patentee's Manual;**

a Treatise on the Law and Practice of Letters Patent, for the use of Patentees and Inventors. By J. JOHNSON and J. H. JOHNSON. Fourth Edition, enlarged. 8vo. price 10s. 6d.

**Willich's Popular Tables**

Arranged in a New Form, giving Information &c. equally adapted for the Office and the Library. 9th Edition, edited by M. MARRIOTT. Crown 8vo. 10s.

**INDEX.**

<i>Abbey &amp; Overton's</i> English Church History .....	14
<i>Abney's</i> Photography .....	10
<i>Acton's</i> Modern Cookery .....	20
<i>Alpine Club</i> Map of Switzerland .....	17
Guide (The) .....	17
<i>Amos's</i> Jurisprudence .....	5
Primer of the Constitution .....	5
50 Years of English Constitution .....	5
<i>Anderson's</i> Strength of Materials .....	10
<i>Armstrong's</i> Organic Chemistry .....	10
<i>Arnold's</i> (Dr.) Lectures on Modern History .....	2
Miscellaneous Works .....	6
Sermons .....	15
(T.) English Literature .....	6
Poetry and Prose ...	6
<i>Arnold's</i> Elements of Physics .....	9
<i>Atelier</i> (The) du Lys .....	18
<i>Atherstone Priory</i> .....	18
<i>Autumn Holidays</i> of a Country Parson ...	7
<i>Ayre's</i> Treasury of Bible Knowledge .....	20

<i>Bacon's</i> Essays, by <i>Whately</i> .....	5
Life and Letters, by <i>Spedding</i> ...	5
Promus, edited by <i>Mrs. Pott</i> .....	5
Works .....	5
<i>Bagehot's</i> Biographical Studies .....	4
Economic Studies .....	21
Literary Studies .....	6
<i>Bailey's</i> Festus, a Poem .....	18
<i>Bain's</i> James Mill and J. S. Mill .....	4
Mental and Moral Science .....	6
on the Senses and Intellect .....	5
Emotions and Will .....	5
<i>Baker's</i> Two Works on Ceylon .....	17
<i>Ball's</i> Alpine Guides .....	17
<i>Ball's</i> Elements of Astronomy .....	10
<i>Barry</i> on Railway Appliances .....	10
& <i>Bramwell</i> on Railways, &c. ....	13
<i>Baerman's</i> Mineralogy .....	10
<i>Beaconsfield's</i> (Lord) Novels and Tales 17 & 18	
Speeches .....	1

<i>Beaconsfield's</i> (Lord) Wit and Wisdom.....	6	<i>De Morgan's</i> (Mrs.) Memoir of her Husband .....	4
<i>Becker's</i> Charicles and Gallus.....	7	<i>De Tocqueville's</i> Democracy in America.....	4
<i>Beesly's</i> Gracchi, Marius, and Sulla .....	3	<i>Deves's</i> Life and Letters of St. Paul .....	15
<i>Bingham's</i> Bonaparte Marriages .....	4	<i>Dixon's</i> Rural Bird Life .....	11 & 19
<i>Black's</i> Treatise on Brewing .....	20	<i>Doyle's</i> English in America.....	1
<i>Blackley's</i> German-English Dictionary.....	7	<i>Dresser's</i> Arts of Japan .....	12
<i>Bloxam &amp; Huntington's</i> Metals .....	10	<i>Dun's</i> American Farming and Food .....	21
<i>Bolland and Lang's</i> Aristotle's Politics.....	5		
<i>Boulbee</i> on 39 Articles.....	14	<i>Eastlake's</i> Hints on Household Taste.....	13
—'s History of the English Church.....	14	<i>Edmonds's</i> Elementary Botany .....	11
<i>Bownde's</i> Works on the Steam Engine.....	13 & 14	<i>Ellicott's</i> Scripture Commentaries .....	15
<i>Bowler's</i> Family <i>Shakespeare</i> .....	19	— Lectures on Life of Christ .....	15
<i>Brabourne's</i> Fairy-Land .....	18	<i>Elsa and her Vulture</i> .....	18
— Higgleddy-Piggleddy .....	18	<i>Epochs of Ancient History</i> .....	3
<i>Bramley-Moore's</i> Six Sisters of the Valleys ..	18	— English History .....	3
<i>Branson &amp; Leroy's</i> Historic Winchester ..	2	— Modern History .....	3
<i>Brande's</i> Dict. of Science, Literature, & Art ..	11	<i>Evans's</i> Bronze Implements .....	11
<i>Brassey's</i> British Navy.....	13	<i>EWALD'S</i> Antiquities of Israel .....	15
— Sunshine and Storm in the East ..	17	— Christ and His Times.....	15
— Voyage in the 'Sunbeam' .....	17	— History of Israel .....	15
<i>Bray's</i> Elements of Morality .....	16		
<i>Brown's</i> Exposition of the 39 Articles.....	14	<i>Fairbairn's</i> Information for Engineers.....	13
<i>Browning's</i> Modern England .....	3	— Mills and Millwork .....	13
<i>Buckle's</i> History of Civilisation .....	2	<i>Farrar's</i> Language and Languages .....	7
<i>Buckton's</i> Food and Home Cookery.....	21	<i>Fitwylgram</i> on Horses .....	19
— Health in the House .....	12 & 21	<i>Francis's</i> Fishing Book .....	19
<i>Bull's</i> Hints to Mothers .....	21	<i>Freeman's</i> Historical Geography .....	2
— Maternal Management of Children ..	21	<i>Froude's</i> <i>Cæsar</i> .....	4
<i>Burgomaster's</i> Family (The) .....	18	— English in Ireland .....	1
		— History of England .....	1
		— Short Studies.....	6
		— Thomas Carlyle.....	4
<i>Cabinet Lawyer</i> .....	20	<i>Gairdner's</i> Houses of Lancaster and York ..	3
<i>Calvert's</i> Wife's Manual .....	16	<i>Ganol's</i> Elementary Physics .....	9
<i>Cape's</i> Age of the Antonines.....	3	— Natural Philosophy .....	9
— Early Roman Empire .....	3	<i>Gardiner's</i> Buckingham and Charles I. ...	2
<i>Carlyle's</i> Reminiscences .....	4	— Personal Government of Charles I. ...	2
<i>Cates's</i> Biographical Dictionary .....	4	— Fall of ditto .....	2
<i>Cayley's</i> Iliad of Homer .....	19	— Outline of English History ...	2
<i>Changed Aspects of Unchanged Truths</i> ...	7	— Puritan Resolution .....	3
<i>Chesney's</i> Waterloo Campaign .....	2	— Thirty Years' War .....	3
<i>Christ our Ideal</i> .....	16	— (Mrs.) French Revolution .....	3
<i>Church's</i> Beginning of the Middle Ages ...	3	— Struggle against Absolute Monarchy .....	3
<i>Colenso's</i> Pentateuch and Book of Joshua ..	16	<i>Glazebrook's</i> Physical Optics .....	10
<i>Commonplace Philosopher</i> .....	7	<i>Goethe's</i> Faust, by Birds .....	18
<i>Comte's</i> Positive Polity .....	4	— by Sells .....	18
<i>Corder's</i> Handbook to the Bible .....	15	— by Webb .....	18
<i>Conington's</i> Translation of Virgil's <i>Æneid</i> ..	19	<i>Goodeve's</i> Mechanics.....	10
— Prose Translation of Virgil's Poems.....	18	— Mechanism .....	13
<i>Contanseau's</i> Two French Dictionaries ...	7	<i>Gore's</i> Electro-Metallurgy .....	10
<i>Conybeare and Howson's</i> St. Paul .....	15	<i>Gospel</i> (The) for the Nineteenth Century ..	16
<i>Cotta on Rocks, by Lawrence</i> .....	11	<i>Grant's</i> Ethics of Aristotle .....	5
<i>Counsel and Comfort from a City Pulpit</i> ...	7	<i>Graver Thoughts of a Country Parson</i> .....	7
<i>Cox's</i> (G. W.) Athenian Empire .....	3	<i>Graves's</i> Life of Sir W. Hamilton .....	4
— Crusades .....	3	<i>Greville's</i> Journal .....	1
— Greeks and Persians.....	3	<i>Griffin's</i> Algebra and Trigonometry.....	10
<i>Creighton's</i> Age of Elizabeth .....	3	<i>Grove on</i> Correlation of Physical Forces... ..	9
— England a Continental Power .....	3	<i>Guill's</i> Encyclopædia of Architecture.....	13
— Papacy during the Reformation .....	14		
— Shilling History of England ...	3	<i>Hale's</i> Fall of the Stuarts.....	3
— Tudors and the Reformation .....	3	<i>Halliwell-Phillipps's</i> Outlines of Shake- speare's Life .....	4
<i>Cresy's</i> Encyclopædia of Civil Engineering ..	14	<i>Hartwig's</i> Works on Popular Natural History, &c. ....	10 & 11
<i>Critical Essays of a Country Parson</i> .....	7	<i>Hassall's</i> Climate of San Remo.....	17
<i>Culley's</i> Handbook of Telegraphy.....	13	<i>Haughton's</i> Physical Geography .....	10
<i>Curteis's</i> Macedonian Empire .....	3	<i>Hayward's</i> Selected Essays .....	6
<i>Davidson's</i> New Testament .....	14		
<i>Dead Shot</i> (The) .....	19		
<i>De Caisne and Le Maout's</i> Botany .....	11		

<i>Heer's</i> Primeval World of Switzerland.....	11	<i>Macanlay's</i> (Lord) Life and Letters.....	4
<i>Helmholtz's</i> Scientific Lectures .....	9	— Miscellaneous Writings .....	5
<i>Herschel's</i> Outlines of Astronomy .....	8	— Speeches .....	6
<i>Hopkins's</i> Christ the Consoler .....	16	— Works .....	1
<i>Horses and Roads</i> .....	19	— Writings, Selections from .....	6
<i>Howitt's</i> Visits to Remarkable Places .....	19	<i>McCullagh's</i> Tracts .....	9
<i>Hullah's</i> History of Modern Music .....	11	<i>McCarthy's</i> Epoch of Reform .....	3
— Transition Period .....	11	<i>McCulloch's</i> Dictionary of Commerce .....	8
<i>Hulme's</i> Art-Instruction in England .....	13	<i>Macfarren</i> on Musical Harmony .....	13
<i>Hume's</i> Essays .....	6	<i>Macleod's</i> Economical Philosophy.....	5
— Treatise on Human Nature.....	6	— Economics for Beginners.....	21
		— Elements of Banking.....	21
		— Elements of Economics.....	21
		— Theory and Practice of Banking .....	21
<i>Inde's</i> Rome to its Capture by the Gauls... 3		Macnamara's Himalayan Districts .....	17
— History of Rome .....	2	Mademoiselle Mori .....	18
<i>Ingelow's</i> Poems .....	18	<i>Mahaffy's</i> Classical Greek Literature .....	2
		<i>Manning's</i> Mission of the Holy Ghost ...	16
<i>Jago's</i> Inorganic Chemistry .....	12	<i>Marshman's</i> Life of Havelock .....	4
<i>Jameson's</i> Sacred and Legendary Art.....	12	<i>Martineau's</i> Christian Life.....	16
<i>Kenkin's</i> Electricity and Magnetism.....	10	— Hours of Thought.....	16
<i>Kerrol's</i> Life of Napoleon .....	1	— Hymns.....	16
<i>Johnson's</i> Normans in Europe .....	3	<i>Mauder's</i> Popular Treasures.....	20
— Patentee's Manual .....	21	<i>Maxwell's</i> Theory of Heat .....	10
<i>Johnston's</i> Geographical Dictionary.....	8	<i>May's</i> History of Democracy .....	1
<i>Jukes's</i> New Man.....	15	— History of England .....	1
— Second Death .....	15	<i>McNeill's</i> (Whyte) Novels and Tales .....	18
— Types of Genesis .....	15	<i>Mendelssohn's</i> Letters .....	4
		<i>Merivale's</i> Fall of the Roman Republic ...	2
<i>Kalisch's</i> Bible Studies .....	15	— General History of Rome .....	2
— Commentary on the Bible .....	15	— Roman Triumphs.....	3
— Path and Goal.....	5	— Romans under the Empire .....	2
<i>Keary's</i> Outlines of Primitive Belief.....	6	<i>Merrifield's</i> Arithmetic and Mensuration... 10	
<i>Keller's</i> Lake Dwellings of Switzerland....	11	<i>Miles</i> on Horse's Foot and Horse Shoeing .....	19
<i>Kerl's</i> Metallurgy, by <i>Crookes</i> and <i>Röhrig</i> ..	14	— on Horse's Teeth and Stables.....	19
		<i>Mill</i> (J.) on the Mind .....	4
Landscapes, Churches, &c.....	7	<i>Mill's</i> (J. S.) Autobiography .....	4
<i>Latham's</i> Handbook of English Language ..	7	— Dissertations & Discussions .....	5
<i>Lecky's</i> History of England.....	1	— Essays on Religion .....	15
— European Morals.....	2	— Hamilton's Philosophy .....	5
— Rationalism .....	2	— Liberty .....	5
— Leaders of Public Opinion.....	4	— Political Economy .....	5
Leisure Hours in Town .....	7	— Representative Government .....	4
<i>Leslie's</i> Political and Moral Philosophy ...	6	— Subjection of Women.....	5
Lessons of Middle Age .....	7	— System of Logic .....	5
<i>Lewis's</i> History of Philosophy .....	2	— Unsettled Questions .....	5
<i>Lewis</i> on Authority .....	6	— Utilitarianism .....	5
<i>Liddell and Scott's</i> Greek-English Lexicons	8	<i>Millard's</i> Grammar of Elocution.....	7
<i>Lindley and Moore's</i> Treasury of Botany ...	20	<i>Miller's</i> Elements of Chemistry .....	12
<i>Lloyd's</i> Magnetism .....	9	— Inorganic Chemistry .....	10 & 12
— Wave-Theory of Light.....	9	— Wintering in the Riviera.....	17
<i>Longman's</i> (F. W.) Chess Openings.....	20	<i>Milner's</i> Country Pleasures .....	11
— Frederic the Great.....	3	<i>Mitchell's</i> Manual of Assaying .....	14
— German Dictionary ...	7	Modern Novelist's Library .....	18
— (W.) Edward the Third.....	2	<i>Monck's</i> Logic .....	5
— Lectures on History of England .....	2	<i>Monsell's</i> Spiritual Songs.....	16
— St. Paul's Cathedral .....	12	<i>Moore's</i> Irish Melodies, Illustrated Edition	12
<i>Loudon's</i> Encyclopædia of Agriculture ...	14	— Lalla Rookh, Illustrated Edition..	12
— Gardening ... 11 & 14		<i>Morris's</i> Age of Anne .....	3
— Plants.....	11	<i>Mozley's</i> Reminiscences of Oriel College... 3	
<i>Lubbock's</i> Origin of Civilisation .....	11	<i>Müller's</i> Chips from a German Workshop. 7	
<i>Ludlow's</i> American War of Independence ..	3	— Lectures on Religion .....	16
<i>Lyra Germanica</i> .....	16	— Lectures on India .....	7
		— Science of Language .....	7
		— Science of Religion .....	16
<i>Macalister's</i> Vertebrate Animals .....	10	— Selected Essays .....	7
<i>Macanlay's</i> (Lord) Essays .....	1		
— History of England ...	1	<i>Neison</i> on the Moon.....	8
— Lays, Illus. Edits. .... 12 & 18		<i>Neville's</i> Horses and Riding .....	19
— Cheap Edition... ..	18		



New Testament (The) Illustrated.....	12	<i>Southey's Poetical Works</i> .....	19
<i>Newman's</i> Apologia pro Vita Sua.....	3	— & <i>Bowles's</i> Correspondence .....	4
<i>Nicols's</i> Puzzle of Life .....	11	<i>Stanley's</i> Familiar History of Birds .....	11
<i>Northcott's</i> Lathes & Turning .....	13	<i>Steel</i> on Diseases of the Ox .....	19
<i>Oliphant's</i> In Trust .....	17	<i>Stephen's</i> Ecclesiastical Biography.....	4
<i>Orsi's</i> Fifty Years' Recollections .....	4	<i>Stonehenge</i> , Dog and Greyhound .....	19
Our Little Life, by A. K. H. B. ....	7	<i>Stubbs's</i> Early Plantagenets .....	3
<i>Overton's</i> Life, &c. of <i>Law</i> .....	4	Sunday Afternoons, by A. K. H. B. ....	7
<i>Owen's</i> (R.) Comparative Anatomy and Physiology of Vertebrate Animals.....	10	Supernatural Religion .....	15
— Experimental Physiology ...	10	<i>Swinburne's</i> Picture Logic .....	5
— (J.) Evenings with the Skeptics ...	6	<i>Tancock's</i> England during the Wars, 1765-1820 .....	3
<i>Perry's</i> Greek and Roman Sculpture ...	12	<i>Taylor's</i> History of India .....	2
<i>Payen's</i> Industrial Chemistry.....	13	— Ancient and Modern History ...	3
<i>Pawtner's</i> Comprehensive Specifier .....	20	— (Jeremy) Works, edited by <i>Eden</i> ..	16
<i>Piessé's</i> Art of Perfumery .....	14	Text-Books of Science.....	10
<i>Pole's</i> Game of Whist .....	20	<i>Thom's</i> Botany .....	10
<i>Powell's</i> Early England .....	3	<i>Thomson's</i> Laws of Thought ..	6
<i>Prece &amp; Siverwright's</i> Telegraphy.....	10	<i>Thorp's</i> Quantitative Analysis .....	10
Present-Day Thoughts.....	7	<i>Thorpe and Muir's</i> Qualitative Analysis ...	10
<i>Proctor's</i> Astronomical Works .....	8 & 9	Three in Norway .....	16
— Scientific Essays .....	11	<i>Thudichum's</i> Annals of Chemical Medicine	12
Public Schools Atlases .....	8	<i>Tilden's</i> Chemical Philosophy .....	10
<i>Quain's</i> Dictionary of Medicine .....	21	— Practical Chemistry .....	12
<i>Rawlinson's</i> Ancient Egypt .....	2	<i>Trench's</i> Realities of Irish Life .....	6
— Sasanians .....	2	<i>Trevelyan's</i> Life of Fox .....	1
Recreations of a Country Parson .....	7	<i>Trollope's</i> Warden and Barchester Towers	18
<i>Reeve's</i> Cookery and Housekeeping .....	20	<i>Twiss's</i> Law of Nations in Time of War...	5
<i>Reynolds's</i> Experimental Chemistry .....	12	<i>Tyndall's</i> (Professor) Scientific Works... 9 & 10	
<i>Rich's</i> Dictionary of Antiquities .....	7	Unawares .....	18
<i>Rivers's</i> Orchard House .....	11	<i>Unwin's</i> Machine Design .....	10
— Rose Amateur's Guide.....	11	<i>Ure's</i> Arts, Manufactures, and Mines .....	14
<i>Rogers's</i> Eclipse of Faith and its Defence	15	<i>Ville</i> on Artificial Manures.....	14
<i>Roget's</i> English Thesaurus .....	7	<i>Walker</i> on Whist.....	20
<i>Ronald's</i> Fly-Fisher's Entomology .....	19	<i>Walpole's</i> History of England .....	1
<i>Rowley's</i> Rise of the People .....	3	<i>Warburton's</i> Edward the Third .....	3
— Settlement of the Constitution ...	3	<i>Watson's</i> Geometry .....	10
<i>Rutley's</i> Study of Rocks .....	10	<i>Watt's</i> Dictionary of Chemistry .....	12
<i>Samuelson's</i> Roumania .....	16	<i>Webb's</i> Celestial Objects .....	8
<i>Sanders's</i> Justinian's Institutes .....	5	<i>Weld's</i> Sacred Palmlands .....	17
<i>Sankey's</i> Sparta and Thebes .....	3	<i>Wellington's</i> Life, by <i>Gleig</i> .....	4
Seaside Musings .....	7	<i>Whately's</i> English Synonymes .....	7
<i>Scott's</i> Farm Valuer .....	21	— Logic and Rhetoric .....	5
— Rents and Purchases .....	21	<i>White's</i> Four Gospels in Greek.....	15
<i>Seeböhm's</i> Oxford Reformers of 1498.....	2	— and <i>Riddle's</i> Latin Dictionaries ...	8
— Protestant Revolution .....	3	<i>Wilcock's</i> Sea-Fisherman .....	19
<i>Sennell's</i> Marine Steam Engine .....	13	<i>Williams's</i> Aristotle's Ethics.....	5
<i>Sewell's</i> Passing Thoughts on Religion ...	16	<i>Willick's</i> Popular Tables .....	21
— Preparation for Communion .....	16	<i>Wilson's</i> Studies of Modern Mind .....	6
— Private Devotions .....	16	<i>Will's</i> Myths of Hellas, translated by <i>Younghusband</i> .....	3
— Stories and Tales .....	18	<i>Wood's</i> Works on Natural History .....	10
<i>Seymour's</i> Hebrew Psalter .....	16	<i>Woodward's</i> Geology .....	11
<i>Shelley's</i> Workshop Appliances .....	10	<i>Yonge's</i> English-Greek Lexicons .....	8
<i>Short's</i> Church History .....	14	<i>Youatt</i> on the Dog and Horse .....	19
<i>Simcox's</i> Classical Latin Literature .....	2	<i>Zeiler's</i> Greek Philosophy .....	3
<i>Smith's</i> (Sydney) Wit and Wisdom .....	6		
— (Dr. R. A.) Air and Rain .....	8		
— (R. B.) Carthage & the Carthaginians	2		
— Rome and Carthage .....	3		
— (J.) Shipwreck of St. Paul .....	15		



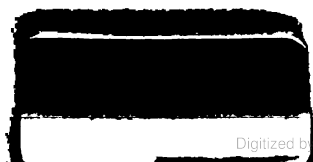




89094587821



b89094587821a





B89094587821A